

LAND VALUES.

The Monthly Journal of the Movement
For the Taxation of Land Values. . .

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JOHN PAUL, Editor.

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In the article "A Great Iniquity" by Leo Tolstoy, published in another column, he states his regret that, though Henry George is recalled to mind in a few places, including, as he puts it, "here and there in Scotland, the number of his adherents dwindles smaller and smaller."

We can only assume that Tolstoy is not supplied with the news of the movement for the taxation of land values, and wonder why! Within recent years in Great Britain no other question has made greater progress than this one set forth by Henry George on our public platforms twenty years ago. Political Associations, Trades' Unions, and Co-operative Congresses have frequently declared in favour of George's proposal as a just and practical step in legislation based on a sound theory of individual and social life. In these great organisations expressing so fully the active life and struggle of the masses of the people to maintain their present economic and political status and to aim at further advances, Henry George's teaching is well remembered and continues to make progress in the public mind, notwithstanding the obstacle named by Tolstoy, "the noisy teaching of socialism."

So well is Henry George's doctrine established, that even the representative Socialists, when the question of taxing land values is brought specifically before our Local Rating Councils, are among its faithful supporters, and without any socialistic, so-called reservation or amendment. Some 500 of these Rating Bodies, including the most important of our City Councils, are now proclaiming George's teaching, and in a way that commands the co-operation and support of the Leagues specially organised to carry his teaching to a successful issue.

This is the reply to Tolstoy's recent question, "What is being done in Britain in the Single Tax movement?" What greater organisation could any question have for support and ultimate success than the Municipal Councils of the country? What other definite question commands such support? The answer is, no other. Nor can these local governments longer afford to ignore this teaching of Henry George. What are the wants, the crying needs of the people they represent? They are readily named by the man in the street, in the press, and voiced on every progressive platform. Full employment, higher wages, improved conditions of housing, in the interest of public health, to say nothing of common decency, relief from the growing oppressive burden of the rates.

Henry George's proposal to appropriate land values for public needs, and to thereby free the land from the choking grip of monopoly, is the only possible means of settling these great problems. Do anything else, as he has shown, make any or all kinds of improvement, the result will be that the value of land will increase, and land speculation will advance, leaving the mass of the people as before—in want and despair. This is being seen more and more by all classes, and this is why Henry George's bold, statesmanlike policy finds such powerful advocates.

ARE THEY UNLOADING.—Lord Clinton's Ashburton estate has been sold, and has realised several thousand pounds. The Hon. R. Dawson purchased the lordship of the manor and borough. Quite a large number of noblemen's estates have been in the market lately, with considerable benefit to the community in the way of distributing the possession of land. A few days ago a portion of Lord Onslow's Surrey estates fetched £20,000.—*Daily News*, 30th June, 1905.

THE TAX THAT CURES.—The unemployed problem was discussed yesterday in two very different assemblies—at the annual meeting of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values and at a meeting of the Birmingham Guardians. The Guardians, who know how serious the problem is, discussed with some eagerness the question of a farm colony as an alleviative. It was pointed out by Mr. Sayer that farm work was a summer demand, while unemployment was worst in the winter, and there the debate ended. The objects of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, with which we heartily agree, are vital in the consideration of this and other social problems. A tax on land values is unique among fiscal expedients in that it frees industry instead of restricting it. It attacks the corner in land, which, after all, is the most pernicious and far-reaching corner that has ever been held. For one comparatively lucid moment Mr. Chamberlain called his campaign a fiscal campaign. There could be but one result of an honest fiscal inquiry, and that would be to tax land values. By freeing land it would promote industry and lessen unemployment. Such a tax could not, as the tariffs which Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour advocate must, dislocate trade or destroy industries. But the day of conjecture is past. The tax has been imposed with every success in New Zealand and the Australian colonies. In New York separate assessment has been made with ease of improved and unimproved values. The tax is cheaper to collect than income tax, and infinitely cheaper than a tax on imports. It is impossible that the day of its coming to this country can be longer delayed.—(London) *Daily News*, July 20th.

THE RUSSIAN MOUJIKS' CONCEPTION OF LAND TENURE.—"The Russian popular conceptions of land tenure, though they may seem somewhat heterodox to a western lawyer or modern economist, are exactly the same as those which in past times prevailed among all European nations before they happened to fall victims to somebody's conquest. Russian peasants hold that land, being an article of universal need, made by nobody, ought not to become property in the usual sense of the word. It naturally belongs to, or, more exactly, it should remain in the undisturbed possession of, those by whom, for the time being it is cultivated. If the husbandman discontinues the cultivation of his holding he has no more right over it than the fisher over the sea where he has fished, or the shepherd over the meadow where he has once pastured his flock."

We take the above paragraph from Stepniak's "Russian Peasantry," the perusal of which we would earnestly commend to all who desire to understand the true inwardness of the present general uprising in Russia. It is more than possible that the recent victories of the Japanese may be the means of freeing the masses of the Russian people from

the slavery enforced on them by an autocracy which has converted their political power into an economic predominance, ruinous to the people, by the robbery of the land. "Land and Liberty" was the rallying cry of the Russian reformers, the Nihilists, of the past generation. It may yet prove itself the only cry that will attract the masses of the Russian people to the inevitable coming revolution.

* * *

Everywhere the land question is necessarily the basic social question. Therefore it is that the powers that be, the upholders of privilege and monopoly, whether lay or clerical, feel themselves far from favourably disposed to those who venture to refer to it. The Rev. Richard Free, the Mission Priest lately in charge of St. Cuthbert's, Milwall, London, was bold enough to do so in his book, "Seven Years Hard," published in October last, and to which we briefly referred in our February number. Though the Church, over which he has presided for over seven years, was practically built and maintained by his individual efforts, he has recently received notice to quit on the ground that his work is not in accordance with the lines his superiors wish to follow. We are not surprised at this, but sincerely trust that another field of independent work will soon be found for Mr. Free.

* * *

"No less comprehensive idea than the community of human interests can be made the basis of civilisation." The above words of the late William Clarke (*Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1899) seem to us well worthy the study and consideration of all political students. It is because this idea of the community of human interests, which inspired the social and political reformers of the early part of the last century, has been supplanted by narrower and false conceptions of the necessary antagonism of national interests, that we attribute the present predominance of Nationalism, Imperialism, Militarism, and Protectionism. Those who would combat these insidious foes must equip themselves boldly to maintain and clearly to demonstrate the irresistible truth that the interests of all the workers of the world are, in fact, identical, that it is but the predatory, privileged classes that have opposing interests.—*In hoc signo vinces.*

* * *

In the great Metropolis during the past month there has been some excitement in would-be radical circles over a recklessly extravagant dinner given by an American millionaire at the Savoy Hotel. In select drawing-room circles we have heard such extravagance defended on the grounds that it gives employment and circulates money. To ourselves the more important question is, not as to how the individual spends his money, but how he gets it. The latter is certainly of far greater social, or moral, importance than the former.

* * *

Ruskin deals with this question in an unusually satisfactory manner in "Fors Clavigera," Letter LX., from which we take the following:—

"Dick Turpin is blamed—suppose—by some plain-minded person, for consuming the means of other people's living. 'Nay,' says Dick to the plain-minded person, 'observe how beneficently and pleasantly I spend whatever I get!' 'Yes, Dick,' persists the plain-minded person, 'but how do you get it?' 'The question,' says Dick, 'is insidious and irrelevant.'"

But it isn't. It's only mighty unpleasant to all of the Turpin class.

* * *

Mr. J. Dundas White (Liberal candidate for Dumbartonshire) has had some useful letters in the *Westminster Gazette* on the subject of cheap cottages. His main points, stated in the writer's usual crisp and clear manner, were:—

"(1) That houses and other improvements should be excluded from the assessments; and (2) that the assess-

ments should be based on the market value of the land alone.

The principles which underlie that proposal are:—

(1) That houses and other improvements which are the results of private industry should be respected as private property, while (2) the earth, the air, and the other natural elements are in the nature of public property.

The considerations of expediency which support that proposal are:—

(1) By taking the taxation off houses and other improvements we should promote building and the development of the land in various other ways, while (2) by taxing on the basis of the market value of the land, whether it is used or not, we should bring a considerable amount of unused land into the market, and this increasing of the available supply of land would reduce the cost of the various portions."

* * *

THE HALL OF CLIFFORD'S INN.—Iconoclast writes:—While waiting for the recent Annual Meeting of the League to open, at the Hall of Clifford's Inn, I heard several remarks by apparent strangers which leads me to mention that the hall in which we met is well worthy of notice if only from an historical point of view. Its old walls have resounded to the thunderings, growlings, trillings, shriekings, and stammerings of such men as Essex, Raleigh, Ben Jonson, Old Noll, and Sir Harry Vane; also Sir Matthew Hale, Dyer, Pepys, Dryden, Samuel Johnson, Goldsmith, Coke, Sir Walter Scott, Southey, Coleridge, Lamb, and Charles Dickens, and an army of well-known luminaries of all shades of opinion whose names are too numerous to set down here. In this hall, Sir Matthew Hale, and seventeen other patiently badgered judges sat after the great fire of 1666, to adjudicate upon the claims of the *landlords* (oh!) and tenants of the burnt properties, as forty thick volumes of decisions, now in the British Museum, do attest. The identical table on which these innumerable legal headaches were raised, can be seen in the Guildhall Museum. With such surroundings, those who attended the meeting should at least be satisfied by being housed by walls, irrespective of the thorough and solid matter served up in such good style at the meeting on July the 19th.

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A GREAT INIQUITY.

Seven columns of the *Times* of Tuesday, August 1st, were filled with an article by Leo Tolstoy under the above heading. Though perhaps neither so forcible nor convincing as his "Appeal to the Workers of all Countries," which we noticed at some length a few months ago, it yet contains many things it is very necessary to bring home to the hearts and minds of the people. After emphasising the insufficiency of the merely political reforms advocated by Liberals and Social Democrats, he continues—

"The fundamental evil from which the Russian people, as well as the peoples of Europe and America, are suffering, is the fact that the majority of the people are deprived of the indisputable natural right of every man to use a portion of the land on which he was born. It is sufficient to understand all the criminality, the sinfulness of the situation in this respect, in order to understand that until this atrocity, continually being committed by the owners of the land, shall cease, no political reforms will give freedom and welfare to the people, but that, on the contrary, only the emancipation of the majority of the people from that land-slavery in which they are now held can render political reforms, not a plaything and a tool for personal aims in the hands of politicians, but the real expression of the will of the people."

Tolstoy then contends that, though the so-called educated classes may ignore, the masses of the Russian peasantry are well alive to this fundamental truth. "With whomsoever one talks," he says, "all complain of their want and all similarly from one side or another come back to the sole reason. There is insufficient bread, and bread is insufficient because there is no land. . . . Cross all Russia, all its peasant world, and one may observe all the dreadful calamities and sufferings which proceed from the obvious cause that the agricultural classes are deprived of land. Half the Russian peasantry live so that for them the question is not how to improve their position, but only how not to die of hunger, they and their families, and this only because they have no land."

After quoting approvingly at great length from Henry George's well-known "Crime of Poverty," in which our great master so forcibly emphasises the indisputable facts that "man is a land animal who cannot live without land," and that "our treatment of land lies at the bottom of all social questions," Tolstoy contends that "the way of human perfecting is endless," and that just as mankind has abolished and outlived such established, iniquitous, social customs as cannibalism, human sacrifices, and chattel slavery, so also the prevailing social iniquities, such as capital punishment, militarism, and above all, the unrestricted private ownership of land, will inevitably have to give way to others more in accord with human needs and aspirations, more in harmony with our ever broadening conceptions of morality and social justice.

How Henry George is ignored.

Tolstoy proceeds:—The evil and injustice of private property in land have been pointed out a thousand years ago by the prophets and sages of old. Later progressive thinkers of Europe have been oftener and oftener pointing it out. With special clearness did the workers of the French Revolution do so. In latter days, owing to the increase of the population and the seizing by the rich of a great quantity of previously free land, also owing to general enlightenment and the spread of humanitarianism, this injustice has become so obvious that not only the progressive, but even the most average, people cannot help seeing and feeling it. But men, especially those who profit by the advantages of landed property—the owners themselves, as well as those whose interests are connected with this institution—are so accustomed to this order of things, they have for so long profited by it, have so much depended upon it, that often they themselves do not see its injustice, and they use all possible means to conceal from themselves and others the truth which is disclosing itself more and more clearly, and to crush, extinguish, and distort it, or, if these do not succeed, to hush it up.

