

# Land Values

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## CONTENTS.

NOTES OF THE MONTH:—	
Mr. Churchill and Henry George .. .. .	177
Withholding Land in Middlesex .. .. .	178
Mining Developments in Lancashire .. .. .	178
Cost of Valuation at Leeds .. .. .	178
Increased Land Value in Manchester .. .. .	179
Poverty in North London .. .. .	179
LEADING ARTICLE:—	
Our Strength and Weakness .. .. .	180
SPECIAL ARTICLES:—	
Louis F. Post and Henry George, Jr., on the Elections .. .. .	181, 182
A Leader in the Movement.—Joseph Fels .. .. .	183
HERE AND THERE .. .. .	184
PEERS ON THE PLATFORM .. .. .	185
POLITICAL SPEECHES AND WRITINGS:—	
Mr. Lloyd George on Unemployment .. .. .	186
The Prime Minister at Brighton .. .. .	188
Lord Lansdowne on Unemployment .. .. .	189
Lord Lansdowne on Land Valuation and Ownership .. .. .	189
THE ELECTION:—	
Final Result and Position of Parties .. .. .	189
Election Notes .. .. .	190
RATING ANOMALIES IN KENSINGTON, LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE .. .. .	191
SUMMARY OF SALES BY AUCTION in 1908 and 1909 .. .. .	191
NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT:—	
Manchester, Bolton, and Scottish Notes .. .. .	192
What the English League is doing .. .. .	192
COLONIAL AND FOREIGN:—	
Rating in Sydney, N.S.W. .. .. .	193
Taxation of Land in Western Pacific Islands .. .. .	194
Land Values in Germany (Berlin) .. .. .	194
Peasant Ownership in France .. .. .	194
ELECTION LITERATURE .. .. .	195, 196, 197
CARTOON: "THE SOURCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT" .. .. .	198

## NOTES OF THE MONTH.

### Notable Liberal Progress.

"At the moment when their opponents were forging new chains of monopoly for national industry, Liberals were prepared to break the old chains which had long oppressed the national land. (Hear, hear). Land Reform and Free Trade stood together. They stood together with Henry George (cheers), with Richard Cobden, and they stood together in the Liberal policy to-day." (Cheers).

This is a report of Mr. Winston Churchill's statement at Derby on January 11th, and of its reception. Taken together with Mr. Lloyd George's reasoned statement on unemployment at the Queen's Hall on December 31st, its significance can hardly be overestimated. This public recognition of Land Reform as the first part of Liberal policy and of Henry George as its leading exponent marks the opening of a new era in the history of our country.

### Low Rents or High Prices.

Give the agriculturist security against a succession of low, unprofitable prices which tend to increase the area under pasture and many a well-established grass field will be rebroken to the plough, the country mills will be revived, feeding offals will be plentiful, the dairy farmer will

grow more winter food, and every branch of agriculture will flourish.

The MORNING POST of January 11th thus advocates the development of the country by means of a tariff which will keep up prices. But the agriculturist would be more secure and more comfortable, if the rents were kept sufficiently low. It would be well not only with himself but with his customers. Give the farmers and labourers plenty of room between rents and prices, to obtain interest on their capital and wages for their labour, and nothing can injure them. It is easy to keep rents low, it is easy to guard against a succession of high, unprofitable rents, if we face landlordism and exterminate it, if we take from Lord Lansdowne and his friends the right of selecting the people who are to cultivate the soil, and of dictating absolutely the terms on which it will be cultivated.

### Farm Labourers and Land Values.

Farmers and their labourers, especially in the lonely districts of the county, are taking great interest in the election campaign. The attendances at the various meetings are, as a rule, large, and candidates are not having it all their own way with the hecklers and questioners. I was at a meeting the other evening when two young labourers asked some rather pertinent questions as to small holdings and the taxation of land values. In fact they apparently knew more about the Small Holdings Act than the candidate did himself. This shows that the advance of education, coupled with a cheap press, has done much to enlighten the toilers.

The writer of "Nottinghamshire Notes," in the MARK LANE EXPRESS of January 17th, thus describes the interest taken in the election there. In many parts of the country the educational fruits of the election are of greater importance than any other. This impartial testimony to the fact that "the toilers," the agricultural labourers, are actually educating candidates for Parliament on the land question is most significant.

### Small Holdings and Land Values in Gloucester.

At a recent meeting of the Gloucester County Council, Mr. Lister, Chairman of the Small Holdings Committee, said that they had been fortunate enough to buy a quantity of land at Ebrington. The price paid was considerably higher than the land was sold for a few years ago. He did not know whether the Small Holdings Act had had anything to do with the matter, but it was undoubtedly the fact that anything like desirable land was now fetching an exceedingly good price.

We are afraid the Act still has the tendency to send up the price of land, and to make it more difficult for the small holders to secure farms on easy terms. From various reports it is evident that the landlords are withholding the land until they get the last shilling for it.

### A New Form of an Old Fallacy.

"Taxing the food of the people is one of the burning questions of the coming election; the discussion of it relates usually to bread and meat, the food of adults. But any dietist will urge the importance of milk in those households where there are growing children. Milk must be produced from our own soil; the daily supply

cannot be imported. At the present juncture it does not appear that sufficient attention has been paid to the effect which increased burdens on land—and especially on land in urban districts which is largely taken up in dairy-farming—may have on the price of that most important food of the young, milk.

Mr. F. O. Bower, Professor of Botany in Glasgow University, writes thus in the *SPECTATOR* of January 15th. We should have thought that anyone in Mr. Bower's position would have considered the subject more carefully before making such a statement. We can hardly conceive by what process of reasoning men reach the conclusion that what they call a tax on land would lessen the production of its fruits. If it were conceivable, as so many people seem to think, that the burden of taxation should actually and literally fall on land, it would be reasonable to expect that such a burden would squeeze milk or something else out of the land, but since land cannot be taxed, but only land owners or land users, and since the present proposal is to tax the land owners who do nothing to produce milk, but only take the cream, and so relieve the land users who produce the milk, the milk supply is quite safe.

#### The Wicked Budget.

Mr. Gerald Balfour, speaking at Dunbar on January 12th, said that the Budget was not only bad politically and financially, but it stood in the way of a better system—Tariff Reform, which Unionists held would encourage home industries and diminish unemployment.

A certain lordly arrogance characterises the Tariff Reformers. Because they hold that Tariff Reform would encourage home industries, everything and everybody must get out of the way of Tariff Reform. These are the men who use armies and navies to clear their path abroad, and who use gamekeepers to clear moors, mountains, and rivers of people at home. They are the landlords who have dictated terms to all men, and who resent any check imposed on their ambitions. Times are changing once more.

#### The Idle Land Industry.

A building estate of ninety-two acres between Sudbury and Wembley, known as Vale Farm, and producing £191 per annum by way of an agricultural rent, was offered on January 10th, and £32,000 or nearly £350 per acre, was actually bid; but this, to the surprise of many, did not meet the views of the vendor, and the lot was withdrawn, with the intimation that an offer of between £40,000 and £50,000 might be considered.

This report is from the *WESTMINSTER GAZETTE* of January 14th. The price offered is about 170 years' purchase of the agricultural rent. The rateable value will be still less than the rent, and only half of the rates payable on other subjects is levied on this land. It is therefore easy for the vendor to withhold his 92 acres from the builders. This land is from ten to twelve miles from London, and it is not too much to say that this policy of managing it is typical of most of the estates within a similar distance. Surely the valuation proposals of the Budget should appeal to these hungry bidders who have been so unceremoniously turned off. The development of 92 acres of land for building purposes would employ some of the surplus labour and some of the capital that is said to be going abroad.

#### Mining Developments in Lancashire.

Important developments of coal mines in Lancashire were announced on January 6th. These developments are to involve an expenditure of about £1,000,000. It is stated that contracts for the sinking of new mines and the erection of extensive surface works have been placed by several leading colliery owners. Amongst others who are developing and improving their properties are the Earl of Ellesmere, the Clifton and Kearsley Coal Company,

Astley and Tyldesley Coal Company, Pilkington Coal Company, Bryn Hall Colliery Company, and the Moss Hall Colliery Company.

These activities in the mining industry will contribute to the prosperity of other industries throughout the country, and should still further stimulate trade which has begun to show signs of improvement. It may be more than a coincidence that so many of those enterprises have been undertaken since the serious proposal was made to tax land on its value apart from the use to which it was put.

#### The Cost of Present Valuation.

At a meeting of the Leeds City Council on January 5th, Mr. Badley called attention to the fact that £6,721 had been paid for the transfer of land from the owner of Templenewsam to the people of Leeds. He estimated the total cost of the arbitration would be at least £60,000. "During the recent snowstorm," he said, "men were fighting each other in order to get a day's work at a mere pittance. Yet they paid a man £90 a day to tell them that land two miles away was nearer to the city than if it were a hundred miles away." The objectors to the Government valuation might satisfy the citizens of Leeds on this point. They say that a universal valuation scheme is extravagant if it costs two millions, but here is a petty valuation of 600 acres which costs £60,000. With the Government valuation, the people of Leeds might get all the land within a radius of five miles valued for half this sum.

#### A Single Taxer supports the Tories.

Mr. James Watts, who is one of the captains of industry in Lancashire, and the name of whose firm is coveted by every movement that puts forth a list of supporters announces to-day, in a letter over his own signature, that, he is giving his countenance to the Unionists because, being a follower of Henry George, he finds that the land taxes proposed by the Budget are not in line with Henry George's principles. Mr. Watts is cordially in favour of land valuation, and he sighs for "One reasonable tax on all land values," which he says, "would have been simple, just, and a beginning." But the Budget, he urges, having put a tax upon land, ought to have taken a like amount off labour, as apparently it fails to do. No one to whom I have spoken knows quite what Mr. Watts means; but while some other reason than that the Budget does not go far enough would have been more acceptable, the fact that Mr. James Watts is on the side of the Unionists in this election is an asset of incalculable value to that party. On the other side, the principal event of the day is that some 800 leaders of the cotton trade have issued the manifesto, published in *THE TIMES* this morning affirming their belief in Free Trade, as the best Fiscal system for the country, and endorsing the views which have recently been set forth by Mr. W. C. Macara.

This is from the Manchester correspondent of *THE TIMES* on January 14th. We are sorry that our old and esteemed friend, Mr. Watts, thought it his duty to oppose the Budget. When the Tories are fighting against the Budget for the sole reason that it introduces the principle of the Single Tax, it seems a doubtful policy to assist them because a larger measure of the principle is not embodied in the Budget. There cannot be a "reasonable tax on all land values" until there is a complete valuation, and as a matter of practical business the provision of a valuation is enough for any one bill. The fight over the taxes will come later.

#### Mixing Individualism and Socialism.

At a Unionist meeting at Leeds Mr. Joseph Watson, head of the firm of Joseph Watson and Sons (Limited), soap makers, appeared for the first time on a political platform and warmly supported Mr. Gordon, the Unionist candidate.



Mr. Watson said the present system was prejudicial to employment. He had up to a few months ago been a Free Trader, but he was now a Tariff Reformer. He pointed to countries to which soap could not be exported, and held that this could not be right. (Disturbance). Mr. Watson, replying to Mr. Winston Churchill, said that much of the money spent in building the Selby Oil Factory of the firm had been spent in Leeds. Could it be right that so much soap should come here free of duty? He had that day addressed 600 workpeople, and had offered to give 5 per cent. addition in wages, and eventually £500 to the Leeds Infirmary and £500 to the Unemployed if the cost of living were increased under Tariff Reform. (Cries of "Soft Soap").

The conflict of the Budget has called forth a number of offers on the part of lordly and wealthy Protectionists to play the part of gods if the people will play the part of devils. "Work evil," they say, "on a national scale, and we shall make good the evil on an individual scale. We are big individuals, millionaires and members of the House of Lords. If you interfere with the trade of forty-three million people; if you deprive them of the liberty of buying where they please and raise the cost of living, we shall give 6d. each to all the people on our estates, in our factories, and £500 to an infirmary and £500 to the unemployed"—who, by the way, are not to exist. We hope the people of this country at least are getting clearer ideas as to what societies and individuals can do and ought to do, and what they cannot do and ought not to do.

#### Far-reaching Socialism.

The Earl of Dundonald, speaking at Rotherham on Jan. 6th, strongly advocated Tariff Reform as a remedy for unemployment. But even with Tariff Reform there would be cycles of depression, and populous towns and counties should acquire agricultural estates in the Colonies, and vigorously develop them in times of commercial depression. Capital employed in that way would be remunerative, and a healthy life, with a prospect of a homestead of his own, would be the prize within the reach of every man, who would otherwise become a burden upon the country, perhaps to be kept by doles just above starving point, a perpetual menace to the level of wages of every employed man, throughout the country.

We should say that this proposition would seem novel even to a professed Socialist. Nationalisation of the land at home is bad enough in the eyes of the Lords, but to advocate the municipal ownership of land in distant Colonies is going very far. No suggestion seems too preposterous to the landlords which depopulates this country of its industrious occupants and makes it the playground of idle monopolists. Their solution of the land question is always the transportation of troublesome people to other lands.

#### The Hereditary Principle.

Mr. J. Campbell-Bannerman, a nephew of the late Liberal Leader, (Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman), presiding on Jan. 5th at a meeting at Hunton in support of Captain Spender Clay, Unionist Candidate for the Tonbridge Division of Kent, spoke strongly against the Budget, stating that if it became law a comparatively small landowner like himself would probably have to get rid of 25 per cent. of his employees. He approved of Tariff Reform, and of the imposition of a 40s. duty on foreign hops. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's remarks were loudly cheered by a crowded audience.

It is well known that the Liberal Party in the House of Lords suffers terribly between the unnatural basis on which it is composed and the natural law of reversion to type

according to which its landlord members become Tories. The case of Mr. Campbell-Bannerman is a sad illustration of this.

#### Carlisle's Water and its Price.

In our issue for November, 1909, we quoted a statement made by Sir Benjamin Scott in the Carlisle Town Council with reference to the Geltsdale water scheme. Sir Benjamin Scott said that the Earl of Carlisle as owner of the land had demanded £33,000. Lord Carlisle has written to the Press stating that he offered to give the land in question for £10,000 and it was only after this offer had been refused and the case had gone to arbitration that the witnesses on his behalf had placed the value at £33,000. Valuers for the Carlisle Corporation estimated this value at £3,000. We had no intention of reflecting on Lord Carlisle, but we do maintain that this absurd practice of valuing land for public purposes by putting forward notoriously extravagant estimates should be ended.