Characteristically was this the fate of the activity of the remarkable man who appeared towards the end of last century—Henry George—who devoted his great mental powers to the elucidation of the injustice and cruelty of landed property and to the indication of the means of correcting this evil by the help of the state of organization now existing amongst all nations. He did this in his books, articles, and speeches with such extraordinary power and lucidity that no man without preconceived ideas could, after reading his books, fail to agree with his

arguments, and to see that no reforms can improve the condition of the people until this fundamental injustice be destroyed, and that the means he proposes for its abolition are rational, just, and expedient.

But what has happened? Notwithstanding that at the time of their appearance the English writings of Henry George spread very quickly in the Anglo-Saxon world, and did not fail to be appreciated to the full extent of their great merit, it very soon appeared that in England, and even in Ireland, where the crying injustice of private landed property is particularly manifest, the majority of the most influential educated people, notwithstanding the conclusiveness of Henry George's arguments and the practicability of the remedy he proposes, opposed his teaching. Radical agitators like Parnell, who at first sympathised with George's scheme, very soon shrank from it, regarding political reforms as more important. In England almost all the aristocrats were against it, also, among others, the famous Toynbee, Gladstone, and Herbert Spencer—that Spencer who in his "Statics" at first most categorically asserted the injustice of landed property, and then, renouncing this view of his, bought up the old editions of his writings in order to eliminate from them all that he had said concerning the injustice of landed property.

In Oxford during George's lectures the students organized hostile manifestations, while the Roman Catholic party regarded George's teaching as positively sinful and immoral, dangerous, and contrary to Christ's teaching. Also the orthodox science of political economy revolted against George's teaching. Learned professors from the height of their superiority refuted his teaching without understanding it, chiefly because it did not recognise the fundamental principles of their imaginary science. The Socialists were also inimical, recognising as the most important problem of the day not the land problem, but the complete abolition of private property.

The chief weapon against the teaching of Henry George was that which is always used against irrefutable and self-evident truths. This method, which is still being applied in relation to George, was that of hushing up. This hushing up was effected so successfully that a member of the English Parliament, Labouchere, could publicly say, without meeting any refutation, that "he was not such a visionary as Henry George. He did not propose to take the land from the landlords and rent it out again. What he was in favour of was putting a tax on land values." That is, whilst attributing to George what he could not possibly have said, Labouchere, by way of correcting these imaginary fantasies, suggested that which Henry George did indeed say.

Thanks to the collective efforts of all those interested in defending the institution of landed property, the teaching of George, irresistibly convincing in its simplicity and clearness, remains almost unknown, and of late years attracts less and less attention.

Here and there in Scotland, Portugal, or New Zealand he is recalled to mind, and amongst hundreds of scientists there appears one who knows and defends his teaching. But in England and the United States the number of his adherents dwindles smaller and smaller; in France his teaching is almost unknown; in Germany it is preached in a very small circle, and is everywhere stifled by the noisy teaching of Socialism.

People do not argue with the teaching of George, they simply do not know it. (And it is impossible to do otherwise with his teaching, for he who becomes acquainted with it cannot but agree.)

If people refer to this teaching they do so either in attributing to it that which it does not say, or in reasserting that which has been refuted by George, or else, above all, they reject it simply because it does not conform with those pedantic, arbitrary, superficial principles of so-called political economy which are recognised as indisputable truths.

Yet, notwithstanding this, the truth that land cannot be an object of property has become so elucidated by the very life of contemporary mankind that in order to continue to retain a way of life in which private landed property is recognised there is only one means—not to think of it, to ignore the truth, and to occupy oneself with other absorbing business. So, indeed, do the men of our time.

Political workers of Europe and America occupy themselves for the welfare of their nations in various matters; tariffs, colonies, income taxes, military and naval budgets, socialistic assemblies, unions, syndicates, the election of presidents, diplomatic connexions—by anything save the one thing without which there cannot be any true improvement in the condition of the people—the re-establishment of the infringed right of all men to use the land. Although in the depths of their souls political workers of the Christian world feel—cannot but feel—that all their activity, the commercial strife with which they are occupied, as well as the military strife in which they put all their energies—can lead to nothing but a general exhaustion of the strength of nations; still they, without looking forward, give themselves up to the demand of the minute, and, as if with the one desire to forget themselves, continue to turn round and round in an enchanted circle out of which there is no issue.

The present position of the workers.

The people of Europe and America, Tolstoy points out, are in the position of a man who has gone so far along a road which at first appeared the right one, but the further he goes the more it removes him from his object, that he is afraid of confessing his mistake. But the Russians are yet standing before the turning of the path, and can, according to the wise saying, "ask their way while yet on the road." He then pictures the present position of the

masses of the workers in both Europe and America in the following telling manner:—

People have driven a herd of cows, on the milk products of which they are fed, into an enclosure. The cows have eaten up and trampled the forage in the enclosure, they are hungry, they have chewed each other's tails, they low and moan, imploring to be released from the enclosure and set free in the pastures. But the very men who feed themselves on the milk of these cows have set around the enclosure plantations of mint, of plants for dyeing purposes, and of tobacco; they have cultivated flowers, laid out a racecourse, a park, and a lawn tennis ground, and they do not let out the cows lest they spoil these arrangements. But the cows bellow, get thin, and the men begin to be afraid that the cows may cease to yield milk, and they invent various means of improving the condition of these cows. They erect sheds over them, they introduce wet brushes for rubbing the cows, they gild their horns, alter the hour of milking, concern themselves with the housing and treating of invalid and old cows, they invent new and improved methods of milking, they expect that some kind of wonderfully nutritious grass they have sown in the enclosure will grow up, they argue about these and many other varied matters, but they do not, cannot—without disturbing all they have arranged around the enclosure—do the only simple thing necessary for themselves as well as for the cows—to wit, the taking down of the fence and granting the cows their natural freedom of using in plenty the pastures surrounding them.

Acting thus, men act unreasonably, but there is an explanation of their action; they are sorry for the fate of all they have arranged around the enclosure. But what shall we call those people who have set nothing around the fence, but who, out of imitation of those who do not set free their cows, owing to what they had arranged around the enclosure, also keep their cows inside the fence, and assert that they do so for the welfare of the cows themselves?

Precisely thus act those Russians, both Governmental and anti-Governmental, who arrange for the Russian people, unceasingly suffering from the want of land, every kind of European institution, forgetting and denying the chief thing; that which alone the Russian people [as all other people] requires—the liberation of the land from private property, the establishment of equal rights on the land for all men.

He then summarises the present position in the following convincing words:—

Of all indispensable alterations of the forms of social life, there is in the life of the world one which is most ripe, one without which not a single step forward in improvement in the life of men can be accomplished. The necessity of this alteration is obvious to every man who is free from preconceived theories. This alteration is not the work of Russia alone, but of the whole world. All the calamities of mankind in our time are connected with this condition. We, in Russia, are in the fortunate position that the great majority of our people, living by agricultural labour, does not recognise private property in land, and desires and demands the abolition of this old abuse, and does not cease to express this desire.

The land question has at the present time reached such a state of ripeness as 50 years ago was reached by the question of serfdom. Exactly the same is being repeated. As at that time men searched for the means of remedying the general uneasiness and dissatisfaction which were felt in society, and applied all kinds of external governmental means, but nothing helped nor could help whilst there remained the ripening and unsolved question of personal slavery, so also now no external measures will help or can help until the ripe question of landed property be solved. As now measures are proposed for adding slices to the peasants' land, for the purchase of land by the aid of banks, &c., so then also palliative measures were proposed and enacted, material improvements, rules about three days' labour, and so forth. Even as now the owners of land talk about the injustice of putting a stop to their criminal ownership, so then people talked about the unlawfulness of depriving owners of their serfs. As then the Church justified the serf right, so now that which occupies the place of

the Church—science—justifies landed property. Just as then slave-owners, realising their sin, more or less endeavoured in various ways without undoing it to mitigate it, and substituted the payment of a ransom by the serfs for direct compulsory work for their masters, moderated their exactions from the peasants, so also now the more sensitive landowners, feeling their guilt, endeavour to redeem it by renting their land to the peasants on more lenient conditions, by selling it through the peasant banks, by arranging schools for the people, ridiculous houses of recreation, magic-lantern lectures, and theatres.

Exactly the same also is the indifferent attitude of the Government to the question. And as then the question was solved, not by those who invented artful devices for the alleviation and improvement of the condition of peasant life, but by those who, recognising the urgent necessity of the right solution, did not postpone it indefinitely, did not foresee special difficulties in it, but immediately, straight off, endeavoured to arrest the evil, and did not admit the idea that there could be conditions in which evil once recognised must continue, but took that course which under the existing conditions appeared the best—the same now also with the land question.

The question will be solved, not by those who will endeavour to mitigate the evil or to invent alleviations for the people or to postpone the task of the future, but by those who will understand that, however one may mitigate a wrong, it remains a wrong, and that it is senseless to invent alleviations for a man we are torturing, and that one cannot postpone when people are suffering, but should immediately take the best way of solving the difficulty and immediately apply it in practice. And the more should it be so that the method of solving the land problem has been elaborated by Henry George to such a degree of perfection that, *under the existing State organisation and compulsory taxation*,* it is impossible to invent any other better, more just, practical, and peaceful solution.

"To beat down and cover up the truth that I have tried to-night to make clear to you," said Henry George, "selfishness will call on ignorance. But it has in it the germinative force of truth, and the times are ripe for it."

"The ground is ploughed, the seed is set, the good tree will grow. So little now; only the eye of faith can see it."

And I think that Henry George is right, that the removal of the sin of landed property is near, that the movement called forth by Henry George was the last birth-throe, and that the birth is on the point of taking place; the liberation of men from the sufferings they have so long borne must now be realised. Besides this I think (and I would like to contribute to this, in however small a measure), that the removal of this great universal sin—a removal which will form an epoch in the history of mankind—is to be effected precisely by the Russian Slavonian people, who are, by their spiritual and economic character, predestined for this great universal task—that the Russian people should not become proletarians in imitation of the peoples of Europe and America, but, on the contrary, that they should solve the land question at home by the abolition of landed property, and show other nations the way to a rational, free, and happy life, outside industrial, factory, or capitalistic coercion and slavery—that in this lies their great historical calling.

I would like to think that we Russian parasites, reared by and having received leisure for mental work through the people's labour, will

*In view of a seeming contradiction in the eyes of some readers of Tolstoy between his support of Henry George's scheme and his simultaneous denial of all coercive State power, it is important to pay particular attention to these words italicized by the author himself. Tolstoy here emphasizes a reservation, that he recommends Henry George's scheme only under conditions of State organization and compulsory taxation. It goes without saying, that if the Christian teaching as Tolstoy understands it were to be thoroughly applied to life, then there would be neither coercive government nor compulsory taxation, and in the distribution of the land there would be practised amongst men a voluntary agreement of a yet freer and more just kind than the single tax system of Henry George. (Trans.)

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understand our sin, and, independently of our personal advantage, in the name of the truth that condemns us, will endeavour to undo it.

Yes, "the ground is ploughed; the seed is set; the good tree will grow." And it may be the destiny of the Russian slavonic people to initiate this great fundamental change; by the abolition of the unrestricted private property in land, "to show other nations the way to a rational free and happy life, outside industrial, factory, or capitalistic coercion and slavery." To which we can only solemnly reply, Amen, so may it be. Scotland leads the way to-day, as many of our readers of other countries assure us; it may be the destiny of Russia to lead the van to-morrow.

*All of which goes to show that Tolstoy's translator does not understand either Henry George's practical economic teaching or his philosophy. To us there seems no reservation in Tolstoy's words, but a mere statement of fact. Taking Society as we find it in rural Russia, or in rural Britain, or in the populous centres of industry, land naturally varies in value. These varying values are brought out by population, and advances in the arts and in morals. Recognising the equal claim of all men to land, that land cannot rightly be held as private property, Henry George proposed to establish equal rights to land by appropriating for the use of all the people these social, or land values. And we followers of Henry George have to say that even if "the Christian teaching as Tolstoy understands it (or as the founder of Christianity Himself taught it) were to be thoroughly applied to life," the single tax plan of Henry George would require to be adopted. There is no difference, except in words, between "a just principle of voluntary agreement," and the Single Tax, in establishing the sacred rights of man to life, and freedom to work out his social salvation. Even if the present "conditions of state organisation and compulsory taxation" did not exist, some other unjust condition would exist, if the principle of the Single Tax were not in operation.—ED. L. V.

"ROBINSON CRUSOE UP-TO-DATE."

SIR,—I am very reluctant to enter on controversy on abstract points with brother reformers, but must enter a protest at the "unworkable cosmopolitan sentimentalism" of H.L.D. on this subject in April *Land Values*—with the less reluctance as my country has taken no share in the White Australia and White Ocean policy. Henry George, who had personal experience of the Asiatic, took in his Garrison controversy as strong a view as any Australian labour advocate, and he is a safe guide.

Those who look with indifference or admiration on other people's countries being flooded with low type Asiatics or Africans lose sight of the law of rent. I am here writing for experts, so need only point out that a large population with a low standard of living (and therefore able to pay a larger share in rent for natural opportunities) raise the rent payable by all landless men to above a livable figure for the whites among them, and produce the purely evil effects of the artificially created deficiency of land by monopoly censured by W.R.L. in the leader of the same issue.

Even a small Chinese element able by superior "thrift" to pay landlords 20 rent of 100 produce where a white man can only pay 10 and live, will quickly monopolise all the best openings, and force down perceptibly the spending power of a vastly larger white population: even when "unionised" and receiving white rates of pay for equal work, to take the hypothetical case.

If we were in a Utopia, or a Centralia, and landholders paid the yearly value of their privileges, the loss to the non-landholders as workers would be set off by their gain as landowners, and the Robinson Crusoe situation, advocated by H.L.D., would arise, of a civilised race or person incorporating an element of alien type, to get work done cheaper by a slave Friday than by a possibly undisciplined Will Atkins to the profit of the proprietor Crusoe-race: but as things stand, the benefit is solely to the landowners (in the sense in which such benefit by withholding land to "ripen"), and the blow falls on the landless whites of all classes, threatening every cherished decency of life, food, and apparel. Henry George has once for all exploded the doctrine that the undoubted Chinese virtues of thrift and industry, of incredible quality, are of any service or aught but a more severe strain where public rights to land are not admitted.

But if the value of land were fully nationalised, would it be expedient to introduce large race-alien elements into new countries, even if they work a little cheaper? I do not ask this offensively, but "coloured" and "cheap" labour are inseparable in most minds. Not to mention the United States, where the good feeling of three centuries has been, according to some, destroyed by the nominal gift of a franchise to a "freed" race of chattels of mixed blood, will anyone contend that the fully incorporated negro element in Spanish America has been a successful move, racially: that the free union with negroes of the Goths in Portugal and the Arabs in Morocco has given a higher race in any way than the Gothic or the Arabian. And the set and unalterable Chinese character is infinitely more alien to the white than is the child-like negro. I do not suppose that H.L.D. and his friends think of "Whiteman's Land" of their dreams as inhabited by whites, blacks, and yellows in water-tight compartments, like the Rand is now: yet the suggestion to give their daughter in marriage to a negro or a Chinese would be felt by such men as an insult, if of normal mind, for themselves or for friends and neighbours.

I do think that the passion for race-purity of the Anglo-American in the mass is a very high and noble ideal: the interested opposition of the landlords, slave-owners, and mine-owners seems beside it a very suspicious alliance for the doctrinaire, even when of so high a type as Garrison or H.L.D.

MERVYN J. STEWART.

Athenree, New Zealand.

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THE ALIEN QUESTION AND THE "WHITE" IDEAL.

It is time to speak out.

Without being fully aware of it, the nations of the world are in the throes of a gigantic moral struggle.

Slowly but surely the moral law has asserted its supremacy in the lesser spheres of human activity, in the teeth of ignorance, selfishness, and prejudice.

There have been bitter struggles between individuals; there have been savage feuds between families and clans; there has been internecine warfare between nations and religions. Class distinctions, religious castes, trade jealousies, protective tariffs, international strife, have each in turn darkened the horizon. Each in turn have yielded before the invincible power of the moral law.

But the fiercest and most terrible struggle of all is impending.

Science is drawing mankind closer and closer together, and the inevitable contact is putting humanity to an awful proof which may well make the thoughtful tremble.

Once again the moral law rings out clear and strong. What part are we who follow Henry George going to play in the struggle?

"He who will hear, to him the clarions of the battle call. How they call, and call, and call till the heart swells that hears them! Strong soul and high endeavour, the world needs them now."

Are we going to be found on the side of those who are even now fomenting international hatred and stirring the blind passions of creed, race, and colour? or are we to be found on the side of those who regard differences of nation, creed, race, and colour as transitory and unworthy of our high calling as men?

I am prompted to ask these questions by the letters of our Australian and New Zealand friends, by the movement for a "White" policy in some of our Colonies, but above all by the tendency shewn amongst some of our own countrymen to listen to base and cowardly appeals which up till recently would not have been allowed a hearing.

It has been the grandest and noblest triumph of Henry George's work that he has been able to show (in a way which has never been refuted) that economic law is not incompatible with moral law. He has shown us that if once it is conceded that the earth is the common inheritance of mankind the free play of economic forces is not injurious but beneficial.

It has been proved beyond possibility of doubt that even in the most densely populated countries there is abundance of room for all under free conditions.

Whence then this cry for the exclusion of aliens from those who should know better? How is it that even some of our own friends have allowed their minds to become so distorted as to be deaf to the calls of freedom and charity?

The only explanation I can give is that there has sprung up in their minds a recrudescence of the old Malthusian weeds which we all thought were killed, and these weeds have obscured and choked the truths regarding the law of wages.

Although no one to-day dares openly to defend the old population fallacies, yet it is evident that in many minds a vague but deeply rooted idea still exists that countries are over-populated, *i.e.*, cannot possibly support any more people than they at present maintain. The fact that this theory is being continually disproved by the increasing growth of population does not seem to move them. The supposed limit is being continually broken down!

And yet this is the crux of the whole argument.

Even in England—densely populated and landlord-ridden as it is—increased population has brought no disastrous results, while if land monopoly were abolished, every increment to the population, whether white or coloured, would increase the general prosperity of all. And the same is true in sparsely populated countries.

The stock complaint in regard to aliens is prompted by the fear that they may prove more efficient than home labour, and that their competition will drive down wages. I am convinced that this fear is in most cases quite groundless, for the alien works under a hundred disadvantages in a foreign country. Yet, even if it were so in some lines of business, the only effect of it would be a temporary displacement of labour exactly analogous to that caused by labour-saving machinery, and, like the latter, it would actually cause a *rise* and not a fall in wages. For every man who produces more than he consumes is adding to the general wealth of the community.

The so-called protection of labour by the boycotting of one's fellowmen, sins alike against the economic and moral laws. It brings on the heads of transgressors precisely the same Nemesis as follows the infraction of these same laws in the protection of manufactures by boycotting the goods of one's fellowmen, *viz.*, economic and moral loss.

But it may be argued that the intention is only to exclude "undesirable" aliens, and this solely on moral grounds; for fear of contamination by those of inferior habits and customs.

But who is to judge of the "undesirables?" And have we such poor faith in ourselves that we cannot face contact with the inferior races without fear of degradation? What a confession for "missionaries of empire" to make! What about the Christian injunction to go out into the highways and "*compel* them to come in"?

Sentiment against foreigners is common enough, and prejudice in favour of our own flesh and blood is natural enough; but let us beware lest these feelings of race and blood and country are played upon in order to cloak gross acts of injustice to our own people, and to mask the designs of selfish vested interests.

After all, who are the real undesirables? Are they not the landlords and monopolists who play the "dog-in-the-manger" at home, or fatten on the necessities of those who labour? It is cowardly and un-English, if not inhuman, to direct the heavy guns of statesmanship upon poor wretches seeking an asylum from persecution, whose only crime is that they ask to be allowed to earn their living on our shores. Family, nation, race, purity of colour, all have their due place in the evolution of civilisation. But there is that which transcends them all, namely, humanity. And this is no mere cosmopolitan sentiment. Before they are many months older the civilised nations of the world will have to face the problem of one race that is knocking at their doors. Right up to the present the Japanese have been written down as "undesirables" by nations who, from a moral point of view, are unworthy even to loosen their shoe latches. That dishonest farce cannot much longer be continued. It will be well for the "civilised" races of the world if they succeed in rising to their true height in facing this alien problem. To erect "colour" barriers is as immoral as to embroil nations.

The notion that inter-marriage between colours is "insulting" (on grounds of colour alone), is merely a relic of the old prejudices of caste and class, and, like these, will in due time be swept away, to be replaced by the only enduring standard of moral and intellectual worth.

"The equal rights of all men to natural opportunities" is a policy that cannot be twisted into conformity with Alien Bills, Gentry Exclusion Laws, White Australias, or White Oceans. True Freedom will have none of these things.

It has been well said that it was not the barbarians who destroyed Rome. Rome fell by her own vices and corruption. Let us beware of her fate. The real "peril" (whether yellow or black) is from *within* and not from *without*. "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man."

"And this to fill us with regard for man,
With apprehension of his passing worth,
Desire to work his proper nature out,
To ascertain his rank and final place;
For these things tend still upward, progress is

The law of life, man is not man as yet,
 Nor shall I deem his object served, his end
 Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth,
 While only here and there a star dispels
 The darkness, here and there a towering mind
 O'erlooks its prostrate fellows: when the host
 Is out at once to the despair of night,
 When all mankind alike is perfected,
 Equal in full-blown powers—then, not till then,
 I say, begins man's general infancy.
 For wherefore make account of feverish starts
 Of restless members of a dormant whole,
 Impatient nerves which quiver while the body
 Slumbers as in a grave? Oh long ago
 The brow was twitched, the tremulous lids astir,
 The peaceful mouth disturbed; half uttered speech
 Ruffled the lip, and then the teeth were set,
 The breath drawn sharp, the strong right hand clenched stronger,
 The glorious creature laughed out even in sleep!
 But when full roused, each giant limb awake,
 Each sinew strung, the great heart pulsing fast,
 He shall start up and stand on his own earth,
 Then shall his long triumphant march begin,
 Thence shall his being date—thus wholly roused,
 What he achieves shall be set down to him.
 But in completed man begins anew
 A tendency to God. So in man's self arise
 August anticipations, symbols, types
 Of a dim splendour ever on before
 In that eternal circle life pursues.
 For men begin to pass their nature's bound,
 And find new hopes and cares which fast supplant
 Their proper joys and griefs; they grow too great
 For narrow creeds of right and wrong, which fade
 Before the unmeasured thirst for good: while peace
 Rises within them ever more and more."—*Browning*.

H. LI. D.

Scottish Notes and News.

[Scottish readers of *Land Values* are invited to send news for this column. Reports of meetings, or any reference by public men, or public bodies, to the land question, or the taxation of land values will be appreciated.]

HENRY GEORGE COMMEMORATION DAY, 1905.—A meeting to commemorate the birth of Henry George will be held under the auspices of the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values, at 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow, Saturday evening, 2nd September, at 7.30. Mr. Norman M'Lennan, of Newbie, Annan, will deliver the principal address. Mr. Wm. D. Hamilton, President of the League, will preside, and all interested are cordially invited to be present and to bring friends.

Mr. M'Lennan has been removed by the nature of his business from Glasgow, the centre of the movement in Scotland, these past seven years. But his old time colleagues of the stirring Henry George Institute days, and those who worked under his guidance as secretary of the organisation from its inception in 1890 to 1895 will cordially welcome him, while the newer members of the League who are present will have the pleasure of listening to one of the ablest and most devoted followers of Henry George.

Some interesting and instructive letters on the taxation of land values are appearing in the *Scottish Co-operator* week by week, the outcome of the paper read on the subject by Mr. Knight at the recent Co-operative Congress held in Paisley. Mr. Wm. R. Lester, Mr. David Cassels, jun., and Mr. Graham Cassels are among the correspondents.

Mr. F. A. Umpherston, former secretary of the Edinburgh League for the Taxation of Land Values, has had a series of articles "On Taxing Land Values," in *The Weeks Survey* (April 22nd, May 13th and 20th, July 1st and 29th, and August 12th). We hope to publish one or two of the articles later, and meanwhile congratulate Mr. Umpherston on such good service.