#### Increase of Land Value in Manchester.

According to the MANCHESTER EVENING NEWS of December 18th, 1909, the site of the Eagle Insurance Building, at the corner of Cross Street and King Street, Manchester, was sold in 1881 at the rate of £290,400 per acre. In May, 1900, it was resold at double the price, or at the rate of £580,800 per acre.

The site of the Reference Library in King Street, Manchester, was bought by the Corporation in 1829 for the Old Town Hall at the rate of £24,583 per acre. Three years ago it was disposed of at the rate of £522,720 per acre.

In 1630 Humphrey Booth founded the Booth Charities upon the income from two plots of land in the open country near Manchester, then bringing in £19 a year. One plot at the corner of Piccadilly and Port Street now brings in about £4,500 a year; and the other plot, fronting Oxford Street and Great Bridgewater Street, now brings in about £8,500 a year, making a total of £13,000 a year. The present value is 684 times the value in 1630.

In 1792 a Manchester citizen named Clark died and left a bequest to the city in the form of land, which then produced £320 a year. In 1906 the income from Clark's land had risen to £3,318.

#### A Story of Poverty.

THE TIMES of January 10th told the following story: At Hackney Coroner's Court on January 8th, Dr. Wynne Westcott inquired into the death of Emily Longes, aged 59 a spinster, a machinist, who had shared a single room with her sister at a lodging house in Graham Road, N.E. The evidence showed that on December 26th she "broke down" through gradual starvation. The sister informed the coroner that she had been keeping up the home by selling "little things," a watch, a few trinkets, and furniture. She had also sold several canaries, and had one or two more to part with. Her sister once had provisions from the guardians, but afterwards she told the witness they had declined to help her again. She did not know why. The Coroner.—She suffered from want of food and necessities? The witness.—During the last week of her illness she had grapes and beef tea and other things. The Coroner.—At the cost of your own ruin, by selling up your home? The witness.—Oh, I chanced that. The landlady of the house said the two sisters were "very respectable people," and the medical evidence showed that death was due to exhaustion through want of food. The witness understood that the dead woman had earned from 5s. to 8s. a week as a machinist, and out of this she maintained her sister for some time. The sister.—Not altogether. I would work hard one day and break down the next. The jury returned a verdict in accordance with the medical evidence.

### "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.*

### OUR STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS.

It is a civil conflict. In spite of attempted diversions this election, like the last, has had little to do with foreign questions; it has fallen back steadily round internal systems and internal relationships. It closely resembles the conflict between Charles Stuart and the Parliament. The first engagement has been more decisive than Edgehill; if not so decisive as Marston Moor. The encroaching domination of the Lords has been checked. They have followed Charles in their tactics; they have made enemies of the North, and particularly of Scotland, and they have been heavily beaten there. They have succeeded where Charles succeeded—in the Midland and Southern Counties under their personal influence. They have insolently rejected every measure which the Scottish people demanded, and they have had their candidates thrown out with increased majorities against them.

The Scottish Smallholders' Bill, the Scottish Land Values Bill, and the Budget have kept Scotland true to the Government. The Budget, the one measure dealing with land in England on the land values principle, has by the testimony of men in every party rallied the Liberal forces in England, and it will be generally conceded that the Liberal victory is entirely due to this measure. Unfortunately, the Government limited the taxes on land values to certain kinds of land. They exempted agricultural land. They were urged to do this by Liberal members who claimed to represent the opinion of agriculturists and the counties, and who took an active part in pressing amendments for exemption. Singularly enough the agricultural counties have shown no appreciation of this, as the districts in which the Tories have gained coincide almost exactly with the districts exempted.

We regretted those and other exemptions and opposed them, but if the elections did nothing more than teach the Government the folly and weakness of making exemptions to the working of this principle, they would serve a great purpose. The Government have failed just so far as they have failed to grasp and apply this principle.

Let us briefly survey the issue as it has been forming for the last seven years. Since the Protectionist campaign was started in 1903 the issue has been very simple. Is

the country to abandon Free Trade, adopted in 1846, and go back to Protection, or is it to maintain Free Trade and go forward to Free Production? That issue has been raised on one side by the strong agitation for Tariff Reform, and on the other side by the agitation for the Taxation of Land Values and the valuation clauses of the Budget. We repeat that it is a simple issue, and that it is very far-reaching. We will be tedious and re-state it. Are the streams of trade flowing between this country and all parts of the world to be restricted and dried up in volume, or are the springs of production in this country which should feed the streams of trade to be opened? The Tariff Reformers, or Trade Destroyers, are clear enough on their side. Traders with foreign countries are to turn themselves into producers or manufacturers in this country—if they can. The subdivision of labour is to be checked and diminished. The Free Producers, on the other hand, have been less heard. The valuation clauses of the Budget still stand as a clear light to those who have looked into them. The Tariff Reformers have done so, and have honoured them so far as to say that their operation will postpone Tariff Reform for ever. We agree with them; and for this reason we think that Free Traders should get a clear understanding, and give a clear explanation, of this proposal which is, on the evidence of its opponents, calculated to safeguard Free Trade.

We would suggest to Liberal Ministers that the Land Clauses of the Budget contain something more than they realise or admit; that they contain something for which men not only in the manufacturing industries are waiting, but men in the agricultural industry. Ministers defend the Budget because it obtains money for social reform. It embraces a Development Bill for the benefit of agriculture, grants for Labour Exchanges and Insurance against unemployment. Well, we regard those provisions at the very best as ineffectual superfluities, and we shall give our reasons. Let us consider for a moment the Reform which gave us Free Trade. That is perhaps the greatest economic and social reform ever effected in our laws. Yet that reform obtained no money for social reform, but rather involved the loss of money to the Treasury. It was a reform which broke down barriers, gave a wider field and greater scope to capital and labour which were restrained by these barriers. The situation is the same to-day. Capital and labour are fettered. Production is the indispensable preliminary and source of trade, and production in this country is more hampered to-day than was trade in 1840. There is in this country an enormous, an incalculable mass or volume of palpitating energy in the shape of capital and labour pressing against the barriers to industrial progress, to production, but these are rigid and insurmountable. The march of Hannibal across the Alps, his melting of rocks by vinegar and fire, is nothing to the march of industry over



the impediments and under the burdens of our land and rating systems. Our brave, strong men in middle life can build roads and houses; they can plough fields and reap them, but there are some things they cannot do. They cannot pay a rent out of interest and wages, still less out of their capital; they cannot overcome the landlords' veto on the use of land. In the presence of these things they are paralysed and rendered helpless as children. It is pitiable and tragic, because they are strong men. It is an insult to offer these men charity, to offer their dependents charity. The only thing they need, the thing to which they have an unqualified right, is freedom to use their energies. To assist these men in any other way is putting out one's hand to hold the ark of the covenant for which action, we are told, a good but over-zealous man was once stricken dead.

The valuation clauses of the Budget, followed by taxation, provide for the industrial army nothing but a free opportunity to open up and colonise the country; they simply clear off the monopolies which are impregnably entrenched in its path to act as sharpshooters and underminers. In several of his speeches delivered during the elections, Mr. Asquith appealed to the verdict of the industrial centres. With one or two exceptions "they would find that the whole of the great centres of industry, whether in England or Scotland, had given an emphatic verdict in favour of Free Trade. Whatever might be the ultimate composition of the new Parliament, whatever the distribution of parties, and whatever the work in store for it, one thing might be confidently predicted even at this stage, that it was a Parliament which would not have received from the great industrial areas of the country any mandate of authority to interfere with our system of Free Trade." It is appropriate that the Prime Minister should associate himself with industry, and we hope that when the new Government is formed with its Budget majority, it will recognise that industry is a more comprehensive thing than trade, that there is not a trader who is not a user of land, that two out of every three traders are hit heavily and directly by the land system, and that the third trader is hit heavily and indirectly through the misfortune of the other two who are his customers. Indecision on the part of the leaders is the chief cause of defeats or indecisive actions in these struggles for freedom. The Budget, standing unexplained and limited so far as the principle of freeing industry or production is concerned, has won a clear victory against heavy odds, with that principle explained and set free to operate universally in the counties as in the towns, it will sweep reaction and monopoly away for ever. No Parliament since 1846 has received a mandate to interfere with Free Trade, but it will be a still more glorious achievement if there will be no Parliament after 1906 which will not do something substantial to thrust back and destroy the monopoly of land which as long as it exists must seek to crush and interfere with industry.

J. O.

## LOUIS F. POST ON THE ELECTIONS.

Mr. Louis F. Post, known to all Single Taxers as the Editor of *THE PUBLIC*, Chicago, and as the author of several of the best works on the Single Tax and its philosophy, has come to Britain to see the elections. He spoke for Mr. Brunner in Northwich Division, for Mr. Wedgwood in Newcastle-under-Lyme, for Baron de Forest in Southport, and for Mr. Dundas White in Dumbartonshire. He has kindly given his impressions of the elections in the following interview.

### 1.—WHAT IS YOUR OBJECT IN COMING TO BRITAIN AT THIS TIME?

I came for the purpose of observing the elections over here and the political campaign preceding. What I wanted to do especially was to make a comparison between your methods of campaigning and your elections and ours. But, in addition to that, I was especially interested in the issues that these elections seem to me to have raised. As an American with the English traditions of liberty strong within me, I had very pronounced sentiments in regard to the arbitrary power of your House of Lords in matters of legislation. As a disciple of Henry George for more than a quarter of a century, I was profoundly, and, I might say, primarily interested in the land question; that is to say, the taxation of land values, which the Lloyd-George Budget had raised. When I left the United States I had little knowledge of any of the other issues over here, and such knowledge as I had did not excite in me any great interest regarding them. But when I got here I found the Unionists were making precisely the same kind of campaign for Tariff protection that has bedevilled our politics for the past thirty years or more; and, inasmuch as I am an outright Free-trader, my interest was, of course, excited by this issue. Your licensing issue has had only a passing interest for me except in so far as it involves the land question. That passing interest was due to the fact that the liquor interests over here seem to have a good deal of the same disregard for political honesty that our corrupt and corrupting business interests have in the United States. In other words, I have perceived what looks to me like a tendency on the part of the liquor interest to swing the elections by other influences than argument. It is not as bad as in our country but is pretty much the same in character.

### 2.—HOW DOES THE MANNER IN WHICH CANDIDATES PRESENT THEIR CASE, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH AUDIENCES RECEIVE THEIR STATEMENTS, IMPRESS YOU?

In that respect I have been very much impressed, sometimes with unexpected similarities and sometimes with unexpected differences. The Balfour meeting at Bradford was wonderfully like our Republican meetings during the height of Mr. McKinley's campaign for the Presidency in the 'nineties. The Republicans at that time were at the height of their agitation for Protection and they resorted to all kinds of patriotic claptrap as well as to fallacious arguments and misrepresentations of facts. They brought out children to sing patriotic songs as if their own party had a monopoly of patriotism. Their songs were generally war songs, and the whole spirit of the meetings was one of warlike hostility to foreigners—especially to England. The Bradford meeting seemed like an excellent imitation, with Germany substituted for England as the foe.

At the Asquith meeting in the same hall in Bradford I was most favourably impressed with the straightforwardness of the speech and the total avoidance, both in the speech and in the behaviour of the audience, in the decorations and in the programme, with the simplicity of the affair and the absence of clap-trap. Among the meetings I have attended since I landed in England on the 5th January, have been many of what we should call minor meetings, although they were, in fact, large meetings ranging from one thousand to two thousand five hundred. One of these impressed me very strongly from the fact that the speaker delivered what might have been regarded as a college professor's address to his class—the straightforward, simple reasoned-out argument lasting an hour and half. The audience, numbering perhaps five or six hundred people, not only sat through this address but showed their intelligent appreciation of the logical points that were

made with a degree of enthusiasm that one would hardly expect from a campaign audience in our country to a purely argumentative address. My impression is that if the speaker had made a similar address to a similar audience with us he would have emptied the hall in about fifteen minutes. The speech would have been dull. I do not mean that the speech was dull in fact, for it was the very reverse. It was one of the most interesting speeches I have ever listened to. The point I am trying to make is that our audiences are not as a rule patient with an extended argumentative address, unrelieved by any of the usual devices of popular orators.

Not only have I observed that your audiences over here are thoughtful, are interested in reasoned-out exposition, and are quick to catch the climaxes of pure argument, but their intelligence is not of the stolid kind. I had expected to find English audiences stolid. I think it is the general impression in our country that they are so. One of our constant flips at the English is that they are slow to appreciate a joke; that the point comes to them by "slow freight," as we sometimes express it. This is not true according to my experience. The English audiences I find to be good humoured and quick and heartily responsive to whatever pleases them, whether it be funny or serious.

### 3.—IS THE LAND QUESTION AS PROMINENT AN ISSUE IN THE ELECTION AS YOU EXPECTED?

It is, and it is not. Before I had been twelve hours ashore I was at a meeting of perhaps five or six hundred people, packing the Town Hall of a village in Cheshire, and the air was alive with the song "The Land for the People," to the tune of our old familiar "Marching thro' Georgia." At this meeting the speeches were keyed up to that sentiment, and the audience was thoroughly enthusiastic about it. The same thing was true of the meetings which I attended in Wedgwood's constituency (Newcastle-under-Lyme.) I found the same thing in other constituencies and at other meetings; as in Halifax for instance; and I have heard of it as prevailing among the common people all over England. In these respects, the prominence of the land question exceeded my expectations. But I found that the Protectionists had in a great degree diverted attention from the land question by injecting the Protection proposition. I say Protection, for that is what we call it although over here you call it Tariff Reform. Our Tariff Reform is not toward Protection but away from it. I feel very strongly that if the Liberals had met the Tariff Reform attack that was injected into your campaign by conceding that commercial Free Trade, while infinitely better than Protection for the working man and business man will not give to those classes what they earn but that the abolition of land monopoly will—if the Liberals had taken this course—it is my judgment that they might have secured better results at the elections than they have secured. It seems to me to have been a weakness on their part to allow themselves to be turned upon the defensive by the injection of the Tariff issue. They could have fought Protection much more effectively, I think, by fighting for the abolition of land monopoly as a better and indeed the only way of giving to the working classes what Protection proposes to offer. Do not understand me as criticising. I realise how difficult it has been—for I have experienced the difficulty myself—to avoid placing the emphasis on the negative when and where the air was full of Protection promises, but I believe that the serious afterthought will strengthen such feeling as there may be that the tactics of fighting against Protection and for the land in one breath would have brought better results. A defensive fight is always a weak one, and the Liberals had the strength that goes with an aggressive fight until they yielded to the temptation to go upon the defensive which was thrown across their path by the Protectionists.