The newspapers commented freely on Tolstoy's article "A Great Iniquity," which appeared in the *Times*, 1st August, and which we quote in another column. The *Glasgow Herald* gave a very fair summary, saying the article was mainly devoted to the land question and to the theory of Henry George.

Mr. Alex. Bowman, Belfast, sends (per the Secretary) fraternal regards to his old Scottish colleagues. Mr. Bowman is well remembered in the Glasgow movement for his former good work and fellowship. He was the League's first President at its commencement fifteen years ago, and occupied the chair at the last meeting Henry George addressed in Glasgow in 1890.

Dr. Riehn, who represented the German Land Reform League at the Paisley Co-operative Conference this year, visited the rooms of the League at 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow, seeking information on the position and progress of the movement in Great Britain, and telling of the work being done in Germany.

We again remind our interested readers that the speakers of the League are open for engagements during the coming winter's session of indoor meetings.

Mr. J. E. Sutherland, Liberal candidate for Elgin Burghs (Bye election now proceeding), says, "In regard to land legislation no scheme that he had seen proposed by a responsible Liberal minister was too advanced for him." According to the fuller report of his speech in the *Glasgow Herald*, 22nd August, it is quite evident that Mr. Sutherland has not yet seen Sir Henay Campbell-Bannerman's radical policy on the question.

The *Westminster Gazette* for August contained an article on "Free Trade," by the President of the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values.

Last month we were favoured with a visit from Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Howe, of Cleveland, Ohio, U.S. Mr. Howe came to Glasgow on behalf of his Government to report on municipal undertakings, and brought with him an introduction from Tom L. Johnson. The executive of the league were delighted to welcome our friends, and especially to hear how Mayor Johnson maintains the fight with the Cleveland monopolists. Mr. Howe was for a term a member of the Cleveland Town Council, which he entered as a republican. But, as he smilingly confesses, he soon came under the wholesome influence of Tom L. and rapidly saw the cat. As Mr. Howe puts it, he thinks the single tax the one and all sufficient remedy for social evils. This may seem a strange notion but quite a lot of people everywhere seem to have it, and more in the making. Mrs. Howe, along with Mrs. Wm. D. Hamilton, spent a couple of days visiting various institutions and places of interest showing the habits and social life of the City.

Mr. E. J. Craigie, South Australia, writes:—"Let me congratulate you on the high standard maintained by *Land Values*. It is an excellent production, and is indispensable to any Single Taxer."

DO YOU WISH TO PROMOTE THE MOVEMENT?

THE Executive of the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values appeal to the Members to enlist New Subscribers, and to sympathisers who know and appreciate the work of the League to become Members. Annual Subscription, 1/-

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THEODORE LLEWELYN DAVIES.



Drowned whilst Bathing in a Mountain Stream near his home at Kirkby-Lonsdale, Westmoreland, Tuesday, 25th July. Aged 34 years.

In the sad death of Theodore Llewelyn Davies we have to mourn the loss to our movement of one of its brightest and most promising supporters. Although he was personally unknown to many of our friends, and although his official position in the Civil Service prevented him from giving such full publicity to his opinions as he might otherwise have done, yet his intimate friends, knowing what he had already accomplished, and knowing the deep earnestness of his convictions on the subject, felt instinctively that he was destined to do brilliant work for the movement.

He moved in a sphere not much frequented by our adherents, and was ever actively at work and thinking the more how to make clear our principles and policy. Even now it is doubtful if any of his generation have achieved (up to the present at least) more notable and solid work for the movement than he has during the last few years.

It is probably not saying too much to assert that without him the famous Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation would never have come into being. Few know how deep an impression he made on the most thoughtful members of the Commission, and what infinite patience and pains he devoted to compiling that Report. It is unnecessary to remind our readers that the Report had the immediate effect of lifting the Taxation of Land Values into the sphere of practical politics in England, and it is safe to prophesy that it will have an enormous influence in moulding the course of future legislation.

More recently, through all the stirring times which have followed the raising of the tariff issue, his influence has been persistently and courageously exerted on behalf of the principles embodied in "Protection or Free Trade," of which work there was no warmer admirer than he.

Not only amongst his colleagues in the Civil Service, but also amongst an ever-widening circle of politicians, he was fast earning the position of an inspiring authority and wise counsellor. A well-known Member of Parliament declared that he had got into the habit of coming almost instinctively

to Theodore Davies for advice and assistance on difficult points. That his wide sympathies and keen insight are no longer at the service of our movement is indeed a serious blow, but the foundations which he has, even in his short career, helped so splendidly to lay, are now lying waiting—we pray they may not wait long—for willing hands to complete. It is for us, who are left, to find these willing hands; and may the memory of the strenuous work so faithfully done in the good cause by Theodore Llewelyn Davies strengthen and inspire us in the years to come.

We sincerely express the heartfelt sympathy of the members and friends of our Leagues to Dr. Davies and his family in their great bereavement.

The news of the death of Mr. T. Llewelyn Davies by drowning at Kirkby-Lonsdale has come as a great and sad shock to his many friends here (writes the *Manchester Guardian's* London correspondent). High as was the promise of the career that seemed to be opening for him at the Treasury, he justified expectation, for he was of a family of clever men, and I think I am right in saying that they had the remarkable distinction of having three Fellowships of Trinity amongst them in two generations. The father, the Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, has enshrined the scholarship which won him a Fellowship in the version which he made, in company with the Rev. D. J. Vaughan, of the "Republic," the version which we know now as the Golden Treasury version. Two of the sons also were, I believe, Fellows of Trinity. But to-day the friends of the young man whose life has been so sadly lost, remember less his high promise than his personal charm, his readiness, and his vividness of interest. As a Treasury servant he was naturally concerned with the Tariff Reform agitation, but it was with merely official interest that he regarded it. It was to him a most serious thing that so many people should be going about with what he considered to be utterly mistaken theories.

The *Times* says:—The youngest son of the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, he was, like most of his brothers, educated at Marlborough College and at Trinity, Cambridge, of which in due course he became a Fellow. After leaving the University he was appointed to a clerkship in the Treasury, and in his work there he had already proved himself to be a public servant of singular clearness of intellect and readiness to undertake responsibility. He was private secretary to two Chancellors of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks Beach and Mr. Ritchie, and acted as assistant secretary to the Royal Commission on Local Taxation and as secretary to the Departmental Committee on the Income Tax. His courage, his sense of duty, and his brilliant ability make his loss a real one to the public, while his numerous and warm friends will long miss his unflinching optimism and his readiness to help from the stores of his knowledge.

"H.M.B." writes to the *Times* from Trinity Lodge, Cambridge, as follows:—"The lamentable death of Mr. Theodore Llewelyn Davies at the early age of 34 will cause grief in many places, but not least at Trinity College, Cambridge, where his career had been one of much more than ordinary distinction. After a brilliant and happy boyhood at Marlborough College, he won an entrance major scholarship at Trinity while still a few days below 17, and his later life at the University was worthy of this beginning. Coming into residence in October, 1888, he was elected successively to the Bell and Waddington University scholarships, and took a first class in both parts of the Classical Tripos. His connection with Trinity may be said to have been ancestral. His mother, the highly-gifted daughter of the late Mr. Justice Crompton, was sister of a Fellow of Trinity. His father, one of the many remarkable Cambridge men who took their B.A. degree in 1848, became a Fellow of the College in 1850. It was a proud day for the parents of Theodore Davies when, in October, 1894, two out of the four Trinity Fellowships then vacant were

carried off by himself and an elder brother. It is rare indeed that a father who has been a Fellow of Trinity can say that he has had four sons scholars of the College, and three of these Fellows. The hearts of Trinity men will go out freely to the bereaved father at this sudden loss of his able and beloved son. There can be little doubt that the son, who had already won the confidence of statesmen at the Treasury, would have become, like his kinsman the late Lord Lingen, one of the pillars of the Civil Service. He had many of the highest gifts of statesmanship, a large mind, a calm temper, a cool judgment, a generous heart. Those who knew him best expected from him most. He won, in a rare degree, the trust as well as the love of all who came near him."

A correspondent writes to the *Manchester Guardian*:—The late Mr. Theodore Davies was a man of rare mental strength and grasp, but of even rarer character. His distaste for loose thinking, for false sentiment, for florid phrases and insincere motives sometimes made him appear superficially cold and critical; but, like many strong natures, he possessed an exceptional reserve of feeling and of almost passionate enthusiasm. He loved simple and sincere characters, and especially those that he met in the humbler walks of life. For this reason he was intensely democratic in his sympathies, and concentrated the whole of his personal and intellectual gifts on the problem of rendering life a little less hard to the poorer classes. While full of appreciation for the speculative and romantic aspects of life, he made his main object the improvement of the material condition of the masses. Early in his career he recognised with unusual clearness that in a complicated civilisation great social problems must be attacked by scientific and abstract means, and before entering the Civil Service he had made himself master of the best economic and statistical methods of the time. During his eleven years of service at the Treasury, his best work was devoted to two subjects. He believed the taxation of site values to be economically sound, politically expedient, and of great philanthropic value in connection with the housing problem, and as joint secretary to the Local Taxation Commission, he helped to bring the question from the realm of academic discussion into the sphere of practical politics. This was the portion of his work which he himself regarded with most satisfaction, and the political history of the next twenty years will be the test of its value.

Of his devotion to Free Trade it is hardly possible to speak at present. But all politicians, of whatever shade of opinion, may admire the courage with which Mr. Ritchie faced one of the most powerful Ministers of the day, and forced the question of colonial preference (which might conceivably have gone by default), to a definite issue; and during this critical period Theodore Davies held the responsible post of private secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Rightly or wrongly, he shared to the full the views of his chief, and regarded the proposed changes as likely to entail widespread suffering, and to endanger the purity of public life. His unremitting work at this juncture strained his physical powers to the utmost, and he was well aware of the fact.

In personal intercourse he was singularly winning and attractive. He attached little value to mere ingenuity and mental agility; his own views were always simple and profound. He united exceptional audacity with exceptional safeness, and was, accordingly, unusually persuasive. He was never rash, and his suggestions were always such as might have been immediately put into practice. His friendships were many and varied. He had little taste for music. He appreciated art, but did not value it very highly. He had a wide knowledge of literature, and was especially fond, first of the poems, and secondly of the novels, of Meredith. Open-air life and simple pleasures attracted him strongly. In particular, he was devoted to the exercise of swimming, which proved the immediate cause of his death.

The remains of Theodore Llewelyn Davies (reports the *Manchester Guardian*) were laid to rest beneath the avenue of rugged limes which graces the Vicarage walk and near those of his respected mother, whose sudden death on the 7th of February, 1895, made the first breach in the family of Dr. Davies, after his acceptance of the living of Kirkby-Lonsdale. The coffin, which was quite plain, was borne from the Vicarage to the Church by the bellringers, Mr. W. Griffin meanwhile playing Handel's "I know that my Redeemer liveth." The service was conducted by the Rev. A. D. Burton, Vicar of Casterton, assisted by the Rev. B. Williams, Curate at Kirkby-Lonsdale. The 90th psalm was chanted, and the hymn "God of the living in whose eyes" sung by the choir and congregation. Included in the wreaths and floral crosses sent were beautiful tributes from Lord and Lady Henry Bentinck, Sir George and Lady Trevelyan, Annie, Kate, and Mary (indoor servants), and one "With deep sorrow and affectionate remembrance from his Treasury colleagues." At the Parish Church on Sunday morning the sermon was preached by the Rev. A. D. Burton, Vicar of Casterton, who took for his text St. John, xiii. 7, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter."

In the course of his address Dr. Burton said:—I dare not speak of the loss in the home and the family. But the loss is a public one also. There is only one verdict about the one who worshipped with you here last Sunday, and has since passed away from us. There is but one opinion about the promise of his life—borne by the highest statesmen as well as by intimate friends—that if he had lived his remarkable abilities must have raised him to a high place in his country's service. And all testify, and we know that the testimony is true, that there was something just as conspicuous as his genius and ability—his personal charm and loveableness of character, and many of us who have not known him in his public life and official work, where his intellectual powers were so strikingly shown, will ever remember the brightness and happiness of his face and manner, so attractive and charming to all who met him. It was a wonderful combination of intellect, character, and personality, and even we outsiders feel a great sense of loss. We feel that our country can ill afford to have a life of such high service, and still greater promise cut short, and we feel that we shall miss him much, in not having even the occasional sight of his face and sound of his greeting.