### HENRY GEORGE, Jr.'s IMPRESSIONS.

Mr. George who has spoken for Liberal candidates in England and Scotland has also kindly made the following brief statement of his views on British and American politics:—

I came over here to write for a syndicate of American newspapers a series of signed articles on what appeared to me to be the most significant phases of the great struggle between privilege and the people. On our side of the water the public had not been fully aroused to the full significance of the Budget fight, and they regarded the rejection of the Budget more as a political struggle

than a social one. The underlying economic questions did not appear to be very important; but as the election contests opened, more attention was given to the tariff question and the land question was seen to be of primary importance. I am confident that these extraordinary contests will have remarkable effects on the United States. Our people will have the same issues to face sooner or later. The tariff question is pushing its way to the front in American politics. The Democratic party is committed to a lower tariff and the Republican party is rent over the subject. What is known as the "insurgent" movement is arising among the farmers in the trans-Mississippi States, who demand with increasing vehemence the reduction of the tariff wall. So that the tariff and land monopoly questions will soon be in the forefront of the nation's politics.

The manner in which candidates present their case here is most interesting to one accustomed to American political methods. Your short campaign makes the issues very sharp and direct, and gives the speaking a freshness that a long campaign would deprive it of.

But to an American, the first peculiarity here with a Parliamentary election is that it is like a Presidential election by Congressional districts—as if a President was to be elected, not by a general vote, but by the majority of Congressional seats a party could capture. This draws attention to each Parliamentary division, so that there is personal interest in each candidate, and in his chances of winning. With us, except for the chief figures in Congress, a Congressional contestant is unknown outside his locality, or at any rate, outside his State.

The issues in our Congressional fights therefore may in many respects essentially differ with different localities even among the candidates of the same general party. It gives to our Congressional fights a separateness unknown in the United Kingdom. Speakers flock here into a division from without to strengthen a candidate's canvass. With us that is done much less, and indeed is often hurtful rather than helpful to a candidate, the incomer being regarded as an invader.

From this it will be seen that the circumstances of a national election here have marked differences from ours. The issues here are more clearly marked as between the two parties, and the candidates not only keep more nearly within party lines, but devote themselves more generally to certain issues. To all intents and purposes a constituency in Scotland fights over the same matter as a constituency in the South of England or in the hills of Wales, so that there is here a singular directness in the manner in which candidates present their arguments, and, on the whole a strength of, and matter-of-factness of style which I should ascribe largely to the brevity of the campaign, since that makes it necessary to get down to business at once without frills.

This, however, is not to say that there is not a great deal of finished and really artistic campaign speaking in the Parliamentary contests. I have not heard Mr. Churchill, whose speeches read so remarkably well; but I have listened to others, and among them, three times to Mr. Lloyd George. Certainly, Mr. George must be ranked as among the very first political speakers in the English tongue. He has the power and skill of a studied orator, combined with an easy almost conversational style, and a grace, a humour, and a poetical imagination that are the more captivating since they appear to be, and doubtless are, entirely natural with him. He has, moreover, in high degree, the first necessity for political speaking—sincerity; without which all his capabilities would go for nothing in the advocacy of a great democratic cause.

Mr. Balfour, on the contrary, on the one occasion on which I heard him speak—at Bradford—impressed me as a scholarly man who was struggling to make out a case that he did not believe in; and so was full of hesitations, poverty of illustrations, and physical discomfort.

The audiences here are, generally speaking, very fine. They follow close reasoning and yet instantly respond to points. And their quick appreciation of humour has a most exhilarating effect upon the speaker.

What has delighted me most in all these contests is the prominent part the land question has played. Candidates whom it might have been supposed had given little or no thought to the subject have on the hustings put it with great strength and cogency, and pointed it with the local illustrations that carry the argument home. It is this fact that must make the land question the real question in British politics, for years to come. Raised as a general issue in Parliament, it has been given local application by each candidate, some for, some against; and no matter what the other issues may become, this one touching the taxation of land values can never again be put aside or ignored.



## A LEADER IN THE MOVEMENT.

Where did the Budget come from? This question has been asked and will be asked again. The Budget is the result of men's faith in, and work for, a great and simple idea, just like the fruit of gardens and fields. No one interested in such matters is surprised if a lily, whose roots are loosened or torn from the soil, withers or grows weak and distorted. No such person has any doubt as to how this weakness may be prevented or repaired. There are people who hold exactly similar views with regard to the connection of human beings with the soil. They see no matter for amazement in the imperfections which mark the bodies, minds and characters of men and women, whose connection with land is not according to their needs. They see no way of removing the imperfections except by allowing these men and women to strike their roots again into the element from which their life is drawn. Given this freedom they see nothing to prevent them from becoming strong and beautiful in every part of their nature.

Joseph Fels is one of the people who hold this faith. Nations of men have been wrenched from their hold on land by national systems of land tenure—if systems, which daily become more perfect instruments for separating men from land, can be called systems of "tenure." Whole nations decay and die under these systems, and as a great and universal alternative to all these, the taxation of land values, has been advanced. To the promotion of this alternative Joseph Fels has set himself with remarkable devotion and energy. "The taxation of land values," he said a few weeks ago at a meeting held in one of the Committee Rooms of the British House of Commons, "the taxation of land values in this world is the way to heaven in the next." These are the words of an enthusiast who sees in this reform the means of regenerating men in the highest moral and spiritual sense.

Joseph Fels was born in a country village called Halifax Court House, Virginia, on December 16th, 1854. When very young his father moved to Yanceyville in North Carolina, and from there he was sent to school in Richmond, Virginia, an old town, as American towns go. In 1867 the family removed to Baltimore, but here business reverses overtook the father and Joseph was obliged to leave school in 1870, and in the next year, at the age of seventeen, started as traveller for a firm of toilet soap manufacturers in Baltimore. In 1872 he changed his position and, along with his father, represented and travelled for a Philadelphia firm in Baltimore. In a year or two they both became partners, their services and connection being their capital. A little later, after paying off obligations incurred by the business, they purchased it and removed to Philadelphia. The firm became Fels & Co. with father and sons as partners. In 1894 a special process of soap-making was invented, and from that time the firm devoted itself solely to the manufacture of the well-known soap—Fels-Naptha, a business which has had a great success.

Having visited England for almost twenty years on business, Mr. Fels decided to open a selling branch in this country in 1901. Since that time Mrs. Fels and he have lived part of every year in England. Shortly after this he began to take an interest in social questions, and particularly in the land question. Fairhope Single Tax Colony which had been founded on Mobile Bay, Alabama, appealed to him. The land was held on Single Tax principles, and as far it was possible for a small community embraced in a larger community, not governed by these principles, it was hoped that it might furnish an object-lesson. Mr. Fels has generously supported the experiment. In 1905 he purchased

some 1300 acres at Hollesley Bay, England, to form a labour colony for the unemployed. This experiment has since been taken over by the Government. He also purchased 600 acres at Maylands, Essex, a large part of which is under French gardening and intensive cultivation by small holders.

While these schemes were undertaken from a desire to see men, who had been broken in the pitiless industrial struggle, immediately restored to a natural independence, his mind is too active, and his vision and sympathies too wide to be confined in them. He is statesman and philosopher enough to see that national, and even world-wide institutions must be swept away before any class of people can avail themselves of the natural and indispensable opportunities of living.

In 1907 he became interested in the British movement for the taxation of land values. The work being done by the United Committee and by the different Leagues gained his approval,

and from that time he has given his money liberally to enable them to extend their activities through the press, by meetings and demonstrations, by the publication of literature and by any other means which the political situation should demand. It is owing to this magnificent and generous support, more perhaps than to anything else, that the movement has made such great progress in Great Britain and in the world during the past year. The Budget was brought in on the wave of opinion made in its favour throughout the country; it was carried to the Lords on opinion made by such demonstrations as that in Hyde Park and it will be carried in spite of the Lords by opinion made in similar ways.

By much the greater part of the means for carrying on this work was furnished by Mr. Fels. To the United Committee he has offered £10,000 a year, provided an equal amount is subscribed by others. At present he is spending about £20,000 in the movement throughout the world.

In whatever country Mr. Fels finds a movement for this reform he supports it; in America, in Australia, in New Zealand and on the Continent. He has wealth and his wealth gives him power in these days when a man, with well-directed effort, may overthrow not merely a dynasty, but a system on which twenty tyrannies rest. While these are not yet the days of democracy, they are the days

when democracy is strenuously and successfully struggling to be born. Behind all the political movements and crises there has been the agitation for the clear and definite principle of justice in industrial relations; behind the politicians there has been a body of men who refer every question to justice, not to political or legal precedents and customs which are one thing to-day and another to-morrow. Joseph Fels is in this class. He is singular among wealthy men. It is common now for beneficiaries of privilege to endow universities, to pay privileged teachers to teach privileged students, who are then given a motive to maintain privilege. With his wealth, he gives truth feet to run through the open streets, into the markets and workshops, to escape from the schools and churches, where its feet are tied. He has no fear of justice; he does not believe that its universal and speedy establishment would injure a single interest that is worthy of protection, or hurt a single human feeling that deserves consideration or tender treatment. He knows that beautiful traits of human character are now repressed by social injustice, and that ugly and repulsive traits are developed. He strikes hard and fearlessly at this injustice.

Mr. Fels owes much of his success as a business man, and his



JOSEPH FELS.

more singular success as a reformer, to certain simple qualities of mind and character. He keeps himself peculiarly open and receptive to suggestions and schemes for the advancement of any cause in which he is interested. He listens to all who approach him; he makes a wide search for movements which are seriously calculated to alter social conditions, and when he finds them, he supports them with intense energy and devotion. Inviting frank communications and suggestions he is himself exceedingly frank and straightforward. Besides being an American, he is a Jew, and the combination in his case has produced a man in whose being there are no exclusive barriers, and no mysterious recesses. His love of mankind, his wide, practical sympathy, his utter disregard for nationalities and other divisive marks, his perfect frankness, sometimes embarrass estimable people whose experience and outlook have been narrower, but his influence in this respect is always salutary. Mr. Fels is still very young as a reformer, but he has grown quickly. Encouraged by a wife whose sympathies, intelligence, and fearlessness are great and strong, he has given himself with his whole heart to the land reform movement throughout the world. Perhaps no man has done such effective and far-reaching work in such a short time. His arrival in the field of British politics could not have been more opportune. His liberal contributions to the movement for the taxation of land values, his close interest in the manner of spending the money, his energy in undertaking and carrying through tasks which are only possible to an independent and wealthy man, have advanced this movement to an incredible extent. Since Henry George proclaimed his idea to the world, its progress in public thought has been rapid and steady. If we may use the expression, that idea or truth has been happy in the men it has found to serve it in different countries and in different ways, and Joseph Fels is one of the greatest and one of the humblest of these servants.

J. O.

### HERE AND THERE.

Northern Farmer (on his way to the poll, after conversation with candidate). "Well, that settles't. Danged if ah votes for a feller as talks about a hoss's *left front leg*."—From PUNCH.

Lord Hugh Cecil speaking at Salford on January 11th, said:—"If the people showed that they would have the Budget the Lords would agree. If carried, the Budget would have been unpopular. There would have been an inquisition into—(a voice—"Land.")"

The YORKSHIRE DAILY OBSERVER of January 4th says that the Budget is immensely popular, and nothing has contributed to make it so, more than the taxes on land values. On this question the electors are singularly well informed—the result of steady, long-continued propaganda work.

This is a tribute to the work of our Yorkshire friends.

The rateable value of watering places is much higher than the rateable value of manufacturing towns of the same size. The annual report of the Preston Borough treasurer contains some interesting figures. Brighton, with a population of 130,000 is assessed at £894,000. Blackburn, with 136,000 people, is assessed at £545,000. Eastbourne, with just under 50,000 people, has a rateable value of £427,000. Carlisle, with the same population is assessed at £226,000.

Mr. H. H. Martin, attempted to obtain a hearing but there was great uproar. In reply to cries of "Take down that banner," Mr. Kensit said "I will not." (Voices: "We want that banner down," and more uproar.) The chorus of the "Land Song" was sung, and after a great deal of noise, Mr. Kensit said, "I declare this meeting closed." It was thus that the "Land Song" made its appearance at a Protestant meeting organised in opposition to Mr. Masterman.

There was a large body of Liberals at the back of the hall, and they started singing election choruses in opposition to patriotic songs started by some women in the gallery. There was a great amount of disorder. Each faction tried to drown the

singing of the other, "Rule Britannia" and the "Land Song" being sung at the same time. Sir W. Johnson presided.

From the TIMES report of a Tory meeting in Hackney Town Hall.

Speaking at Tywardreath, Cornwall on December 24th, Mr. Quiller Couch, the novelist, said:—

And now the last bogey. The great mind of Sir Reginald Pole Carew, the Unionist candidate, had been searching for a definition of Socialism. It reminded him of nothing so much as the story of the blind man in a dark room searching for a black hat that wasn't there.

Though not a great patron of art or letters, he (King Leopold) paid both some attention; and, besides building numerous palaces for himself, he did much to secure parks, museums, street improvements, etc., for the Belgian cities. In this, however, he acted largely as a great landowner, often giving sites with an apparent liberality, which was repaid by the appreciation in value of the estates which he retained.—GLASGOW HERALD.

The States of Jersey (Channel Islands) on January 11th, adopted Bills imposing an additional tax of 4d. a lb. on leaf tobacco without stalk, 6d. a lb. on cigars, and 10d. a lb. on cigarettes; and an additional tax of 4½d. per half-gallon on wines, with 6d. additional on the half-gallon on bottled wines, 3s. 6d. on the half-gallon on spirits of 50deg. strength and above, and 1s. 9d. on the half-gallon of spirits below 40 deg. It is estimated this will provide £9,000. As the deficit is £12,000, the extra amount will be met by fresh taxation.

Mr. Balfour, speaking at Hanley on January 4th, said:—"The idea that any man of education and character outside this country should have the audacity to say that Great Britain is not to settle its own taxation according to its own ideas makes my blood boil."

Did Mr. Balfour's blood boil when Lord Lansdowne claimed this privilege for the Lords?

Clumber Park, Worksop, residence of the Duke of Newcastle, consisting of a palatial house and grounds, courtyard, stable, offices, outbuildings, workshops, two belts of plantations, pleasure grounds and gas works, covering in all about 120 acres of land, is rated at £426. The flour mills of Messrs. Smith Brothers, at Worksop, covering between two and three acres, are rated at £500 net.

In a house in Central Finsbury, planted in a small window-box filled with earth, is a small notice-board bearing the words "PRIVATE LAND"

Beneath this hangs a second notice, reading,

"What! Tax MY Land!"

This Finsbury "estate" is apparently quite willing to bear its proper share of taxation, for in the window above it is the notice, "Vote for the Budget."

On the eve of an election it should be remembered that we want to employ as much labour on the land as possible.

The MORNING POST makes this memorandum for us, but we are a little puzzled to know why this admirable aim should have special attention on the eve of an election. Would it not be good business to keep it in view at all times? If any occasion is more opportune than another, we should now think it is the eve of a Budget which might carry a substantial tax on land values.

This is a tale from Scotland and not Yankeealand. Colonel Shanks, in moving a vote of thanks to Lord Midleton, who was the principal speaker in the Town Hall on December 30th, said that he could not understand the people of Johnstone. They would not even attempt to try Tariff Reform. After speaking of tariffs as high as 75 per cent. imposed on machinery sent by his firm to Russia, he said that work had to be undertaken without profit for the purpose of keeping orders in this country. (Laughter.) It was a fact that "orders have to be taken to keep you employed in Johnstone at not a cent. of profit."



The sales of Crown lands at Trinidad during 1907-8 are reported upon as being highly satisfactory, especially upon comparison with the figures of the previous year. The increased demand for land is explained by the high prices received for the previous year's cacao crop, and the improvement of means for travelling and transport as the result of opening up new roads in the island. Altogether 1,157 grants of Crown lands were made comprising 9,494½ acres, for which £24,768 18s. 3½d. were received. Of this area, 475 grants, comprising 3,186½ acres, were made to East Indian immigrants. In 1906-7 the total area granted was 8,004½ acres.

A Reuter message from Corunna, dated January 5th, states that a delegation of the Republican Club has called upon the British Consul to submit for his approval a telegram to Mr. Lloyd George, in which the members of the Republican, Social-Democratic, Radical, and Extreme Left Parties send their cordial greetings to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "the creator of the Budget of social welfare, a Budget which marks the true course by which the redemption of the human race is to be attained," and hail him as the benefactor of the universe. The telegram bears a large number of signatures.

At a fully attended meeting of the Committee of the British Constitution Association held on January 21st at the offices, 23, Charing Cross, Mr. Mark H. Judge in the chair, Sir William Chance proposed the election of Mr. Harold Cox as president of the association. This was seconded by Sir Arthur Clay and carried unanimously.

Mr. Cox is making steady progress towards Tariff Reform.

After the declaration of the poll, on January 21st, at Louth, where Mr. Timothy Davies, recently Liberal M.P. for Fulham, was defeated by the Unionist candidate, Mr. H. L. Brackenbury, after Sir Robert Perks had held the seat as a Liberal since 1892, a number of Liberals, exasperated at Sir Robert Perks's action in condemning the Government, took his photograph off the walls of the Louth Liberal Club and destroyed it.

Mr. Harry Hope, the Tory candidate for Buteshire, January 20th:—As to urban land, the Unionists recognised that it should pay its share of local rates according to its value. (Hear, hear, applause, and a Voice—"That's Liberal," and laughter.) Proceeding, Mr. Hope said that the Unionists believe, contrary to the Budget proposals, that the tax on the land value should go entirely to the community to whose enterprise the increased value was due. (Applause.)

Mr. Gavin W. Ralston, Tory candidate for West Fife, January 20th:—It would be a good thing for the country if Mr. Carnegie had presented fewer "kists of whistles to kirks" all over the country. (A voice—"You are an awfu' man.") He would suggest to Mr. Carnegie that a better channel for his wealth would be to endow cottage hospitals. (Applause.) (A voice—"Gie it back to his workers.")

\* For the benefit of civilised readers we translate this barbarous Scotch as a "chest of whistles" denoting an organ.

#### AN EARL'S WARM RECEPTION.

The contempt felt for the Peers by all thinking men was well shown at Upperby yesterday, when the Earl of Aldwych attempted to speak on behalf of the Food Tax and Revolutionary Candidate. The result was entertaining to a degree.

"Ladies and Gentlemen—(Hooray)—I have come here tonight—('Oo stole the common from the people?')—That was a long time ago, I'm not going to speak about that now—(Well, we're going to)—A man is not responsible for what his ancestors may have done—(If it wasn't for your ancestors you wouldn't be a heart!)—That's nothing to do with it—(Yes, it 'as; don't be so ungrateful!)—Are you going to listen to me? I've got my back to the wall (Walbottle, 'e means)—Damn it, will you—(Naughty!)—Ladies and Gentlemen—(That's right, Hughie, don't you mind the horrid men. You begin all over again, dearie)—I only ask for fair play—(Did you give the Budget fair play?—Yes, we did—(Oh, Percival, 'ow can you? and on your birthday too!)—Look here, do you think I want to talk to you?—(Do you think we want to listen to you?—Evidently you don't—(Oo bright little Stanley's getting)—Very well, then, you needn't—(That's right, ducky, you get along to bed. Perkins will bring your tea up in the morning)—But I'm just going to say one thing; if your beastly Radical gets in and the Germans come, don't ask me to defend you—(Oo, mercy, mercy!)—From PUNCH.

## PEERS ON THE PLATFORM.

### LORD CLINTON AT CORSHAM.

Speaking on December 30th, Lord Clinton said:—

The right cry was the Peers for the people (cheers and dissent.) They called this a poor man's Budget. He asked how it could be so when it imposed increased taxes upon them, and the following dialogue ensued between the speaker and members of the audience:—

We pay for our Dreadnoughts; you pay for yours.

Lord Clinton: You cannot hit capital without hitting the people.

What are you complaining about then?

Lord Clinton: If you tax the capitalist unduly it will result in increased unemployment.

Then must you never tax him?

Lord Clinton: You must tax him as little as possible.

Do you want to put it all on labour?

Lord Clinton: No; I should not put it on capital or labour; I should put it on the foreigner (cheers and interruptions.)

When Germany wanted to raise twenty-five millions, why did not they try to put it on the foreigner?

Lord Clinton: I regret to say Germany has been exceedingly successful in making us and many other people pay for their Dreadnoughts.

### DUKE OF NORFOLK AT WOKING.

The Duke of Norfolk had a stormy reception at Woking on January 6th. For a long time he was refused a hearing, and there were cheers and counter cheers when the names of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Newbolt, the Liberal Candidate for the Chertsey Division were mentioned.

The Duke said it was no use discussing home politics unless their homes were safe. (Uproar.) Undoubtedly there were a great number of our countrymen who would not look stern facts in the face. (A Voice: "And will not pay their taxes.") If they had no intelligence to see the signs of the times and understood the danger was really existing and daily creeping nearer, then he could only say "God help us all, for the danger is very real indeed." Those who would not see the danger were living in a fool's paradise. (A voice: "What a bad dream you have had," and laughter.)

The Duke finished his speech amid uproar, and afterwards, at an overflow meeting, said he would bet half a crown that with argument on one side and abuses on the other they would decide as intelligent Englishmen what course to take.

### LORD ASHBOURNE AT TOTTENHAM.

Lord Ashbourne at Tottenham on January 6th said he was not going to attack Free Trade or its author. (Laughter.) It was a great and noble conception, and if other great nations had adopted it he would not have said a solitary syllable to weaken any man's faith in it. But in this respect we had the privilege of feeling like Christian martyrs. ("Oh, oh") How could we get the money we wanted except by accepting Tariff Reform?

A Voice: Tax the land!

Lord Ashbourne: Ah, that is another point. (Hear, hear.) Germany—

"Is starving." (Loud cheers.)

Lord Ashbourne: I am an Irishman—

"Have you kissed the Blarney Stone?" (Loud laughter.)

He did not say that Tariff Reform would sweep unemployment away—"No, but others do"—but he did say there was not a bit of work in the Budget from the beginning to the end of it. ("Oh, oh" and "What about the Development Grant?" "Three cheers for Lloyd George." The call was lustily responded to.)

### LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

Lord Willoughby de Broke was subjected to much interruption at Wellington, on January 6th. Hearty cheers were given for Mr. Lloyd George, and the Liberal candidate when he rose to speak.

"Have you ever seen a peer before?" said Lord de Broke. "You see, he is just like other people, and you can hardly tell the difference. (Laughter.) I am one of those peers who have referred the Budget to the judgment of the people. (A Voice: "You and the Duke of Sutherland ought to be turned.")

I was told before I came here that we were going to have some fun. If you vote for the Budget at the General Election

you will have the Budget. (A Voice: "And you can keep your pheasants.")

"You just dry up for a moment," retorted Lord Willoughby, "I'm going to make this speech, and not you. (Cheers.) I was just going to tell you why the Lords referred the Budget to the people. (A Voice: "Because the peers did not like it.") (Laughter.) Very well, vote for it. (A Voice: "And we will.")

At this stage Captain Wood intervened and said that if any of those present wanted to chaff Lord De Broke, he would chaff with him. (Laughter.)

Lord de Broke: The Finance Bill contains the germ of Socialism. (A Voice: "That's all rot.") Now, don't you be funny, old man. (Cries of "Down with the Lords.") But we shall have to hear what the people of the country say first. You can shout yourselves hoarse about the Lords, but you have to get them down first.

I think you are getting nervous about the Lords. (A voice: "Not so nervous as you are about the Navy scare," and cries of "Throw the Lords out.") We want a strong Navy. (A Voice: "Why do you object to pay for it?") You are not going to put me off. I have hunted hounds myself, and I always stick to the line. ("Nonsense," and cheers for Mr. Lloyd George.)

"What are the remedies for unemployment?" continued the peer. (A Voice: "Unlock the land.") How will unlocking the land bring about employment? (A Voice: "Ask the Duke of Sutherland!") and "What about fox hunting?" Eh? Oh, you dry up. (Laughter.) Fox hunting is the staple industry in the country where I come from. (A Voice: "Let him have it.") I'm going to let him have it. Now, you shut up! (Laughter.)

Loud cheers were again given for Mr. Lloyd George. Lord Broke said he had now finished, and thanked the audience for the patient hearing they had given him. (Laughter.)

#### LORD ASHBOURNE AT LAMBETH.

There was much noisy opposition at a Unionist meeting addressed by Lord Ashbourne at North Lambeth, on January 7th. Throughout the proceedings there was a running fire of interruptions, varied by the occasional singing of "The Land Song."

Lord Ashbourne proceeded to emphasize the importance of Tariff Reform and the Budget. The House of Lords, he said, found the Budget a very queer production and could not take the responsibility of passing it. Mr. Asquith had said that if the House of Lords rejected the Budget the result would be chaos, but that was all nonsense. The Government were now in a fit of despair. ("No," and "Rotten.") The audience having sung portions of "The Land Song" and "The Galloping Major" the chairman reminded them of the Act dealing with the disturbances at public meetings and threatened to take extreme measures unless order was kept.

#### DUKE OF NORFOLK AT LITTLEHAMPTON.

The Duke of Norfolk, speaking at Littlehampton on January 7th, asked the meeting what Government they were going to have to rule the country. (A Voice: "The one we have now.") The present Government had made it perfectly clear that they were not going to bring in Tariff Reform. (Opposition cheers.) The Constitution was threatened by violence and change. Speaking as a member of the House of Lords—(Booing)—he realised that the Constitution admitted of reform, and the House of Lords must be prepared to face the fact.

There was another question which came to his mind—(A Voice: "Land Tax.") There were grave doubts as to the safety of our nation under the present Government. (A Voice: "Can you prove it?") Well, it was a difficult thing to prove.

A Voice: Who is to pay for the ships?

Another Voice: The dukes. Let them pay their share.

#### LORD DUNRAVEN AT WALWORTH.

Lord Dunraven addressed a meeting in support of Mr. R. E. Belilios, the Unionist candidate, at Walworth Baths, on January 7th.

Lord Dunraven, who was received with mingled cheers and groans, said that he was of opinion that it was impossible to carry on the trade of this country under a one-sided system of Free Trade, and he became more convinced of that when he was chairman of the Sweating Committee of the House of Lords.

There were continual interruptions, whistling, catcalls, and stamping of feet, and only those in the front rows could hear his lordship.

From whistling the tune of the "Land Song" a large section of the audience broke into singing the chorus of that song, and it was repeated two or three times.

Lord Dunraven, when comparative quiet was obtained, said that the Labour representatives who went over to the United States with the Mosely Commission all reported that living was not dearer in the United States, that rents were a little higher, that wages were infinitely higher—in some trades as much as 50 to 100 per cent. (Cheers.)

The disorder increasing, Lord Dunraven said he did not think there was much use in going on, and he thereupon resumed his seat.

Mr. Belilios also met with much interruption, and loud cheers were given by the opposing sections of the audience for Mr. Lloyd George. After a while he gave up the attempt to speak, and the meeting came to a abrupt termination.

#### LORD ASHBOURNE AT WALWORTH.

Lord Ashbourne, who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, had a warm reception in Walworth, when he addressed a meeting in the Browning Hall.

Urging that Free Trade is an unwise policy nowadays Lord Ashbourne said, "I don't set up to be a fool. (Laughter.) It may seem curious, but I don't." The Radicals laughed, and urged him to "go on." So he turned to the Budget, and when he mentioned it the Radicals burst into three hearty cheers for Mr. Lloyd George, and three more for Mr. Asquith. "If the House of Lords," he continued, "were all lazy and worthless—"

The voice: Most of them are!

Lord Ashbourne: No, they're not. They're very level-headed and capable men. They had their duty to consider.

The voice: And their pockets, too!

Dismissing the Budget very briefly Lord Ashbourne as a Tory Irishman grew fierce over the Home Rule bogey. When he began a eulogy of the Irish Unionists he was interrupted by the insistent voice, "Tell us about the Land Taxes!"

"Oh, hang the Land Taxes!" replied a Tory "voice" in the hall. Even Lord Ashbourne laughed.

### POLITICAL SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

#### MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON UNEMPLOYMENT.

Speaking at the Queen's Hall, London, on December 31st, Mr. Lloyd George said:—

Our only hope of effecting a permanent improvement in the problem of the unemployed is in a complete overhauling of our land system. (Cheers.)