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Mr. J. C. Pryor, agent for the Yost Typewriter Co., Ltd., at Plymouth, has secured first place in the kingdom for the Society of Arts Typewriting Examination, Advanced Stage, and won a silver medal and the Society's prize of £3 in cash. Great credit is due to Mr. Pryor and the Yost machine for this achievement.

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"OUR POLICY."

"We would simply take for the community what belongs to the community—the value that attaches to land by the growth of the community; leave sacred to the individual all that belongs to the individual."—Henry George.

PRACTICE AND THEORY.

To the theorist it is always encouraging when he finds his reasoned inductions confirmed by the man of affairs who does not trouble with abstractions but has shrewd ideas as to the direction in which his own material interests lie. Single Taxers will find such encouragement and support in *The Statist* of July 22nd, where the present business position in the Argentine Republic is reviewed. After touching on the great trade prosperity which Argentina is at present enjoying *The Statist* proceeds to say:—

"The only direction in which there is any danger at present of wild speculation is in land. There is a strong demand both for wheat and maize, and, consequently, the tillage area has been increasing steadily for some time past. Just now it is increasing largely. Especially, the exports of maize are on a great scale. And it is estimated that the breadth of land sown with the new crops will largely surpass anything yet known. In consequence, there is a strong demand for land, and speculators are buying up eagerly. Sometimes they succeed in selling again before they have even to pay down the price agreed upon, and they have been able to sell in some cases at extraordinarily large profits.

If this goes on it will be a danger. As long as the present prices for wheat and maize are maintained, no doubt the speculation can go on. But if anything were to cause a fall, the speculation would utterly break down."

Here we have the leading financial organ reducing to a concrete case and exemplifying in the Argentine precisely what Single Taxers declare in general terms must apply to all trade as at present carried on in all countries. Land speculation far and away beyond all other forms of speculation is *the enemy*, and is, in fact, the prime cause of those regularly recurring crises of trade depression from which progressive countries are suffering more and more. It did not need a course in Political Economy nor a study of Book V. "Progress and Poverty" to convince *The Statist* that the real danger in Argentina is not speculation in corn, cattle, railways, or speculation in any other labour product, but simply speculation in the natural element from which all labour products come. And *The Statist* is right. We would even venture to assert that if land speculation were made impossible all other forms of speculation would be rendered harmless. The motive of operators in all forms of speculation is to render the object dealt in artificially scarce, and therefore artificially dear, and then to get out at the top price. When the object dealt in is land all manner of peculiar and special evils result directly and indirectly—evils which do not attach to other speculations. The source of all things being partially withheld from use fewer commodities can be produced, less labour is therefore demanded, and there being less demand for labour the competition among workers for such restricted employment as remains is artificially intensified and wages are driven towards the minimum.

But with the removal of land speculation, it is reasonable to anticipate that speculation in commodities would very soon defeat itself; for the source from which all commodities come being now equally available at its natural price to all who wish to produce, no sooner was there any sign of scarcity or high price in any particular trade than there would be a flow of labour and capital into that trade, anxious to profit by the high price going. The result would be increased supply and a fall in price to the normal again. This is the natural course of events, and if land were equally open to all for purposes of production it is what we might reasonably expect to happen. All, however, is distorted by the institution of private property in land with its attendant right of withholding land from use and so of checking production. If competition is to be allowed to fulfil its function as an antidote to speculation this prime monopoly will have to be undermined, for so long as it remains intact the action of competition in checking speculation is arrested. Free and fair competition is the natural and sufficient defence against all forms of

speculation harmful to the community. The speculator, if he is to succeed, must in the last resort have his feet on the earth; with the land cut from under him he is powerless for evil. Vermin cannot exist in full sunlight. No more could harmful speculation under really free conditions.

The same considerations hold true as regards periods of trade depression. In Argentina, the City organ accurately traces collapse in trade to its main cause. It seems instinctively to see that great demand for corn leads speculators there, in anticipation of the boom continuing, to buy up in advance land which though not wanted at present will come to be wanted later on, so that when the need for it does arise, a monopoly price can be asked for its use. If this price is not there and then forthcoming speculators can afford to sit tight until the increasing pressure enables them to force from growers the fancy price asked. For a time this lasts and all goes merrily so far as the speculators are concerned. Each unloads at a handsome profit on to others eager to take his place and do likewise. But sooner or later the point is reached where the price of land has been forced to such an unnatural level that the user, be he grower, trader, or industrialist, is unable to pay what is asked if he is to secure the customary return to his work. Land is not now sought for at the price demanded. But the men or companies who have already paid the high speculative price for the land counting that the demand of growers would continue to increase and enable them to unload at a profit, cannot afford to take less if the speculation is to be a success. One or both of two things must therefore happen. As there is a minimum return below which labour and capital cannot continue to exist, either the would-be user is unable to pay the price demanded and a check is thus given to one trade which spreads to others, or else speculators get rid of their land at a loss which is greater or less according to circumstances. Failures result, the bubble bursts, and, as *The Statist* says, the whole situation utterly breaks down.

As people take fright this collapse in land speculation grows in intensity, each successive failure adding to the desire of others to get out of a bad "business." But failures in one "business" cannot occur without affecting others, and all trade now feels the effects of the land speculator's collapse, coming on top of the check to production caused by inflated land values. This is general "bad trade," and it will continue until either the price demanded for use of land falls to a point at which production can be carried on remuneratively (*i.e.* until rent falls), or else until the advance of science and invention so adds to the productiveness of labour that producers are able to comply with the demands of land speculators. In practice these two effects probably act together, in time the equilibrium is re-established and the crisis is past; trade takes a

turn for the better, brisk times return, and the process repeats itself.

It appears clear that this is broadly what must and does take place in all growing communities, and, though best seen in new countries, completely explains most of the phenomena which accompany booms and depressions in trade throughout the world. What applies to wheat growing in Argentina equally applies to the building of houses in any growing city at home. A check is put to building of houses and factories here, just as it is put to the growing of corn in Argentina, with the same general results. There is no way out but through the break up of land monopoly which this journal exists to bring about.

W. R. LESTER.

THE PARADOX OF THE GOOD.

Cicero in his speeches frequently used as a term of classification the word *boni*, the good. He meant the word to include the party to which he devoted his eloquence and his life. They were those who sympathized with the time-honoured senatorial regime, those who upheld the existing order of things, those who for generations had enjoyed special privileges, together with their dependents and followers.

He, like the sturdy Cato, had ideals for this party. He believed that the government should be administered with rectitude, as he understood the word rectitude, and that there were limits beyond which the processes of speculation and graft should not go. But in the main the old ways were all right; and in contrast with the restless, uncertain masses, concentrating under Caesar and meditating "new things"—which was the orthodox expression for revolution—in contrast with these, whose policy, so far as it could be understood, was subversive of ancient rights and privileges, the conservatives, who maintained the established order, were the good.

It is interesting to note in passing that Cicero himself was not of the nobility. But he had thrived. He owned not only a handsome residence in the city, but half a dozen country places, some in the mountains and some by the seashore. He was an educated gentleman, fond of literature, a senator in daily and intimate relations with the old families of the ancient regime. Whatever savoured of vested rights and eminent respectability had his support, and all who agreed in this support were the good.

As I have intimated, Cicero believed that vested rights carried duties, and that respectability should be really respectable. He believed that wealth was a trust, that position had responsibilities, that a senator should do business in a senatorial way. What he could not see was that the nabobs of his party of the good, by their deft policy of amassing wealth in respectable ways, were the real enemies of the preservation of the constitution which he so eloquently upheld. He could not see—any more than his many likes since his day—that the policy of the good, whereby liberty is preached and private monopoly protected, good government proclaimed and special privilege fostered, is a paradox.

Will the good never learn this old Roman lesson? Will they never learn that they, and not Caesar or the proletariat, are the real enemies of the Republic? Will they never learn that the sanctimonious talk about riches being a trust has been rotten for two thousand years? Will they never learn now in our time, after all the lessons of the past, that unless justice be done—unless the means of respectable robbery be removed—there will roll up again a clamour of wrongs, with a clear summons for new things—once more? —J. H. Dillard, in *The Public*.

THE EVILS OF THE PRESENT LAND SYSTEM.

A CONVINCING ILLUSTRATION.

Let me describe an instance which came under my own personal observation. A large piece of land lay vacant on the edge of a crowded portion of a great English city. On the inner edge of the land a numerous and growing population was huddled together in small and unwholesome dwelling. The owner of the land, being rate free, had no commercial motive to sell it, except in his own good time, which time came when the population on the inner edge could no longer be confined within its own boundaries, and more room for expansion and breathing space was needed at any cost. The land was then disposed of on ground rents of ninety-nine years, and in the course of a few years it was covered with streets of dwellings, main thoroughfares, shops, places of worship, schools, and public halls, and, as if by the waving of a wizard's wand, what had recently been but barren land was changed into a thriving community, yielding, it is estimated, about £20,000 a year in ground rents to the landowner.

Thus land that was supposed to have so little value that it paid no rates was transformed by this speedy process into land which, capitalised on the basis of 25 years' purchase of its annual income, became worth about half-a-million sterling.

And this is by no means all, for at the end of ninety-nine years from the beginning of the transaction the buildings which were put on the land at the expense of other people, together with all the improvements made by public and private enterprise and expenditure, will go to enrich the heirs of the original landowner.

The outstanding features of this case are unmistakable.

While the land was lying vacant its value was enhanced from year to year by the growth and activities of the neighbouring inhabitants, and all this time the landowner contributed nothing, or at most a mere fraction, to the expense of the municipality. Indeed, even after a large annual income had been created by the disposal of the land for building purposes, the owner still contributed nothing to the expenses of the community, and the occupier is compelled to pay the rates not only on the value of the bricks and mortar of the dwelling in which he lives, but also on the ground rent claimed by the landowner. Capitalised on the basis of its annual rent—yielding power while vacant (it earned a few pounds annually by being used occasionally for horses and sheep), the value of this land was at most a few hundred pounds. Capitalised after it had been built upon, the land was worth approximately half a million, and this in the course of a few years, and at no cost to the owner, but by a system of public endowment.

THE LOSS TO THE COMMUNITY.

The community thus not only suffered the loss of rates while the land was vacant, but will further suffer—if the system is not changed—in the future the loss of rates which the landowner should pay on the ground rents, but which, according to present methods, he escapes. If, however, the transaction be carried as far as the termination of the lease, the landowner will have escaped payment of rates to an amount which would have run far into a million.

But the greatest increase of value to the landowner will probably take place at a time when the present leases fall in, for as business places supersede private dwellings, and the neighbourhood becomes more the centre of commerce, the value of the land may go up to many millions, following the experience of land of which we have already so many striking instances. Hence the loss to the community in connection with this land has been not merely a financial one. It has been also a social and moral loss.

Houses and streets put on the land were designed on a smaller scale than otherwise might have been on account of the burden of the ground rents, expansion was restricted and enterprise discouraged, so that the health, wealth, and

comfort of the inhabitants were hampered and diminished by this system.

Thus it is that communities forge their own chains. Surely, if some traveller from Jupiter or Saturn were to pay us a visit of observation, he could scarcely avoid the conclusion that our present land system was devised by the authors of comic opera.

The condition of things just described is common throughout the urban communities of the whole country, and, indeed, there is scarcely any street in any town in which some such instance in microcosm may not be found. No complaint is here made against the landowner. It is the system, and not the individual owner, that is at fault.

From "Taxation of Land Values." By Lawrence W. Zimmerman.*

* "Taxation of Land Values." By Lawrence W. Zimmerman. Publisher, Harold Elverston, 44 Lloyd Street, Manchester. Price, 1/6. From these Offices, 1/3 post paid.

THE VIEWS OF A LANDOWNER, AND SINGLE TAXER.

It is not often that you find a landowner airing his views on the iniquities of landlordism, but I should welcome the advent of the Single Tax.

I can speak with some experience, for I own 3500 acres in Derbyshire, 350 in Cheshire, and 400 in Lancashire, besides the land upon which my Manchester warehouse stands, which has been valued at £150,000.

I am perfectly aware that if the Single Tax idea were adopted, and the land rated at 20s. in the £ upon its annual value, I should have nothing left of my land except the improvements upon it, and that probably I should not be able to pay the tax on a large portion of these lands, and consequently should let them go.