Now we come to business. (Cheers.) We make less of our land than any other country in Europe. Why? It is the land system. It discourages expenditure of capital. It does not give security to capital.

The first essential condition in fully developing the resources of this country is to give absolute security to the man who spends money upon developing it. (Cheers.) We are spending money on scientific education in agriculture. In the Development Bill as I pointed out to you, I have set aside a good many hundred thousand more for the purpose. It is essential. But what is the good of teaching them scientific agriculture? It all meant money. It means spending more money, and you will not get them to spend money, until they have absolute security that they will get back every penny of that money with all the profits that it makes. (Cheers.)

The farmer is not to blame. The labourer is not to blame. They are all working hard. They are facing great anxieties. They are doing their best within the limitations imposed upon them.

What is to blame is our land system. (Hear, hear.) Our idea as to land is fundamentally wrong, and I will tell why. The idea which is fostered by a certain section of people is that the land of this country was created for the benefit, for the enjoyment—(A voice: "Of dukes," and laughter)—for the amusement, for the amenity of a small class of superior persons. (Laughter.)

The land of this country was given for the rearing of a strong, healthy, happy race of men, women, and children upon it. (Cheers.)

How does that affect the problem of unemployment? I will tell you. The difference between the man who spends money with a sense of security and the man who does not, from fear that he won't get the full fruit of it, is this: One man employs twice as many men as the other does. (Hear, hear.)



Why is there all this overcrowding in towns? Why is it that you get two men running after one job? It is because you have got a flood of people who have been flowing steadily from the villages and the rural districts into the towns to find work that they ought to have found at home.

I will give you one of my experiences. In the last few days I visited my old home. (Cheers.) I went round the old village and over the old fields, and what struck me was the number of old cottages I remembered which were in ruins—cottages which used to be full of bright children playing about, many of them my old schoolmates, people not rich, not prosperous, but living in a healthy abundance. Nobody starved there. They had plenty of good, healthy food. They reared strong, healthy children there, and I remember them inhabited by men, women, and children of that type. What are those cottages now? Mere heaps of stones, with the brambles and nettles covering them.

I made inquiries, and I asked a man who, I knew, had been writing up a history of that little village—I said: "How many are there of these little cottages in the whole parish?"—there are only about 200 or 300 of them altogether—and he replied: "Curiously enough I have been investigating this myself, and and I find that within living memory seventy-two cottages have disappeared."

What has happened to the people? The people have gone—some perhaps to America—most of them to Liverpool, to London, to Birmingham. They and their descendants are helping to glut the labour market in the conflict for work. It would have been far better for them, far better for their children, if they were working on the old fields at home.

But I will tell you another fact which I discovered, and it is by no means an irrelevant one. I find that whilst the cottages had gone out, the population had gone down—the cottars had gone away. But game preservation in that parish had more than quadrupled. (Cries of "Shame.")

They said it was the poverty of the district sent them away—it was the foreign competition sent them away. (Laughter.) I saw no Germans there. (Renewed laughter.) I don't think I saw any German goods there, anyway. Foreign competition drove them away? Not at all; not at all. It was not the poverty of the district. It is the richest as it is without doubt the most beautiful land in the world. (Cheers.)

Well, now, what was it? You must remember this, and I am not putting it as a point of prejudice, but as a point which is of growing importance,—four or five times the amount of game preservation which I remember in my young days there.

Now, a gamekeeper would rather not have too many cottagers spread about the estate. Some of them occasionally go out at night. (Laughter.) That is, an occasional partridge, or hare, or pheasant may find its way into the cottars' soup. So game preservation never encourages the developing of these small holdings. But it is not simply that. Landlords say: "We cannot afford to build cottages. It does not pay. We only get one or two per cent on them."

That, I think, is a very short-sighted policy. The landlord gets more; he gets more rent, and there is more labour, and especially contented labour on the property. Half the money spent in game preservation in that village during that period would not have merely built those seventy-two cottages, more commodious, and more airy, but it would have built double the number.

I say this: the land of England was not made for the partridges, but for the peasants of England. (Prolonged cheers.) Every other country in the world is paying attention to this. They are encouraging these little cottars. They are doing their best for them, and we have got to do the same thing, otherwise the proportion of unemployment will grow, not from foreign tariffs, but from the home landlords. (Cheers.)

One other consideration of the land question which I want to put to you. The building trade, I am told, is very depressed. So it is in every other part of the world. But one reason why it is more depressed here than it ought to be. You go to any village in the country and ask: How is it you do not build here, there are very eligible sites? Do they say it is because of the Germans? (Loud laughter.) No. It is the home-grown product, and they will tell you who he is. They will say, "Look over to that mansion there. You cannot get land here. If you do get land, it is always in the spot where you don't want it, and when you get that you never get enough of it, and when you get that which is not enough, you pay ten times as much for it as it is worth." That stops building. (Hear, hear.) You see towns crammed and crushed in. They are not allowed to spread out at all. There is something unseen, an influence sinister, which seems crushing

them in with a bear's hug. Now you have got to clip their claws. (Loud cheers.)

It is not merely the towns. Go to little villages. (Hear, hear.) Occasionally you get men there who have saved a little money and would like to build. They cannot build. Why? It is with the greatest difficulty in the world that they get a plot of ground, and if they do they will only just get enough, without any gardens around it, and look at the price they pay. You find that the land is probably worth about £1 an acre. I think it is fair that if you cut a piece out of a farm, you pay more than £1 an acre for it. You must pay for the disfigurement—(laughter)—at 100 per cent. Double it—that is £2 an acre.

What will you find? You will find the little plot of ground in the village where land is or rather ought to be cheap, charged at twenty, thirty, forty, or even fifty times its value. That kills building. (Hear, hear.) Take another case, of which I have had some experience as a solicitor. (Laughter.) Not a bad thing for you to get a lawyer on your side. (Renewed laughter.) He knows so many of the tricks of the other side.

Acting for tradesmen and business men, you go to any town and you say to the tradesmen, "You seem to be doing very well here, but you seem to have very little room. Why do you not open out?" "Open out," he says, "where am I going to open out? I cannot build in the clouds, and if I did I should be charged ground rent." (Loud laughter.) Because, by the laws of England, you can charge a ground rent if you build right up to Mars. He is the owner up to the heavens. (Laughter.)

The tradesman cannot get land for the purpose of extension, and he cannot alter any of the premises on his land without consent. If he wants to put in a new window he must get the consent of the landlord. The landlord graciously gives his consent for a consideration. If the tradesman wants a few square yards at the back, the landlord knows perfectly well it is the only place he can build on. He cannot cart his business away on a costermonger's barrow and plant it in the next street. The landlord knows it and takes advantage of it.

What is the result? The tradesman leaves matters to the last moment. He does not build unless he is forced to, and when he does a good share of the money he would have put into the building goes towards paying the landlord, who does not utilise it for employment.

Most men have a certain amount they can spend on building and no more. A man may have £1,000 to spend on a house or shop, but if he has to pay three, four, or five hundred pounds for the land he has less for the building, and if he has less for the building less material is required, there is less employment for the workman, and everybody suffers for this greedy ground landlord. (Loud cheers.)

They are all talking about capital going abroad. But look at it! Tens and scores of millions going every year! Capital must go somewhere. Capital must have elbow room, and if it does not get room here, it must go somewhere where it can get it. If they do not allow British money to be spent on British land and British soil, the capitalist must get a return for his money, and so he invests it in the Argentine or somewhere else.

You make British soil as profitable to the British capitalist as the soil of the Argentine, and British capital will not run away.

Experience proves that the capitalist prefers the home investment. That is something he sees with his own eyes. If you are in for a gamble you prefer something you cannot see, because you depend upon faith. (Laughter.) A man naturally prefers something he knows and sees, and the land is something he can see. There is no land under the sun that repays capital more than the land of England. It is the richest under the sun. That is why the Saxons took it away from us—(cheers and laughter)—and left us the hills. I would not exchange.

What would happen if you had a rational land system? The people would flock to the land exactly as they have been flocking to seek a job anywhere in the great commercial and industrial centres. The people prefer the land in every country. A man will take less for labouring on the soil, and he is right. He gets something from the land that no gold can ever pay him for. He draws a strength, a hope, a security from that which he cannot get anywhere else. Send him back to the land. That is where you want the men now who are seeking their work, as it were, in charity. That is the policy which will settle unemployment.

I want the workman of this country to build their hopes not on the mists and myths of Protection—(cheers)—but on the solid foundation of the land of Britain.

What are these Protectionist visions and dreams?—(A voice:

"Humbug")—and the great things that would come through taxing food?

I was passing the other day, on my way to one of my boroughs, when I saw one of the most beautiful skies. The whole firmament of heaven was just paved with a fine white wool, and if you looked towards the west there was a solid bank of gold of the richest hue; and you might have imagined that at the first shower the whole country would have been covered with enough wool to clothe the inhabitants for the rest of their time and enough gold to keep us above want for the rest of our days.

All that would have happened if it had fallen would have been that we all would have got a good drenching. (Laughter.) That is nothing but vapour. That is the Protectionist heaven. (Cheers.) Aye, it's the Protectionist heaven paved with food and raiment, and riches golden in hue. But it is nothing but vapour, which if it once comes down on this land will drench it in hunger.

We have tried it before. What did it bring? It brought famine to hundreds and thousands of our people. It is bringing black bread to Germany. Why should we try it here? Let us rather get back to the free, unfettered, unshackled, cultivation, of the land of England.

The land makes no promises to the tiller that it does not fulfil; it excites no hopes in the springtime that it does not realise at harvest. The land is the bountiful mother that gives to the children of men sustenance, security, and rest. (Loud cheers.)

In replying to a vote of thanks Mr. Lloyd George said:—I will simply acknowledge the vote of thanks which you have kindly accorded to me, and make a final appeal to you to go home and spread the light. (Cheers.)

#### THE PRIME MINISTER AT BRIGHTON.

Addressing a Liberal Demonstration in the Dome at Brighton, on January 4th, Mr. Asquith said:—

"I should like to say, although the ground is very familiar, one or two words first of all in regard to the so-called—for it is an inaccurate designation—land taxes. I should have thought that by this time of day their scope, their purpose, their incidence was fairly well understood, but when I take up my paper this morning one of the first things that strikes my eye is a speech partly devoted to this very topic by a gentleman who has been Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain—(cries of "Oh" and hisses)—and who I am bound to say in all fairness was not only one of the most assiduous but in my opinion one of the most effective critics of the Budget in the House of Commons. And yet Mr. Austen Chamberlain is at this moment, if I may judge by what he said to the people of Hereford, in a state of Cimmerian darkness on the subject of these taxes. He told them his great objection to this as to the other parts of the Budget was that it was not fair as between man and man. Why, he asked, should a man who has put money into land have a special tax levied on his property? How many land owners, he asks, are there over a million? Why did he not remember the million other men who were hit at the same time. Then he comes to the key of the whole situation—the governing motive. He imagines our policy and conduct, that which inspired and animated the Budget from top to bottom, is our desire to strike at our political foes. If a man is your opponent lump your taxes upon him. That is the representation which Mr. Austen Chamberlain thinks fit to make of these taxes. What is the truth about them? Let me tell you in the plainest possible terms. He tells you that we have taken the land-owners of the country, whom he estimates at a million in number, and imposed upon them out of sheer political spite—he will not acknowledge any worthier motive—a tax in respect of the property they own for the sake of discriminating unjustly and unequally between them and other owners of other kinds of property. If that were true—it does not seem a very happy experiment from an electoral point of view that you should single out a class a million in number, the great majority of whom I suppose are to be found on the electoral register, for special unequal treatment—a more fatuous, a more insensate exhibition of purblind vindictiveness has never been heard of in political history. What is the truth about these million owners and their land? In the first place what Mr. Austen Chamberlain did not think fit to inform his audience, agricultural land, that is to say the great bulk in area of the land of this country, is not subject to the taxes at all. (Cheers.) But that is not all. Not only is agricultural land—by which, of course, I mean as I have explained often before—land which is properly agricultural, devoted to agricultural purposes, not only is agricultural land exempted from the scope of these taxes, but

the Budget of the present year confers upon the owners of that class of land privileges and benefits which they have never enjoyed for sixty years past. (Cheers.)

By a large, a very substantial increase, an increase of one-eighth in the case of land, one-sixth in the case of houses, and a quarter in all cases of the deductions under Schedule A of the Income-tax, it has enormously diminished the weight of the burdens of that tax upon the owner of rural land. (Hear, hear.) Not only so, but by the provisions of the obligations of the new duties on the motor spirits, on motor-cars, and the development grant which was the supplement, and the necessary supplement, to the provisions of the Budget itself, agricultural land, the development, the exploitation, and improvement of the agricultural resources of this country would have received an enormous impetus and stimulus. (Cheers.) Thus a very large proportion, I suppose a vast majority, of this million of land-owners are persons not unfairly discriminated against the Budget, positively receive from it a degree of equity and generosity which no previous Chancellor of the Exchequer has been able or willing to bestow upon them. (Hear, hear.) Upon what, then, are these new duties imposed to be charged? The answer is very simple. They are charged, and charged exclusively, not upon property as such, but upon values, created by the community itself which have hitherto escaped their due contribution to the Exchequer. I will take two of the simplest possible cases by way of illustration. The first is this. I buy a piece of land to-day, for the Budget does not go back upon the past at all, I buy a piece of land to-day; ten years hence it has doubled, trebled, and perhaps multiplied tenfold in market value, not through any effort of or any expenditure of mine, but through the growth of population, or, it may be, through direct or indirect results of municipal expenditure. I then sell that piece of land for twice or ten times what I gave for it. Quite understand I want to ask you all, not only you but every fair-minded man in this country, is it, or is it not, fair, is it not just, that in those circumstances the state should levy a moderate toll upon the enhanced value which it has attained? (Cheers.) I take a second case, equally common, and, it seems to me, equally plain. I own a piece of land, it may be a piece of land in the middle of a town not yet built upon, or it may be it is in the outskirts. I keep it and keep it deliberately as it is, as agricultural land, partly because I have the belief, it may be or may not be well-founded, that it will rise in value still more if I keep it long enough. But I keep it deliberately for my own purpose, and with the view to my own profit, keep it undeveloped as agricultural land; and I claim what the law at present allows and recognises, I claim to be rated and taxed upon it, not at its real value and at what it would fetch in the market, not what a dozen but a score or a hundred people would be willing to give for it, but as if it were the agricultural land I decree it shall remain. We propose in a case like that, when a man can actually go into the market if he pleases and find a willing buyer who would take his land for the purpose of development, we propose that a very small and a very moderate toll of a halfpenny in the pound should be levied upon its capital value by way of contribution to the expenditure of the State. (Cheers.) I appeal to every fair-minded man whether as a matter of strict equity the State is not only entitled, but the State is bound in justice, in equity to the various classes of its citizens to demand from these two men—the one who sells the land enhanced in value through no effort of his own, the other, the man who for purposes of his own keeps in an undeveloped state land which the community needs and upon which the community can thrive—I ask whether the State is not bound as a matter of fairness to exact such a tax. (Cheers.)

#### THE VALUATION OF LAND.

Gentlemen, that is the Budget—(cheers)—and nothing less than that, I agree, but nothing more than that constitutes this chapter in the Budget which has excited the horror of the nervous-minded owners of property throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain, and which seems to the House of Lords so impossible and patent an injustice that, acting not in accordance with constitutional precedent, they would not allow it to pass into law, but turned it to you to see if you could stand anything so shocking. (Laughter.) It is quite true that these land taxes, as they are called, these taxes upon monopoly values of land, it is quite true that they involve the valuation of land of the country. That is where the shoe pinches—(laughter and great cheering)—because when once you have got a thoroughly sound, accurate, and equitable valuation of the land of this country there are many other problems besides these comparatively small matters which you will find much easier of solution than they are at



present. (Cheers.) When you talk of a bureaucracy and an analogy is drawn with the secret police of Russia, surely it ought in fairness to be remembered that the strictest precautions are taken in the Budget as it now stands, as it passed the House of Commons, that every valuation shall be subject to an appeal to an impartial and judicial tribunal. (Hear, hear.)

#### LORD LANSDOWNE ON UNEMPLOYMENT.

Speaking at Liverpool on January 5th, Lord Lansdowne said:—For my part I say to you that for unemployment there is one remedy and one remedy alone (a voice, "Taxation of land"), and that is work, and by work I mean not work supplied by the Government, and doled out to those who come and ask for it, but real work, the result of the application and the intelligence, the thwos and the muscles, of our working men, and the courage, enterprise and resources of our employers. (Cheers.) That is the kind of work I desire to see increased. Depend upon it, if you allow yourselves to be unfairly handicapped in your competition with foreign countries, or if, on the other hand, you allow your Government to discourage enterprise, by creating a feeling of insecurity, you will do with one hand infinitely more harm than any good which you will do with the other when you are administering these so-called palliatives. (Hear, hear.) At any rate, I hope you will allow me to say that we are not insincere or inconsistent when we tell you that if you vote for the Budget you will vote not only for a bad Budget (hear, hear), but you will vote against the only system which, in our belief, is capable of retaining for the people of this country that industrial pre-eminence which was won for them by their fathers, and which we hope will be preserved for those who are coming after. (Cheers.)

#### LORD LANSDOWNE ON LAND VALUATION AND OWNERSHIP.

Speaking at Salisbury on January 7th, Lord Lansdowne said:—

What many of them objected to in these proposals for the universal valuation of every acre of land in this country was this—that they obliged people to come in and put an imaginary value based upon imaginary conditions, an imaginary buyer, and an imaginary seller, and upon these conjectures to found that which would hereafter be the basis of the regular taxes. Sir Edward Grey told us we should have an appeal upon these points, but exactly the same difficulties would encounter those to whom the appeal was made as those from whom the appeal was made. If they wanted to know what actually was in the minds of his Majesty's Government with regard to the Land, they had better turn to the speech made on New Year's Eve by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he dealt very fully with this subject. Mr. Lloyd George's policy and he admitted it, was that there should be what he called nationalization of the land to come by easy stages, the Budget being the first stage. He based that proposal upon the statement that the land was at present held by what he called a selfish monopoly. Personally he had never been able to see why a man should be called selfish for investing his money in land. (Hear, hear.) It was a much more unselfish form of investment than most others. It carried with it many obligations and many responsibilities which other investments did not carry with them. It carried with it amongst other things the liability to be abused in a manner in which no other members of the community were abused; but was it true that there was such a thing as a monopoly of land? ("No.") His impression was that there was plenty of land to be had in all parts of England by those who could pay an honest price for it. He was sure that it was so in Wiltshire, because he once did a little land buying in Wiltshire, when he bought 40,000 acres for the War Office, and he found no difficulty in getting it. Might he call attention to the fact that the Prime Minister, a very days few days ago, congratulated himself on the fact that last year no less than six millions sterling changed hands in what was known as the Estate Market? How could there be a monopoly of land if transactions of that kind were going on around us every day? He was convinced, if there ever was an attempt to hold up land and accumulate it, that tendency had passed away.

#### MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND THE TENANT FARMERS.

But to return to Mr. Lloyd George. That gentleman, on the occasion he had referred to, drew a harrowing picture of the state of what he called our land system. He was then describing the agricultural system, and not merely the system

under which land was owned in the neighbourhood of towns. He said that it was an irrational system, and led to the worse kind of cultivation. Then he added:—"How can you expect a farmer to improve his land if he only holds it upon annual tenancy? The farmer may be here to-day and gone to-morrow, and he has got no legal security whatever." Now, would it be believed that Mr. Lloyd George was a member of a Government which, a little more than two years ago, brought in and passed through both Houses of Parliament a Bill giving to the tenant farmer not only security for his improvements, but the right to be compensated if he was removed from his holding for any reason inconsistent with the good management of his land. How was it possible that any member of the Government could be found to get up and announce to the public that the cultivators of the soil in this country were without any legal security whatever? He was really obliged to confront Mr. Lloyd George with one of his own colleagues—namely, Lord Carrington, the Minister for Agriculture—who, speaking at a meeting at Warminster last summer, said that when he accepted that office the farmers of England had certain grievances, of which they justly complained, with regard to security of tenure and other things. Lord Carrington went on to say that during the last three years he had been responsible for the introduction of 14 agricultural measures, all of which, he was thankful to say, had passed not only the House of Commons, but, what was more important, the House of Lords as well. Last, but not least, they had passed the Land Tenure Bill through both Houses of Parliament, though how they did it he did not know, and he went on to describe it as "the farmers' charter." He would call their attention to the fact that Lord Carrington admitted that these 14 measures had got through that obstructive House of Lords without any difficulty, and perhaps he might add that if Lord Carrington did not know how he got his Land Tenure Bill through the House of Lords, he could tell him that it was thanks to the assistance he received not only from his own side of the House, but from the other side also. (Cheers.) Perhaps somebody might ask him, if he objected to the land policy of his Majesty's Government, whether he had a land policy of his own to oppose it. In the first place, he objected very strongly to any system under which the Government of this country would be converted into a landlord for the whole of the land of the country. He believed that, whatever the faults of our present system might be, it was a better one for the community than a system under which the whole of our land would be controlled by a great bureaucratic department. (Cheers.) In the next place he would say that our present system based upon what he would call partnership between the owner and the occupier, was an excellent system if the occupier was secure, as he believed him to be secure, in the enjoyment of his own improvements. But he would add that, if our system had a fault it was this, that it stopped short of giving to the man who tilled the land the incentive supplied by actual ownership. (Cheers.) For that reason he would rejoice to see any change which would have the effect of not getting rid of the landowners, but of increasing the number of landowners, and he believed that could be done if we set to work about it in the right manner. (Cheers.)

## THE ELECTION.

### FINAL POSITION OF PARTIES.

After one of the keenest and most strenuous struggles on record, the Election has resulted in a return to power of the Asquith Ministry. The first practical step in the Taxation of Land Values is now assured; a complete valuation of the land is to be secured, and this, together with a curtailment of the Lords' vetoing powers will be the basis on which we shall be able to work out the salvation of our nation. We should say that the number of votes polled was far in advance of any previous elections. The final position of the Parties is:—

Liberals	273
Labour	39
Nationalists	80

Anti-Peers . . . . . 392

Unionists (Pro-Peers) . . . . . 271

Majority . . . . . 121

Seven members are still to be elected.

## GENERAL ELECTION NOTES.

The rejection of the Budget and the intervention of Dukes and Lords in the election to an unprecedented extent roused the passions of the people. There was more violence than we can remember at any previous election. In England, especially in the counties, where the landlords, clergy and publicans used their utmost influence to defeat the Liberals, feeling ran high and frequently broke out in violent actions. Mr. Lester was the victim of this violence in Mid-Norfolk. His meetings were frequently interrupted, and on the declaration of the poll, he and the policemen who were insufficient in number were roughly handled. Liberal candidates had similar experiences in every county where the privileged interests were strong. The lesson for Liberals in all this is that their work of education should begin at the earliest possible moment before the election, and for the next election that moment is the present one.

### PERSONAL GAINS AND LOSSES.

Our cause has gained considerably in the return of whole-hearted supporters. We greatly regret the defeat of Mr. Lester and Mr. Outhwaite, who had the misfortune to get constituencies in districts where the forces of reaction were running at their strongest. Mr. Wedgwood, Mr. Hemmerde and Mr. Dundas White were returned by handsome majorities, and among the new members are Mr. H. G. Chancellor and Dr. Addison, both of whom captured seats from the Tories in London. These two achievements are among the most brilliant of the whole campaign. The Taxation of Land Values was made the leading issue by both men. Mr. Francis Neilson won a hard-fought fight in the Hyde division of Cheshire against Tory and Labour opponents, as did also Alderman Raffan in the Leigh Division of Lancashire.

### SPECTATORS AND ASSISTANCE FROM ABROAD.

The election has attracted a large number of visitors from the Continent and the United States. Mr. Henry George, Junr., arrived in London on December 27th. Mr. Louis F. Post arrived in Liverpool on January 5th. Professor Dennis, of Wisconsin, Mr. Yancey Cohen and Mr. George L. Fox, of New York, also came to London for some weeks, and Mr. Yan Stoffel, of Deventer, Holland, who said he couldn't stand it any longer but must come to see the fight on the spot.

Messrs. George, Post and Fox assisted Liberal candidates in several divisions.

### INTIMIDATION.

At a Tory meeting at Thornhill, Dumfries on Jan 8th, hecklers put some awkward questions to the speaker.

Mr. Matheson said that the Earl of Dalkeith had stated that his father, the Duke of Buccleuch, did not interfere in the elections. Could Mr. Murray (the Tory candidate) explain how it was that his grace's foremen were canvassing among his workmen from door to door for the Tory candidate? Murray said that questions should not be personal. ("Oh, oh!" and booing.) He had no knowledge of the circumstances to which the questioner referred. (Hisses.)

Mr. A. Kirkpatrick, a bacon curer, asked if the candidate thought the Duke of Buccleuch had treated Thornhill fairly in charging £241 an acre for a waste piece of ground for sewage purposes.

Mr. Murray said those matters were fixed by the law of supply and demand.

Cries of "Answer the question," and booing and interruption followed this evasion.

Mr. Murray said he was anxious to keep personal questions out of this election.

Mr. Kirkpatrick thereupon rose and shouted: "You men, who have been victims of intimidation, remember that the ballot is as secret as the grave."

At this three-fourths of the audience rose and waved hats and handkerchiefs and cheered tremendously. For ten minutes they kept it up.

The meeting broke up amid Liberal cheering.

### ASSERTIONS FOR THE UNDECIDED.

What will happen if the Liberals come into power?

In five years there will be no Ireland, no Colonies, no Navy, no Church, no Public-Houses, no Beer, no Money, no Work, no Hope—nothing but Chapels, Germans, Lemonade and Lies.

This is an exact copy of a handbill freely distributed throughout the Uxbridge Division.

### A VICAR'S SYMPATHIES.

The Bishop of Woolwich stated on January 19th, that his attention had been drawn to the circular read by the Vicar of St. John's, Plumstead, inviting his parishioners and others to attend the solemn celebration of Holy Communion and to join in the Te Deum as an act of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the timely deliverance of Woolwich and Plumstead from the hands of the Socialists and Sabbath breakers.

The Bishop desired to say that he strongly disapproved of this action as an offence to the religious instincts and feelings of fellow-churchmen and Nonconformists, who honestly took a very different view of the situation from that held by the vicar. At the request of the Bishop, the Vicar consented to abandon this special demonstration.

### VALUE OF SOUTHPORT LAND.

Southport is one of Liverpool's chief watering-places. The DAILY NEWS of January 20th gave the following account of an interesting challenge: From the commencement of the campaign here Baron de Forest, the Liberal candidate, has put the land clauses of the Budget on the forefront of his platform. In order that the electorate might realise what relief these clauses would mean to them, he caused to be prepared a careful valuation of the undeveloped land in the division, with a calculation of what, under the land clauses, this land will pay to local rates. The Tories replied that Baron de Forest's estimate was grossly exaggerated, and gave their own valuation of the land. To-night the Baron is issuing an offer to buy the whole of the undeveloped land in the division at their own price. It will be interesting to know what reply the Tory landowners will give to this most sudden and unexpected carrying of the war into the heart of their own camp. The history of the whole transaction is entertaining.

Baron de Forest's survey was carried out by Mr. Geo. E. Tonge, architect, of Southport, and the valuation was based on the proceeds which the great landowners, six in number, had received for lands in different parts of the division. After considerable deductions and allowances had been made so that the valuation should be on the safe side, the sum of £7,685,000 was intimated as the value of the 10,069 acres of undeveloped land in the division. A pamphlet issued to this effect caused great perturbation in the Conservative camp, and after some considerable time they responded in a leaflet entitled, "Baron de Forest's Phantom Millions." This leaflet stated that the capital value of the ten thousand acres mentioned by Baron de Forest is £585,000 on the calculation of "an eminent land surveyor," whose name was not given.

To this Baron de Forest has now replied offering £585,000 for the unrestricted freehold of the land and offering to pay all costs of the sale and transfer.

It is to be feared there is little chance of the offer being accepted, for it is unlikely that the landowners will forego the enormous monopoly values which they hold under the present land system.

### COERCING THE ELECTORS.

The Tories in Mid-Devon used their economic power to influence the votes of working men. Mr. Bathurst, the manager of the granite quarries at Trusham spoke in favour of Capt. Morrison-Bell, the Tory candidate. In regard to Tariff Reform he said he was going to tell them that so far as their quarries were concerned unless some sort of Protection was brought in in the next five years he would not guarantee any work to the men or himself either. They had been pretty hard hit, as far as the firm was concerned, during the last year, and if the Liberal Government got in for another four or six years he could not guarantee what would happen. They had been spending a good deal of money, but not obtained from the public, because it was useless to appeal to them for capital.