Still, I am so assured of the wisdom of the plan, the mere justice of it goes without saying, that I have lost interest in all other political questions. All Acts of Parliament, fiscal questions, education questions, even temperance reforms, are in my humble opinion useless till this bottom thing is put right. There is nothing we can do which will not put money into the landowners' pockets until this one thing be done.

Some twelve years ago I bought 40 acres of land near Stockport for £7000, lately I have refused £25,000 for it. The difference is accounted for by the fact that the community have brought electric trams past the spot, and put a railway station within a quarter of a mile.

I prefer the Single Tax plan because, I am convinced I shall suffer less under the Single Tax scheme than under any other. It may be said "You did not buy the land." Yes, some of it in recent years. "Isn't this hard lines for you?" Yes, but I should not have bought stolen goods. It was a bad "spec.," for I could not use (the only excuse for purchase) all I bought. Is it not better that a few of us should suffer than that thirty-five millions should be kept from their own?

The Tax and Buy Bill of the Land Nationalisation Society, I detest. As an owner, I want fair play. Perhaps I am prejudiced, but I am persuaded that no District Council can be entrusted with such power as this Bill confers. Many members of such Councils have axes to grind. To give men of this class the right to decide whether land shall be acquired, and when, even at the declared valuation, would destroy all continuity and fixity of tenure, and one man could find himself fined and punished and another let go Scot free.

The Single Tax must and will be fair, for it treats all alike, taxes the poor man's garden, which he may have bought with his savings, and the land inherited by the rich man, which he may lose. With this I cannot quarrel though I lose every acre I possess.—Yours, &c.,

JAMES WATTS.

News of the Movement.

THE VICTORY AT DANTZIC.—On the 24th Germany. June last Dantzig gave up the revenue tax and adopted the "Tax on Communal Values."

This is nearly the last of the Prussian towns of over 100,000 inhabitants (with the exception of Hanover, Altona, and Halle), which have now done this.

This conclusion was preceded by a struggle which for intensity exceeds everything that we have yet experienced. For months the war cries "Hey, communal value!" "Hey, revenue value!" divided the citizens into two hostile camps.

Town Councillor Bauer, whose influence had hitherto been unlimited, was the soul of the opposition. Herr Bauer, "the uncrowned King of Dantzig," had drawn up a special memorandum against the communal value, in which he referred principally to the "failure" in Dortmund and Spandau.

Councillor Fuchs, one of the most meritorious advocates of our reform, wrote direct to "The House and Landowners' Union" in Dortmund, asking them what they thought of the new system after their six years' practical experience of it. The reply was as follows:—

"In receipt of your favour of 8th instant, we have to say that "The Dortmund House and Landowners' Union," as well as houseowners in general, regard as but a small evil the tax on communal values which is in force here, and which is now, 1905-06, at the rate of 2'55 marks per 1000. They are therefore in favour of having it continued.

This tax hits particularly the land speculators and similar rich people who could and did hold up valuable lots of land until they reached an almost unattainable price.

Under the former buildings tax, only a trifling tax had to be paid; but now the speculator who holds a vacant piece of land worth £5000 has to pay £12 10s., and many of them detest this.

Much certainly depends upon the local conditions. In this place a great deal of business is being done in land lots."

Our readers will perhaps recollect that the great land speculators of Berlin tried to influence the opinion of the citizens of Spandau by large advertisements something like the following:—

"To be sold immediately, a lot of land at half the communal value on which it is to be taxed in future."

These advertisements, of course, were never signed with a full name, but always in cipher. When friends of ours asked for further information, they got, as a rule, no reply at all. In one instance the information came that the matter had been re-considered, and nothing further would be done.

One cannot think it possible that this awkward manoeuvre of anxious speculators could really be brought into the field as "Experiences with the Tax on Communal Values." It certainly could not have been used in a Posen or Hinter-Pomeranian village, and so the supposition is that it was prepared for putting before the citizens of a large town like Dantzig.

The proposal of the Magistrates to introduce the tax was referred in the first place to a Commission, which went very thoroughly into the question, and Mayor Ehlers declared subsequently in public that this detailed examination had finally convinced him that the tax on communal values is the more just, and that the revenue tax must be given up. Certain of the members could not see this, and protested against the recommendation of the Commission.

On the 19th of June an extraordinary meeting of the Town Council was held for the express purpose of discussing the land tax reform. Councillor Fuchs made a very able speech, from which we here give a single example, with the result of the trial rating:—

"For Dantzig the last rating was made in 1893-4, and holds good till 1st April, 1910. It therefore established the average rental rates of 1882-92. It is evident that such a system of rating involves great injustice. It is well known that by the erasure of the ramparts and the shifting of the chief railway station a complete dislocation in the conditions of ground lots has occurred in these

last years. Toepper Street, for instance, as an approach to the station, has gained enormously, whilst a considerable loss has occurred in the vicinity of the Legetor Station. Notwithstanding this, the owners in Toepper Street to-day, and up till 1st April, 1910, pay taxes upon the revenue which their properties yielded in the years 1882-92, at a time therefore when the shifting of the station was yet in the distant future, whilst the owners of land in the Niederstadt, Legetor, and other districts must pay up till 1910, the same taxes as they paid formerly when they gaily let their houses. The matter is still worse when one considers that the newly erected buildings, for instance, at Dominikswall are to be rated on the principle which applied to that neighbourhood twenty-five years ago.

Now, how will this project affect the conditions of taxation in the future? In order to ascertain this, the Chamberlain has instituted a trial rating, according to which the communal value of the loss of taxable land in Dantzig (built on and vacant lots together), amounts in round figures to 250 million marks. With a rate of 182 per cent., the land and buildings tax which has been paid up till now amounts to 903,000 marks. In order to produce this sum a new rate of 3'62 per cent. is required. With this rate established, there will have to be paid in future:—

(1) On the lots of taxable land which hitherto, with a communal value of more than 20 million marks, only paid 6,800 marks—66,200 marks *more*.

(2) On land used for trade purposes, which hitherto, with a communal value of 30 million marks, paid 64,000 marks, 44,000 marks *more*.

(3) Dwelling houses which hitherto, with a communal value of 199 million marks, paid 831,000 marks, 110,900 marks *less*—13½ per cent.

In spite of a sitting of more than four hours, only the general discussion could be disposed of.

On 21st June, at a fresh sitting, which lasted four and a half hours, the special debate was finished, and the decisive part of the proposal accepted by a majority of 30 to 20 votes, but when the formal and final vote was about to be taken upon the whole proposal, the embittered opponents of it left the room, and by means of a powerful obstruction, made the result inconclusive. Only on 24th June was the business finally completed.

Our League took part in this fight by a public meeting held on 28th April, and extraordinarily well attended. Speaking with our friends before the meeting, I found divided opinions. "Speak as mildly as possible, confine yourself to the revenue tax," said one. From another came the advice, "Bring our programme forward without reserve."

In my speech I followed rather the latter counsel. It is a widely spread error that we can by anxious prudence win our opponents. In a question like that of the tax on communal values, which theoretically and practically seems perfectly clear, it is for the most part the will of individuals which consciously opposes us. But the will of those who have not yet grappled adequately with the question is best won by a clear, unvarnished statement of the justice of our principles.

But again there is a tactical point of view. As I was once going to speak in another large town, I had a preliminary conversation with the Mayor, and this is what he said—"If you wish to open a way here for land reform, speak to-night as sharply as at all possible. I can then all the more easily appeal to my being not nearly so bad as you, although I do not mistake "the authorised essence" of land reform. With such an indication I think I can best lead on my people."

The victory in Dantzig has been hardly won. All the greater will be the success in the whole east of our Fatherland, when experience clearly establishes how rich in blessing this step in land reform really is.—A. DAMASCHKE, in the *Deutsche Volkstimme*, 5th July.

An excellent monthly magazine, "Ret" Slagelse. (Right), which comes to us from Slagelse,

a city of about 20,000 inhabitants some 50 or 60 miles from Copenhagen, is the organ of the Henry George association of that city. This Association (reports *The Public*), of which nothing has heretofore been published in our country, was organized in 1902 with 24 members. In 1903 the membership had increased to 407 and in 1905 to 550. Its work has consisted in circulating literature,

providing copy for the newspapers and magazines, and promoting single tax lectures. What must be even more encouraging to single taxers than the existence of so large a society in Denmark where the agitation is spontaneous, is the fact, for which "Ret" vouches, that the monthly magazines and weekly newspapers of Denmark open their columns readily and gladly to single tax contributions. The daily papers, however, are more cautious. Although they do not reject, they hesitate. The George idea seems so simple and plausible that they apparently harbour discreet fears that in some mysterious way it may be dangerously "loaded."

In resuming the debate on the second reading **Natal.** of the House Tax Bill (July 11th), Mr. Anckettill said that, primarily, he could not support the tax, because it was a tax on industry. Men would seek modes of concealing the values of their houses, so as to escape the tax as far as possible. So far as the tax applied to natives and Indians, it would lead to overcrowding and insanitary conditions, in order to avoid the tax. The Government wished to tax the people by direct taxation, and the Opposition wished to tax the people by indirect taxation. He had no sympathy with either side at the present moment. He was opposed to the direct mode of taxation, which was based upon labour—the interests of labour and the rewards of labour; consequently he advocated a land value tax. It was no burden on the individual. The land value was the natural revenue of every country.

SELF HELP.*

This was not the kind of landlord that fills the flowing bowl. It was a Benevolent Company that wished to get credit from the dear public for benevolence—if there wasn't any extra charge. Therefore it encouraged thrift in its men.

So this goodly Company began to work on the land that the dear public had granted to it (of course, the Company itself didn't work, but its "hands" did). Then it sold to the workmen the land which their presence had made valuable, and loaned them back the money to put up what they called "houses" on their land.

After a while there was a strike against a reduction in wages, and some of the workmen wanted to look elsewhere for work. But they had their little homes (mortgaged) there, so they could not leave, therefore they had to accept the reduction.

Ah, what a beautiful thing it is to help the poor to homes! It blesseth him that gives and him that takes—the mortgage.

* From "The Game of Life," by Bolton Hall. Post free, 2/4, from these Offices.

"What we aim at is simply the culmination of Christianity. It is simply the carrying into effect of the golden rule. It is simply the bringing on earth of that kingdom of righteousness for which the Master told his disciples to pray, and therefore to work. . . . It is no mere dream of dreamers. It is no mere imagining of a crank, or cranks. We believe it is possible to abolish involuntary poverty. We believe it is possible to bring about a state of society in which there will be work for all, leisure for all, abundant opportunities for development for all, because we believe that God is good, because we believe that His laws do not support injustice, that they are such as will give their fullest development to all reasonable human hopes and aspirations; and here in New Zealand, as there in the United States, or still more in the old country, the man who is working in this cause is working, not merely for his own children, not merely for his own community, but for the whole Anglo-Saxon race, and not only for the Anglo-Saxon race, but for the whole world; and in that spirit of fraternity which binds us all together, whether under the North Star or the Southern Cross, I thank you all."—Henry George, replying to an address from the Auckland Anti-Poverty League, March, 1890.

PROFESSOR SMART & THE SINGLE TAX.

A REJOINDER, by WM. R. LESTER, M.A.*

We trust our esteemed co-worker, Mr. Wm. R. Lester, will pardon us for expressing the doubt whether Professor Smart's book was really worthy of his clear, lucid and vigorous rejoinder. For it seems to us that Professor Smart has produced a most commonplace and far from forcible plea for the continuance of things as they are, an appeal to ignorance and prejudice rather than to reason; and we doubt whether it has ever estranged a single possible recruit from our cause. If nothing more convincing can be produced by our most highly-placed opponents, who claim to sit in Moses' seat, then we must certainly have an unanswerable cause: as indeed we have, as even Dr. Smart in his closing remarks unwillingly, perhaps unconsciously, reveals. However, if it has had no other effect than to call for Mr. Lester's closely-reasoned rejoinder, we have cause to be grateful to Professor Smart for having published his book. For in his answer Mr. Lester has managed to place our fundamental principle convincingly before his readers. The difference in the position of the two writers may be briefly summarised. Dr. Smart's book is a plea for the continuance of the present "time-honoured system of taxation," to use his own words. Mr. Lester's rejoinder is a plea for a fundamental change therein in accordance with the demands of common sense and justice. To Mr. Lester, as to ourselves, Equity, or Justice, is the fundamental concept all political and "moral science that is rational." Dr. Smart, on the other hand, boldly ventures to differentiate between morality and justice; and, though apparently willing to offer his valuable services "to expound the first principles of public morals on public platforms," frankly warns us that in his conception of public morals, as in his own special economic and social philosophy, pure justice has no place. We should, indeed, be interested to learn what Dr. Smart would substitute for it, as, to use the words of Aristotle, "the rule of the social state, and the very criterion of what is right." Perhaps Dr. Smart may yet condescend to enlighten our ignorance on this fundamental point: our columns are open to him. We sincerely trust that he will do so, more especially as there was a time when apparently his conceptions of both morality and economics were very different from what they are to-day.