He, however, had got the money in the bank for opening another quarry. If that came off, the firm would have a very big place, and they would have the biggest machinery for crushing in the district. Although he had got the money for the whole scheme he was at present only putting in half of it, and he would not put in the other half until he saw his trade was clear.

If they had the foreigner dumping the stone on the market he was not going to spend the money at Trusham, and if the firm was driven out of the place every man would lose his job. They could take it from him that they would be driven out unless they had Protection. Personally, being trained to the work, he could go abroad and get another job there, but if it



did not kill the men it would spoil a good living for everyone of them. He was, however, prepared to stand by the men if they stood by the firm.

Captain Morrison-Bell said he had taken money out of foreign investments to put into the quarries.

That fact seems rather curious if the quarries are in such a precarious condition that Mr. Bathurst "cannot guarantee what will happen."

Another curious thing is an article on the quarries, which appeared in the MID-DEVON TIMES on September 11th:—

Providing employment for about 130 hands (it ran), the quarries have recently been worked at full pressure in order to cope with the mass of orders that pour in. Something like 500 tons of material have been dispatched daily for some months. The company alone owns nearly 100 trucks, in addition to which the Great Western Railway ballast wagons are daily in the siding taking ballast for the permanent way. Four special trains are dispatched every day, and in addition there is a shunting train.

The information upon which this was based (says the MID-DEVON TIMES) was given to our representative by the overseer of the works, and when the article was in type a proof was submitted to Mr. Bathurst and approved by him. The question is which statement is right, the one above, which received his approval and sanction, or the one he made on Thursday that the firm had been pretty hard hit during the last year?

#### A LANDED GENTLEMAN'S COERCION.

I feel it a duty I owe to myself and you (some of whom have been with me over thirty years) to say a few words to guide you in the coming election, as so many false statements are being put before you daily.

We are told that agricultural land will be exempt from increased taxation, but surely if the owner of land has to pay increased taxes he cannot spend in future what he has been spending in the past on his estate or on wages and pensions?

The result must be reduced employment, and all capital that can be removed will most certainly leave this country and go abroad, as it has been doing lately by millions of pounds.

Capital means employment, and without it there cannot be employment in the same amount.

I say this as so much trouble is being taken every day to hide it from you. Believe me nothing will give me greater sorrow than being forcibly compelled to reduce wages and pensions, but if this proposed Budget becomes law, and this present Government is returned to power, I shall be most reluctantly compelled to reduce hands, wages, and pensions.

Mr. Charles Mortimer, a large landowner of Holmwood, Surrey, sent the foregoing intimation as a Christmas letter to the employees on his estate. The letter is a fine example of fallacious argument. Mr. Mortimer admits in the first clause of a sentence that agricultural land is not to be taxed, but he assumes in the second clause of the same sentence that it is to be taxed, and then on this false basis he makes the further preposterous assumption that he is going to be forcibly compelled to reduce wages.

#### PROPERTY MARKET, 1909.

The following statement from the ESTATES GAZETTE of January 1st shows the results of sales by auction at the Mart and in the country and suburbs (including Masons' Hall Tavern); also sales by private contract, registered at the Estate Exchange during 1909:—

1909.	Mart.	Country and Suburban.	Private Contract Sales.	Total.
	£	£	£	£
1st Quarter ..	614,212	218,062	172,365	1,004,639
2nd Quarter ..	1,188,905	622,612	219,885	2,031,402
3rd Quarter ..	479,603	853,117	583,192	1,915,912
4th Quarter ..	499,472	536,792	355,998	1,392,262

Grand Total .. £6,344,215

#### COMPARATIVE SUMMARY.

	1908.	1909.	1909.
	£	£	£
Mart .....	2,782,192	2,733,491	increase 49,701
Country and Suburban ..	2,230,583	1,829,562	increase 401,021
Private Contract .....	1,331,440	1,056,965	increase 274,475
Total ..	6,344,215	5,620,018	724,197

## PRIVILEGE AT WORK.

### RATING OF MONOPOLY AND RATING OF INDUSTRY.

The LIVERPOOL DAILY POST of January 14th gave the following statement of the comparative rating of landlords' policies and the sites of industrial centres:—

In response to requests by readers, we publish a statement of the acreage and assessment of Knowsley estate, the seat of Lord Derby, and of Eaton Hall, the Duke of Westminster's principal residence. For the purpose of comparison, we also give the assessment of some large commercial buildings and concerns in Bootle and in Chester. Obviously Bootle is quoted in association with Knowsley, because Lord Derby owns most of the numerous leaseholds in that borough, his annual revenue from which is stated to be £120,000.

	KNOWSLEY.	Acreage.	Assessment.
Knowsley estate	.. ..	2612	£5607

BOOTLE.							
Area .. ..	1941	£379,867					
Docks .. .. (water)	115	£113,466					

	(Quayage, 6 miles.)	
Railway (Midland, L. & Y., L. & N.-W., and Overhead)	.. ..	£35,000
Warehouses	.. ..	£11,300
Grain Storage Co.	.. ..	£9500
Timber yards	.. ..	£3900

	EATON HALL.	Gross.	Ratable.
*Hall, chapel, stables, &c.	.. ..	£2235	£1948
*Grounds and gardens	.. ..	£206	£185

\*The area covered by the above is 68 acres. The total acreage of Eaton Estate is 15,000 acres.

	CHESTER.	Acreage.	Assessment.
			£ s. d.
Area .. ..	2862	220,516	9 0
Gas Company	.. ..	6,482	0 0
Water Co.	.. ..	3836	15 0
Municipal Electric Lighting Works	.. ..	2275	10 0
Public market	.. ..	950	0 0
Workhouse	.. ..	825	10 0

### PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT.

A good illustration of the undervaluation due to our present system of assessment is the historic Holland House, situated in the midst of a private park of 70 acres. Its rateable value is only £2,917, or a little over £40 per acre per annum, although it was estimated 20 years ago, that the land alone would sell for £10,000 per acre. It is situated in the middle of the Holland Ward of the Royal Borough of Kensington. The rest of the property in this ward extends to about 360 acres, and is rated at £325,000, or £900 per acre per annum.

The DAILY CHRONICLE of January 10th calls attention to this case, and points out the necessity for a new and impartial system of valuation.

### A HINT TO CAPITALISTS AND TO GOVERNMENT VALUER.

The ESTATES GAZETTE of January 22nd, states that Queens-town, with its great Harbour of Cork, a grand area of protected water that is capable of affording safe anchorage to the entire British Navy, should have a tremendous maritime future before it when the happy day comes for the proper development of industrial Ireland. . . . The Rushbrooke Docks and Works are about 3½ acres in extent, and the property, which is on the direct route between Queenstown and Cork, includes the only dry docks in the harbour and thus enjoys a practical monopoly, and is well worth the attention of capitalists.

The monopolists have always been alert in these matters. They know their business thoroughly, and even under the most favourable circumstances it will take the valuers too long to overtake them.

### THE DESTRUCTION OF THE POOR.

The ESTATES GAZETTE of January 22nd intimates that the attention of the Justices has recently been directed to the fact that there is an increase in the number of committal warrants for non-

payment of rates in Islington, as well as of defaulters, who serve the terms imposed upon them. Many persons, it is said, take advantage of the delay caused by the legal procedure, but regard must also be had to poverty, refusal of the Borough Council to compound with landlords, and possible deterioration of character and other causes. The committal warrants issued during the period from 1906 to 1908 rose from 484 to 813, or 68 per cent., and the number of defaulters who served time in prison in lieu of payment rose by 61 per cent. The Islington Justices have reported themselves in agreement with the Borough Council as to the inutility of short sentences in the case of habitual defaulters, and also as to the desirability of leaving the question of holding the warrant over to the Council and its officials. Special efforts, they suggest, should be made to prevent habitual defaulters remaining in houses for which they pay no rates. The committee of the Borough Council is considering a scheme for reimbursing the brokers any loss to which they may be put in removing and selling the effects of defaulters when they are not sufficient to satisfy the warrant. By these means, and with the assistance of the Justices in discharging with consistency and firmness the duties imposed upon them by the Rating Acts, the municipal authority hopes to bring about a considerable reduction in the mass of warrants applied for, and in the number of rate defaulters who undergo imprisonment, with the result that the rate collection will be correspondingly benefited.

In Stoke Newington the same difficulty has arisen.

This occupation of grinding the faces of the poor is surely an unworthy one for "Justices." These poor people may well share the feelings of Gil Blas in similar circumstances. "The thoughts," he said, "of being unable to free myself from the claws of Justice, although I was not guilty of the least crime, threw me into despair." . . . "What a strange figure you are! (said the ballad-singer). Justice I see has been done you in all her forms."

"I do not complain of Justice (said Gil Blas); she is most equitable; I wish only that all her officers were honest men. They ought at least to have spared my clothes which I think I paid for pretty handsomely."

When was a landlord defaulter sold up or sent to prison? He pays no rates and for this default, which is a crime in others, he is sent to the House of Lords.

## NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

### MANCHESTER.

The Manchester League for the Taxation of Land Values have done brilliant work not only during the election, but during the whole of the past year. That work has borne excellent fruit in the results of the election in Manchester and district.

The office of the League is at 134, Deansgate, Manchester and Mr. A. H. Weller, the secretary, sends the following account of its activities.

- Dec. 30.—Crossley's Works, Openshaw, Dinner-hour meeting at 1.30 p.m. Mr. J. Bagot and A. H. Weller.
- Jan. 3.—Election Meeting, Ashton-under-Lyne, open air, 8 p.m. A. H. Weller.
- " 3.—Election Meeting, Fallowfield, Dr. P. McDougall.
- " 4.—Election Meeting, Ashton-under-Lyne, open-air, 1.30 p.m. A. H. Weller.
- " 6.—Election Meeting, Ashton-under-Lyne, open-air, 1.30 p.m. J. Bagot and A. H. Weller.
- " 6.—Election Meeting, Ashton-under-Lyne, open-air, 8 p.m. A. H. Weller.
- " 8.—Election Meeting, N.W. Manchester, open-air, 4 p.m. A. H. Weller.
- " 12.—Election Meeting, Rochdale, open-air, 1.30 p.m. A. H. Weller.
- " 13.—Election Meeting, Newton Heath, open-air, 1.30 p.m. J. Bagot.
- " 13.—Crossley's works, Openshaw, dinner-hour meeting, 1.30 p.m. Dr. P. McDougall and A. H. Weller.
- " 13.—Economic Class Meeting at the Manchester office, 8 p.m.
- " 14.—Election Meeting, Salford Ironworks, open-air, 1 p.m. J. Bagot and A. H. Weller.
- " 19.—Election Meeting, Hyde, open-air, 1 p.m. Dr. P. McDougall.
- " 20.—Election Meeting, Gorton, open-air, 1.30 p.m. A. H. Weller.
- " 27.—Economic Class Meeting, at the Manchester Office, 8 p.m.
- Feb. 16.—Leigh League of Young Liberals. Dr. P. McDougall.

I wish to draw particular attention to our economic class meetings which will be held every week in future on Thursday evenings at 8 p.m., and to again offer a cordial invitation to all Manchester members and friends to attend these meetings. Ladies also are specially invited.

The withdrawal of the President of the Manchester League, Mr. L. W. Zimmerman, from the Parliamentary contest in East Manchester is much regretted here, but there is little doubt that his generous action saved that seat for the progressive party. There is some consolation for that loss to be found in the election of two of the Vice-Presidents of the Manchester League, Mr. Harold Elverston, M.P., and Mr. William Barton, M.P.

### BOLTON.

The Bolton League for the Taxation of Land Values have been working strenuously, and it was largely due to their efforts that two Progressive members were returned for Bolton with increased majorities. They afterwards transferred their activities to West-houghton and Ratcliffe-cum-Farnworth, and helped to return Progressives there.

A successful meeting was held at Edgerton in reply to a Mr. Deakin, who had opposed the Land Clauses of the Budget. Correspondence in the Press followed, and as a result, another meeting was arranged for the night before the election. Mr. Deakin was asked to take the chair, and this he agreed to do. Mr. Isaac Edwards was the speaker and took the audience by storm. Replying to a vote of thanks, Mr. Deakin said he had had a splendid time, and if the Conservative candidate had been there he would have been converted too. He said they had been shown how they must vote on the morrow. Mr. Deakin, who is a big land and property owner in the district, and employs about 75 per cent. of the working population of Edgerton and Belmont, has a good deal of influence, and his conversion to our cause is a decided achievement on the part of our Bolton friends.

Fourteen successful indoor and several outdoor meetings were held at Chorley, a Tory stronghold, in spite of peltings of mud and stones. The secretary writes: "I am convinced we did Chorley some good, and we shall storm them again in a few weeks' time, as this is the only way to turn the people's minds into our channel."

Blackpool was visited, and thirty splendid meetings were held. The secretary in his letter says: "We are all surprised up here to see how the South has gone rank Tory. We cannot understand it. Look how solid Lancashire and Yorkshire are for the Budget. Yes, and we intend to keep it so, and what time we have we intend to spend on the hitherto forlorn hopes. Remember Bolton Young Liberals are now over 1,000 strong, and every man getting a good education on the Budget and the Land question. We have made a great name here."

### SCOTTISH NOTES.

The Scottish League has lost by the death of Archibald C. McDonald, an able supporter who passed away at his home, 26, Princes Street, Govan, on December 9th, 1909. Mr. McDonald was one of the best informed of the Glasgow group. Though he preferred to work quietly outside the organisation, he was ever active, talking to people and at times putting his views in leaflet form. His efforts were always well directed, and in his own quiet way his work told among friends and neighbours, by whom he was universally respected. The sincerest sympathy of the League goes out to Mrs. McDonald in her bereavement.

## WHAT THE ENGLISH LEAGUE IS DOING.

It is impossible to give this month the usual list of lectures delivered and meetings addressed during the past month. The General Secretary has delivered only one lecture since Christmas up to the time of writing—at East Grinstead on January 4th, when the League of Young Liberals gathered for him a meeting which overflowed the largest hall they could obtain. The heavy pressure of office work throughout the Election has since kept him fully engaged at 376, Strand. But the other speakers of the League have been extremely active during the whole of the past month, and most of them are still too busy, when these notes are being written, to send in any account of their doings. Speaking at Stepney, on January 12th, Mr. Hemmerde, the President of the League, said that since



Christmas, he had addressed, in all parts of the country, meetings with an aggregate attendance of at least 100,000, at which the enthusiasm for the Budget was unbounded and the indignation at the Lords deep and determined.