In 1891 Dr. Smart had evidently learnt to subordinate "the economic ideal," or at all events his own economic ideas, to the political and moral. He then taught us that "the kingdom of man is not divided, so that in one part of his life a man is guided by the instinct of plunder, in another by the instinct of affection. The divine powers that are in man only awake under exercise, and come to their consummation only in congenial work. But this work must be consciously dominated by a social [or moral?] purpose: that purpose being the rise of all men to similar chances of true life in labour." This latter purpose manifestly animates and illumines Mr. Lester's Rejoinder, but not Dr. Smart's book. Since he thus forcibly formulated it, Dr. Smart's rise, or fall, has been great indeed. When he thus vigorously flung a true thought into words, he was not yet Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy at the University of Glasgow, but plain Mr. Smart, LL.D.; nor was he then the self-appointed champion of those who gather in the golden harvest—stained though it may be with the blood and tears of the toiling masses—of anti-social monopoly and privilege, of those whose social policy and philosophy is inspired by what he then well termed "the instinct of plunder," and whose one social purpose is to hinder, not to promote, "the rise of all men to similar chances of true life in labour." Is it too much to hope that Mr. Lester's Rejoinder may do some little to aid Dr. Smart's return to the nobler creed of his earlier years?

* "Professor Smart and the Single Tax: A Rejoinder," by Wm. R. Lester, M.A. Post free, 2d.; 1/6 per dozen, post free.

ENGLISH NEWS AND NOTES.

[All communications respecting this column should be sent to the General Secretary, English League for the Taxation of Land Values, 376 and 377 Strand, London, W.C.]

The annual dinner of the League ("Henry George Commemoration") will be held on Thursday, September 21st, at the Villa Restaurant, Gerrard Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, at 8 o'clock. Mr. J. H. Whitley, M.P., President of the League, is expected to take the chair. Members of the League and friends of the movement are cordially invited to be present. Applications for tickets (three shillings each) should be made, with remittance, as early as possible, to the General Secretary of the League, 376 Strand, London, W.C.

* * *

Members of the Central Council are requested to note that the next meeting of the Council will be held on Monday, October 23rd.

* * *

A Liberal agent in a county division, in forwarding his annual subscription to the League, writes:—"If the Liberals, when they come in, will only deal radically with the Land Question, there may be a new life in our country villages. At present we are robbed by the landlords and then choked by philanthropic efforts to keep us alive under the robbery. More power to the League!"

* * *

Mr. A. H. Weller, of Manchester, and Mr. W. R. Lester, M.A., have contributed useful letters to a correspondence on the Taxation of Land Values, now proceeding in the *Co-operative News*.

* * *

The Council of the Metropolitan Radical Federation, at its July meeting, unanimously adopted the following resolution, on the motion of Mr. Fredk. Verinder:—

"That the Council of the M.R.F. records its emphatic protest against the proposed grant to the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Limited, by the Government of Newfoundland, of a perpetually-renewable lease over 3000 square miles of land, inclusive of full mineral rights, at a merely nominal rent, and against the expressed wishes of the people of Newfoundland, and urges the Secretary of State for the Colonies to advise His Majesty to withhold his assent to the Bill for confirming the proposed lease until the electors of the colony shall have had an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon it at a general election."

* * *

There have been frequent enquiries for a pamphlet ("Land for the Landless: Spence and 'Spence's Plan,' 1775," by J. Morrison Davidson and Fredk. Verinder, which has been for some time out of stock, and was believed to be out of print, a small parcel of copies has just come into the hands of the League, and copies can now be supplied (1d., post free 1½d).

* * *

Dates for lectures and meetings are now being booked for the autumn and winter. Members who are unable themselves to help in this way can render good service by putting the secretaries of local clubs, associations, and societies into communication with the General Secretary, or (in the North of England) with Mr. R. Brown (Hon. Secy., Tyneside Branch), 22 Lish Avenue, Whitley Bay, R.S.O., Northumberland; or with Mr. F. Skirrow (Yorkshire agent), 2 Darley Street, Bradford.

FREDK. VERINDER, Gen. Sec., E.L.T.L.V.

TO ADVERTISERS.

We have NO WASTE COPIES. All our "returns" are regularly distributed at Political, Literary, Social Reform, and other Public Meetings. "LAND VALUES" finds a place in the Public Libraries and Reading Rooms, and in Social and Reform circles in the cities and towns throughout Britain, in all British Colonies, and in the United States of America.

ENGLISH LEAGUE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The hall of Clifford's Inn was well filled with members and friends, including many from the provinces, for the annual meeting of the League on July 19th. Mr. John Paul (secretary), Mr. G. B. Waddell and Mr. H. Llewelyn Davies (vice-presidents) of the Scottish League were warmly welcomed by the London members. Letters of regret for inability to be present were received from the Very Rev. the Dean of Durham, Mr. R. Brown (Newcastle); Mr. Alfred Billson (former president), Mr. H. S. Murray (Galashiels), Rev. T. Hill (North Somercotes), Mr. Franklin Thomasson (Bolton), and others.

In the absence of Mr. J. H. Whitley, M.P., president, who had met with an accident, Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, M.P., took the chair and delivered an address. The adoption of the annual report (printed in *Land Values* for August) was moved from the chair; and Mr. Lewis H. Berens, hon. treasurer, moved the adoption of the audited statement of accounts and balance sheet for the year ended June 30th. These were carried unanimously.

The list of nominations for president (Mr. Whitley being nominated for re-election), officers, council, and executive was submitted by Mr. Berens and approved.

Mr. Trevelyan then having to leave for the House of Commons, in order to speak and vote against the Aliens' Bill, Mr. Crompton Ll. Davies, M.A., ex-president of the League, was called to the chair.

Mr. H. Llewelyn Davies (Annan) moved:—

"That this meeting, while noting with satisfaction the growing sense of the importance of the unemployed problem, is of opinion that the true solution of that problem is to be sought, not in the creation of new authorities to organise or make work for the unemployed, but in the increased opportunities for industry which would naturally result from the taxation of land values in town and country."

This was seconded by Mr. W. R. Lester, M.A. (formerly president of the Scottish League), and, after discussion, in which Mr. R. L. Outhwaite (candidate for West Birmingham), Mr. F. Batty, and the General Secretary, took part, was carried with one dissident.

The second resolution was moved by Mr. J. Dundas White, M.A., LL.D., candidate for Dumbartonshire, as follows:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the question of an equitable redistribution of the burdens of taxation between urban and rural districts, and between one urban district and another, is one which urgently demands the attention of Parliament, and that such an equitable redistribution can only be brought about on the basis of a general and uniform taxation of land values."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Wedgwood (Liberal candidate), supported by Mr. John Paul (Glasgow), and carried unanimously.

Frau von Gronow, President of the Women's Section of the Boden der Boden Reform of Germany, delivered to the meeting a brief but warm message of fraternal greeting from the organised German co-workers in the cause.

A vote of sympathy with the President, and of thanks to him both for his past services and for his consent to serve as President during the coming year, was adopted with acclamation, on the motion of the Hon. Treasurer, seconded by Mr. James Veitch (Joint Hon. Secretary of the Tyneside Branch).

MY CRUSADE.

"Lord, I cannot help these ills alone," said I.
God said, "Why are not you a leader of revolt?"
I said, "I know not how to lead."
Then said God to me: "To be a leader is to go somewhere, and to get another to follow you.—BOLTON HALL.

THE A. B. C. OF THE COAL QUESTION.

"THE INQUISITIVE BOY."

What place is this, Pa?
 This is a coal mine, my son.
 Whose coal mine is it, Pa?
 It belongs to me, my son.
 Do all of these carloads of coal belong to you, Pa?
 Yes, my son, they all belong to me.
 My! how long did it take you to mine all that coal, Pa?
 Did you mine it all by yourself?
 No, my son; those men you see coming out of the shaft mine it for me.
 Do the men belong to you, Pa?
 No, my son, those men are free men. No man can own another in this country. If he could the other would be a slave.
 What is a slave, Pa?
 A slave, my son, is a man who has to work for another all his life for only his board and clothes.
 Why do men work so hard, do they like it?
 Well, no, I don't suppose they do, but they must work or starve.
 Are those men rich, Pa?
 Not very extensively so, my son.
 Do they own any houses, Pa?
 I rather guess not, my son.
 Have they any horses or fine clothes, and do they go to the seaside when its warm, the same as we do, Pa?
 Well, hardly. It takes them all their time to work for their living.
 What is a living, Pa?
 Why—a living—well, a living for them is what they eat and wear.
 Isn't that board and clothes, Pa?
 I suppose it is.
 Are they any better off than slaves, Pa?
 Of course they are, you foolish boy. Why, they're free; I don't make them work for me; they can leave or strike for more wages whenever they choose.
 And if they leave or strike, won't they have to work, Pa?
 Yes, of course they will; they probably will have to work for some other mine owner.
 And will they get any more than a living from him?
 No, I suppose not.
 Then, how are they any better off than slaves?
 Why, they have votes; they are free men.
 Where does all the coal come from, Pa?
 Out of the earth, and it runs in streaks and veins down under ground, my son.
 Does the coal belong to the men when they mine it, Pa?
 No, it belongs to me.
 Why does it belong to you when the men mine it, Pa?
 Because the mine is mine.
 Did you make the mine, Pa?
 No, God made it, my son.
 Did He make it for you, Pa?
 No. I bought it.
 Bought it from God?
 No, my son, from a man.
 Did the man buy it from God?
 No, of course not; he bought it from another man, I suppose.
 Did the first man it was bought from buy it from God?
 No, certainly not.
 How did he get it then? How was it his more than anyone else's, and where did he get his title?
 Oh, bother, don't keep asking such foolish questions.
 If you didn't own the mine, how would you get your living, Pa?
 Oh, I don't know; perhaps I should have to ask someone to give me work.

Would you be a miner, and go down in that dark mine to mine coal, Pa?

Maybe I would,

How would you like to go down, never see daylight for six months in a year, and mine coal for only your board and clothes, and let the man who claimed the mine have everything else?

Nobody'd care how I liked it. Poor people must work for their living.

Is steady work a good thing, Pa?

Of course it is, my son.

Then why don't you work, Pa? Nobody could keep you from mining coal, could they, Pa?

No, but I don't want to take work away from the men. If I worked I should be keeping one of them out of a job.

That's kind of you, Pa. But, if you went down in the mine, and wielded that man's pick, while he rested a while—would he feel bad about it?

Oh, phsaw! Gentlemen don't mine, and don't work—besides it keeps me busy figuring out how I can work the miners at the least cost, without doing anything myself. When you grow up, my son, and take my place, you will find it pays better to let other people do the work, and for you to work them, for all there is in it.

What are gentlemen, Pa?

Why! Gentlemen?—Men who don't need to work—The Upper Class.

I thought there wasn't any upper class in this country—I heard a man say men were equal.

The man who said it was a theorist, or a politician, or a single taxer or something, or maybe it was election time and he was trying to catch votes.

Say, Pa, my Sunday school teacher says we are all God's children. Is she a Socialist, or a Theorist, or a Single Taxer, or is she trying to catch votes.

Oh, no, that's the right thing to say in Sunday schools and churches.

Well, Pa, honest now; are those men God's children just as much as what we are?

Why, yes, my son; to be sure they are.

Say, Pa, do you remember when you bought those marbles for Jim and me, and I grabbed them all, and made Jim give me his top before I'd let him play with them, and you called me a greedy little hog, and took me down cellar and whipped me?

Yes, my son, I remember.

Well, do you think you did right?

Certainly, my son; a parent does right to correct his children and keep them from acquiring bad principles. I bought those marbles for both of you—your brother Jim had as much right to them as you had.

Well, Pa, if those men are God's children, just as much as you are, then you and they are brothers, aren't you?

Yes, my son.

And didn't God make the earth, and the coal and the minerals in the earth, for all His children?

Yes, I suppose so.

Then what right have you or anyone else to have all the coal and other natural resources, any more than I had to have all the marbles?

Oh, bother, don't ask such stupid questions.

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THE WATER LORDS.*

A certain prophet took up his parable of "Equality" and said:—

"There was a certain very dry land, and all the water was brought together in one place, and there did the capitalists make a great tank to hold it. And the capitalists said unto the people:

"For every bucket of water that ye bring to us that we may pour it into the tank, which is the market, behold we will give you a penny, but for every bucket that we shall draw forth to give unto you ye shall give us two pennies, and the difference shall be our profit, seeing that if it were not for this profit we should not do this thing for you, but ye should all perish."

"And it was good in the people's eyes, for they were dull of understanding.

"After many days the water tank, which was the market, overflowed at the top, seeing that for every bucket that the people poured in they received only so much as would buy again half a bucket.

"And the capitalists said unto the people: 'See ye not the tank, which is the market, doth overflow! Sit ye down therefore and be patient, for ye shall bring us no more water till the tank be empty.'

"And the saying went abroad, 'It is a crisis.'

"And the thirst of the people was great, for it was not now as it had been in the days of their fathers, when the land was open before them, for everyone to seek water for himself, seeing that the capitalists had taken all the springs, and the wells, and the water-wheels, and the vessels, and the buckets, so that no man might come by water save from the tank, which was the market."

One of the sons of Belial answered him and said, "Verily, the capitalists were fools."

And the prophet answered, "Go to. The wicked man is always the fool."

Then said the son of Belial, "I will go three or four. Therefore were the capitalists three-fold fools? When they had taken the springs, and the wells, and the rivers, and the lakes, they needed not to have spent their strength to make a tank. Wherefore did they not require of the people all that they had as an hire for drawing water from the sources thereof?"

The prophet answered, "Because it is not so written by Karl Marx."

The son of Belial answered, "Nay, thou hast not read his word, for it is so written in the book of Capital, in the last chapter thereof."

And the prophet answered, "But I was bewildered with many words before I had got to the end thereof."

The son of Belial answered, "If thy servant had been of these people, then had he taken unto himself of the springs and would have let the tank rot"

The prophet answered, "That were well, but it sufficeth not; they must take also the water wheels and the vessels."

And the son of Belial answered him again, "But as for us, we will take first that which pertaineth unto us and to our father's house, and if such sufficeth not for thee, then canst thou take something else."

* From "The Game of Life," by Bolton Hall. Post free, 2/4, from these Offices.

HOW TO BE GREAT.

The children sat down to the table. Willy said, as he staked out a claim to the chairs, "My foresight was such that I secured these sites—seats, I mean."

Johnny, by the connivance of the servants, scooped in all the salad oil. He remarked, as he handed the waiter a bribe, "The Lord gives this to me as a Trust." Georgie said, "By my honesty and industry I secured control of this passageway, and I am entitled to all that the traffic will bear."—BOLTON HALL.

THE PATRIOTIC INVESTMENT SOCIETY, LIMITED.

The above Society, whose advertisement appears in our columns, was established about the middle of last year. The objects of the Society being primarily to assist those who were desirous of becoming their own landlords. The Society would particularly draw the attention of our readers to the favourable contract offered in conjunction with a Life Assurance Policy issued by the General Life Assurance Company, of 103 Cannon Street, London, E.C., a company whose accumulated funds exceed £2,000,000. We quote for example from the Society's prospectus:—

A person, age 25, by taking out a Certificate for £500, at a monthly subscription of £1 8s. 11d., or £15 6s. 4d. annually (which includes the premium for the Life Policy), would be entitled, at the end of 5 years, to an advance (out of the available funds of the Society) of £500 to purchase a house of equal value. The rental value of the property would be about £38 per annum. His repayments, including principal, interest, and insurance premium, would average £9 19s. 2d. per quarter, or about the same as the rent he would pay to the landlord for the hire of the house. In the event of his death before obtaining the advance, the Life Policy (£500), issued by the General Life Assurance Company, would become payable by the General Life Assurance Company along with any bonus allotted by this Society to his representatives; or should he die after he has secured an advance, no further payments would have to be made, as by the aid of the policy of the General Life Assurance Company and the amount from the funds of the Society, the balance of the loan would be paid off, the Society handing over the Mortgage Deeds to its legal representatives. On the other hand, should he live, the quarterly payments would extinguish the loan at the end of the period selected. He can, however, pay off at any time any sum not less than £1, thus reducing his interest, or he can repay the whole of the loan, by giving three months' notice.

We might add that the Society undertakes to lend a Certificate holder, after 12 months, 80 per cent. of the surveyor's valuation, so that it is not necessary if one has a little capital to wait the five years.

The advantages, the Society urges, offered to the public under a scheme of this sort are even better than under an ordinary 20 or 30 years'-end Policy. It is estimated that a person taking up a Certificate with the Society would effect a saving of from 20 per cent. to 30 per cent. than if he took out an Endowment Policy, and he would not have to wait 20 or 30 years for the Policy to mature before he could begin to reap a benefit. It is also to be noted that Certificates are issued without a Life Policy, the premiums, of course, being very much less. The conditions as regards Surrenders, Free-paid-up Certificates, the Society maintains are very fair, the amounts being written on the Certificates; in this way the holder knows what to expect in the event of his being unable to continue his subscriptions. This is better than being at the mercy of the Directors.

We understand that this is the first House Purchase Society to grant this concession, and we think it is a proof that the Directors are desirous of acting fairly to those who, unfortunately, are unable to continue their subscriptions.

The Society is registered under "The Provident Societies' Act, 1893-1895," and the authorized capital is £100,000 divided into 75,000 Ordinary and 25,000 6 per cent. Preference Shares of £1 each, but according to the Share Prospectus only 20,000 Ordinary and 5,000 6 per cent. Preference Shares are being offered, payable 2/6 on application and 2/6 on allotment.

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DEMOCRACY AND REACTION.*

Those of our readers, and we believe they are numerous, who have felt themselves profoundly discouraged, almost to the point of despairing of the future, by the wave of reaction that during the past twenty or thirty years has invaded and paralysed almost every department of human thought and activity, will derive much comfort and encouragement from the pages of this thoughtful and philosophic book. For in it the material and intellectual causes of this reaction are carefully analysed; its true character, as well as the base uses to which it has been put, is ruthlessly exposed, and the promise of a new era of further social progress is clearly indicated. To its author, Mr. L. T. Hobhouse, as to ourselves, the problem of social progress is the problem of social justice. To the average man in the streets, as to the select Baliol men who to-day play such a prominent *role* in the administration of the non self-governing parts of our world-wide Empire, social justice may seem but a dream, a mere figment of a disordered imagination, which can be disregarded and disobeyed with impunity. To others, with more profound insight into the conditions under which man—a social and therefore an ethical being—has to live and work, and who in consequence realise that mutual aid, not mutual strife, is the animating principle of social—national and international—life, social justice seems the one thing indispensable to civilisation, forming as it does the fundamental law of peaceful social union, disobedience or disregard of which is, in truth, the unpardonable sin, the sin for which there is no forgiveness, and from the inevitable consequences of which there is no escape. We do not wish to suggest that Mr. Hobhouse as yet sees eye to eye with us as to what social justice demands and involves. But he evidently recognises its overwhelming importance. In fact, he is manifestly animated by those ideals of personal freedom, social justice, national rights, and international peace which inspired the social reformers of the past century, including Cobden and Henry George, and which to-day are again re-asserting their influence, even though materialists, politicians and bureaucrats, of the Balfour, Chamberlain, and Milner type, would fain see them relegated to the lumber room of discarded ideas. Hence it is that earnest progressives, whether Liberals, Georgians, or Collectivists, would do well to see that his book finds a place in every library to which they resort. Not the least of its merits is that it crushingly confutes much specious and spurious reasoning which, though it might not have gained a hearing some thirty years ago, to-day finds a welcome in minds shaped and dominated by that wave of reaction to which we have already referred, and to combat which the book has evidently been written.

L. H. B.

*"Democracy and Reaction." By L. T. Hobhouse. Publisher, Fisher Unwin, London. Price 5s. net.

OWNING LAND-USER DISAPPEARING.

"All over the world the land-owning land-user is gradually disappearing. First, he borrows and so falls into the hands of the money-lender; later he is sold out, and vanishes to reappear as a tenant. Even in America this process is proceeding steadily, and it has visibly commenced amongst ourselves in Australia. And as with the Trusts, so with the landlords; the big ones begin to eat up the little ones, and estates to increase in size, superficially and financially. Some admirers of this process say it is proof that the large owner can put the land to more productive use. This is obviously nonsense, because the great land buyers have rarely the least intention of putting the land to any use at all, but only to make a profit out of the man who does use it.

"BUYING AS AN INVESTMENT.—More and more land is coming to be bought up as an *investment*, that is, not to use but to prevent anybody else from using except for the highest

rent that can be got by practically open tender, that is, for the most money that can be squeezed out of the most eager applicant. Land is gradually passing into the hands of the rich, not for better use, but for larger exploitation. It does this in two ways, or for two reasons.

"FIRST REASON.—On the large sheep stations there occur periodically droughts or diseases of some kind, that send the squatter to the money-leader, from whose clutches he rarely escapes, and the small land-owner generally incurs the same fate from very similar causes, and the Banks eventually foreclose. But it is a bad sign for a country when most of its land is owned by the Banks.

"THE CHIEF REASON.—But the second and chief reason, one that operates everywhere is, that the ordinary land user has to live by his work and so must have quick returns; while the rich investor can afford to accept a very small return for his capital, or even none at all, for a few years, in view of the increase of land value later on; and no kind of investment is so safe (except State Bonds which consequently yield little interest and offer no prospect of a later rise). So the rich investor can afford to give a higher price for the land than the actual user can, and cuts him out. It is this, and not any superior ability to use, that is consigning land generally into the possession of the rich. Superior ability to use does not come in anywhere. Everywhere the user of the land is ceasing to be the owner."—A. J. OGILVY, in *Land and Labour*.

THE SUM OF KNOWLEDGE.—"Fear God," said the clergyman. But my soul answered, "I am not afraid of God—He is a friend of mine.—BOLTON HALL.

Our purpose, our aim, is, by abolishing monopolies, by giving to each his equal right and his equal opportunity, to bring about a state of things in which no human being shall suffer want, unless it be by his own fault; in which there shall be no child that shall go hungry; in which there shall be no woman, be she maid, wife, or widow, who will be driven to unsex herself by hard and unseemly work; to bring about a state of things in which there shall be work for all, leisure for all, opportunity for all; in which not merely the necessities of life, but even the luxuries and the refinements of a high civilization shall be the portion of all. We have a faith—that our Father in heaven did not decree poverty, but that it exists because of the violation of His law. We have a belief—that poverty can be abolished by conforming human laws and institutions to the great principles of equal justice. And having this faith, and having this belief, we have a destiny. That destiny is to abolish poverty in the United States of America, and in doing so, to fire a beacon that will light the whole world!—HENRY GEORGE, "God Will it." Speech, Sept. 4th, 1887.

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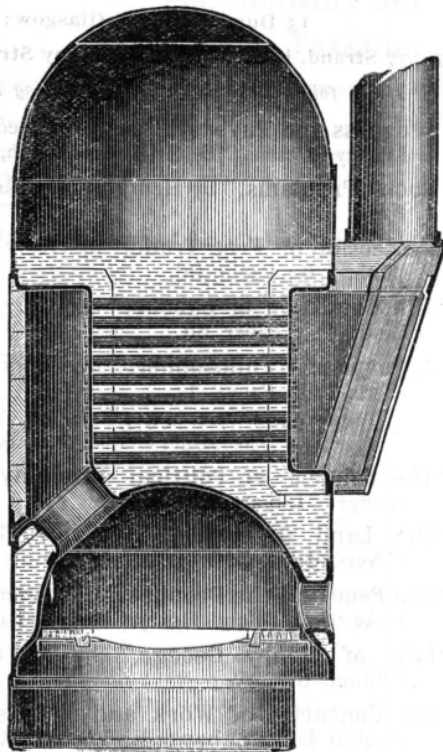
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