The Hon. Treasurer desires to express his heartiest thanks to all the members and friends of the League who responded so promptly and generously to the appeal for special subscriptions towards the cost of the Election work of the League. To all the subscribers, whether their gifts be larger or smaller in amount, the officers of the League tender their grateful thanks, with an assurance that the League has made the best possible use of the means placed at its disposal.

A London workman doubled his usual subscription. "It gives me the greater pleasure to do this," he wrote, "at this calamitous period when the poor dukes, lords, and other rich men are becoming so poverty-stricken that they not only have to stop, or greatly reduce, their subscriptions, but to discharge employes as well. So for once I am delighted to be able to reverse the 'old order' of things which once gave the rich the monopoly in the distribution of their 'wealth'."

Almost every mail has brought evidence of the intense interest which has been excited among our friends abroad by the emergence of our question as a great electoral issue. Letters of encouragement and sympathy, nearly all of which contained subscriptions, have been received from France, Holland, Sweden, Italy, Russia, California, New South Wales, South Africa and the Argentine Republic.

So far as the results are known at the time of writing, the fate of the members of the League who stood as candidates is given below. Members of the late Parliament are marked thus (\*).

#### SUCCESSFUL.

†* Barnes, G. N. (Blackfriars, Glasgow)	Majority 1700
* Barran, R. H. (Leeds, North)	1611
†* Byles, W. P. (Salford, North)	857
† Chancellor, H. G. (Haggerston)	456
* Crosfield, A. H. (Warrington)	153
* Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.)	1367
* Duncan, J. H. (Yorks, Otley)	1901
* Ferens, T. R. (Hull, East)	1936
* Henry, C. S. (Salop, Wellington)	1189
* Higham, J. S. (Yorks, Sowerby)	2030
* Illingworth, P. A. (Yorks, Shipley)	3775
* Lehmann, R. C. (Leics., Harboro')	1071
* Lough, Rt. Hon. T. (Islington, W.)	254
* Manfield, H. (Northants, Mid.)	556
* Mond, Alf. (Swansea Town)	1645
* Nicholson, C. N. (Yorks, Doncaster)	3569
* Priestley, Sir W. E. B. (Bradford, E.)	2695
* Robson, Sir W. S. (S. Shields)	4236
Rowntree, Arnold (York)	256
* Runciman, Rt. Hon. W. (Dewsbury)	3135
* Samuel, Rt. Hon. H. (Yorks, Cleveland)	1893
* Soames, A. W. (Norfolk, S.)	1087
* Spicer, Sir A. (Hackney, Central)	576
* Toulmin, Geo. (Bury)	608
† Trevelyan, C. P. (Yorks, Elland)	2783
* Verney, F. W. (Buckingham)	111
* Walker, H. de R. (Leics., Melton)	123
* Walters, J. Tudor (Sheffield, Brightside)	1956
† Wedgwood, J. C. (Newcastle, Staffs)	1408
†* Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)	4750
* Wiles, Thos. (Islington, S.)	731
* Williams, A. (Plymouth)	311
* Wilson, H. J. (Yorks, Holmfirth)	3296
* Wood, T. McK. (Glasgow, St. Rollox)	3198

#### UNSUCCESSFUL.

Blease, W. Lyon (Lancs., Chorley)	
* Bramsdon, Sir T. A. (Portsmouth)	
* Brodie, H. C. (Surrey, Reigate)	
Costello, L. W. J. (Strand)	
* Edwards, A. C. (Denbigh Boroughs)	
* Cotton, Sir H. (Nottingham, E.)	
† Hart-Davies, T. (Hackney, N.)	
* Horniman, E. J. (Chelsea)	
Leon, A. L. (Croydon)	
† Lester, W. R. (Norfolk, Mid.)	
* Lever, W. H. (Lancs., Ormskirk)	

- \* Lupton, A. (Lincs., Sleaford)
- \* Lynch, H. F. B. (Yorks, Ripon)
- \* Maclean, D. (Bath)
- \* Massie, J. (Wiltshire, N.)
- \* Morrell, Philip (Oxon, Henley)
- \* Rutherford, V. H. (Middlesex, Brentford)
- \* Silcock, T. B. (Somerset, Wells)
- Verney, H. C. W. (Wiltshire, South)
- Young, E. Hilton (Worcestershire, E.)

† Past-President of the League. ‡ Vice-President.

The Executive of the League, taking advantage of the presence in this country of Mr. Henry George, junior, and Mr. Louis F. Post (Editor of *THE PUBLIC* Chicago) have asked them to address a Public Meeting in the Essex (Large) Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Friday, January 28th, on the issues and results of the Election from the Land Reformers' point of view.

#### FEBRUARY MEETINGS.

- Tu. 1.—Winchester Women's Liberal Association: Fredk. Verinder, "Woman's Interest in the Land Question." 7.30.
- Wed. 2.—Sutton Adult School Debating Society, Upper School-room, Guildhall, Benhill Street: Fredk. Verinder, 8.
- Thur. 3.—North Islington, I.L.P.: Fredk. Verinder, "The Government's Land Policy."
- Fri. 4.—Paddington Branch, Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants: A. Powell, "The Land Question," 8.30.
- Mon. 7.—Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, W.C. Fredk. Verinder.
- Sun. 27.—Stepney, I.L.P.: Fredk. Verinder, "Land and Labour."

#### COLONIAL AND FOREIGN.

##### NEW SOUTH WALES.

##### RATING IN SYDNEY.

By A. G. HUIE.

The City Elections took place on the 1st December, when aldermen for the City of Sydney were elected for the ensuing three years. As I have pointed out previously, the City is the only place in New South Wales where the system of rating on rental values for ordinary municipal services continues. The power to adopt land value taxation only is in the hands of the aldermen. Unlike the suburbs and country, the ratepayers have no power to demand a poll. Everything depends upon the Council. For these reasons our efforts were directed towards getting a Council elected to establish the new system. There would be no trouble about it but for one thing. Almost every candidate professed to be in favour of Rating on Unimproved Values, but some of them had an excuse for declining to promise to act up to their profession, if elected. In the suburbs and country the Government pays rates on the unimproved value of the occupied land belonging to it, to the local council. In the City, for some strange reason, it pays rates on the rental value, and declares that if the City Council imposes its rates solely upon land values that it will pay no rates at all. A sum of about £13,000 is involved. That difficulty, absurd as it appears, is the only thing that stands in the way of rating entirely on land values in the City of Sydney in 1910. It would never have arisen with a man like Sir Joseph Carruthers in power. Many of us would let the £13,000 go, holding that those who use their land fully pay far more than that in excess of their fair proportion of the rates. We supported candidates who are in favour of the principle, come what may, and met with a fair measure of success. During the campaign a statement was published. It was signed by 84 mayors and aldermen of the suburbs, and unquestionably represents the views of a large majority of the suburban aldermen, although time did not permit of their signatures being obtained. The land values of the suburbs amount to about £24,000,000, and those of the City to about £20,000,000, but these figures are somewhat below selling values.

The following is the statement: In response to a request for an expression of opinion, we wish to say that the system of rating on Unimproved Values which came into force under the provisions of the Local Government Act of 1906, is working remarkably well—

It has reduced the rates of a very large proportion of the ratepayers, although we are raising a larger revenue.

It has stimulated the building trade, employment is more constant, and business generally is on a much sounder footing.

It has induced a number of ratepayers to build, or dispose of land which they were not willing or able to use themselves, and has promoted the subdivision of land hitherto withheld from use for speculative purposes.

It is fair to all ratepayers, as it simply requires from each his due proportion of the rates.

It specially benefits those ratepayers whose use of land is most effective, and creditable to the municipality, while it has put effective pressure upon a number of owners of idle or partly used land, to change their tactics.

As far as we can judge, the new system has the emphatic support of the bulk of the people. There is no public demand for a change.

It is but fair to admit that rating on Unimproved Values is working as well as its advocates claimed that it would before it was adopted.

Our experience is so satisfactory that we have no hesitation in saying that the new system could be adopted with great advantage in the City.

\* \* \*

#### ENLIGHTENED ISLANDERS IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC.

An Official Report (Cd. 4992) was published last month relating to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands in the Western Pacific. These islands are situated about 500 to 600 miles north of Fiji, and about 2,000 miles to the north-east of Australia. We quote the following interesting passage:—

Extreme poverty is almost unknown; every man is secure in the possession of his pieces of land, and is protected from the aggression of, or spoliation by, his more powerful neighbours from which he suffered so much in the past. The taxes which are levied on the population, and which form a burden in no case too heavy to be easily borne, are used for the improvement of the islands, for a reserve in case of drought or other disaster, a small portion only of the taxes of each island going to the general revenue of the Protectorate.

I have not heard a single complaint against the incidence of the taxation, which is assessed in the form of a graduated land tax, so that the wealthier members of the community pay in proportion to their land holdings, while the poorer people pay a merely nominal amount. The institution of the Island Fund, which is the balance left over from the total taxation of each island after deducting the King's tax and the actual cost of the native administration, has been of the greatest possible value, and may in the event of any catastrophe, prove the salvation of the race.

\* \* \*

#### A CANADIAN SUGGESTION.

Mr. F. J. Dixon, of Winnipeg, writes to Mr. Joseph Fels on January 1st:—"We are all anxiously awaiting the result of the elections. If a few shiploads of exiled Englishmen could be shipped home, to vote, there would be no doubt as to the result. Almost everyone out here is sore at the Lords—landlords. One fact should be put up against the Tariff Reformers, and that is that you can buy better bread made from Canadian wheat in England for less money than we can in Winnipeg right in the midst of the wheat-growing district. This is one of the benefits of partial Free Trade that should not be lost sight of."

#### UNITED STATES.

##### INTERVIEW WITH MR. JOSEPH FELS.

The NORTH AMERICAN (Philadelphia) of January 10th contained a long interview with Mr. Fels on the Budget conflict in Britain.

"The example of England," he said, "is bound to have a big influence on other nations and particularly on this one. We derive our political institutions from Great Britain. . . . England to-day is the freest nation in the world. The average British subject is better guarded in his rights than the citizen of any other country. He has a greater influence in his government than the citizen of any other country has. Public opinion in England is more influential than in any other country and the Government responds more quickly to the demands of the people than any other Government on earth." After giving an accurate and exhaustive account of the issue here, Mr. Fels proceeded

to apply the principle of the Budget to American conditions. "There is the Oil Trust," he said. "If it had to pay taxes on the great oil and gas fields on their true value and not just as waste lands, how long would it hold them out of the market unproductive? . . . There's the Coal Trust up through the Pennsylvania counties. It holds millions and millions of tons of coal in the ground on which it pays no taxes. The land, if taxed at all, pays only a nominal rate as wild mountain land. The result is that the Trust can mine coal or not mine it as it desires to squeeze the public. It has an absolute monopoly. If those thousands of acres and thousands of millions of tons of coal were taxed at their real value the Trust would mine all the coal it could find sale for. Result: cheaper coal and the breaking of the monopoly. . . . The same principle would apply to all monopolies. All are founded on land; railroads, gas companies, electric light, telegraph, telephone, and street railways. All are part of the land monopoly. . . . Under the new system the land will bear the taxes and capital will be encouraged to build factories to give employment to the people, labour will be encouraged to build houses, congestion will be relieved, living conditions improved and work will be steady, regulated by the natural laws and not by the will of the few monopolists.

"And all this may be the result of the Budget agitation in England. You can see why it is so important, not only to the people over there, but to the people here and in every civilised nation."

#### GERMANY.

##### LAND VALUES IN BERLIN.

A remarkable instance of the rapid growth of ground values in Berlin has been afforded by the experience of Schoeneberg, one of the rising independent boroughs comprised in the area of Greater Berlin with a tax on unearned increment. The tax was only introduced last year, and the yield was estimated at £15,000, but it is now calculated that the receipts for the year total £35,000 whereof £34,200 have already been paid in.—Reuter dispatch of January 8th.

Mr. T. G. Horsfall read a paper recently before the National Town Planning Congress at Westminster. He dealt with the system of building large tenement houses in German towns and compared it with the English system of building smaller houses. While there were some 300,000 people living in houses of one room in London there were 700,000 occupying houses of the same size in Berlin. He attributes this chiefly to the high price of land, quoting the authority of a Mr. Boehmert, who says that land costs as a rule four or five times as much in German towns as in English towns of the same population.

#### FRANCE.

##### PEASANT OWNERSHIP IN FRANCE.

The PALL MALL GAZETTE of January 7th in its Literary Notes has the following observations on the working of peasant ownership in France:—

M. H. Clement gives yet another reason for the falling off of the number of children born in France in a series of articles lately appearing under the title of "La Régime Successoral et la Dépopulation." According to him, it is in great measure due to the clauses in the Code Napoléon which limit the power of a parent to dispose of his property among his family as seems to him good, and thus leads to the breaking up of landed estates. As this is the exact end which is avowedly aimed at by Radical measures like Mr. Lloyd George's late ill-famed Budget, it is worth recording an unprejudiced opinion on the point.

By an example drawn from M. Le Play's "L'Organisation de la Famille," M. Clement shows how, in one case at least, the perpetual splitting-up of the estate caused by the necessity of providing for all the children of a family led to the reduction to poverty of a clan in the Cauterets who had been settled there for four hundred years. These people, called after the fashion of the country "les Melouga," resisted all attempts to purchase their property and presented an unbroken front to the world until 1869, when the Code Napoléon first came into force in their commune. Since then their descent has been rapid, and by 1883 their ruin was fairly complete, the mother and chief of the family dying paralysed and almost a pauper, while one of the daughters was then a maid-servant at Lourdes, and four of the sons had become day-labourers. Such tragedies can be easily paralleled, according to M. Clement, in other places, and lend



much colour to his contention that the law of equal division of the heritage has been of much disservice to the State by driving multitudes from the land.

Whether it really leads to the voluntary limitation of the number of a family is not so apparent, and involves other considerations; but it is certainly remarkable that no other European countries except France and Belgium have ever accepted a similar law, and that the South American States who adopted it for a time have one and all abandoned it. But, if the division of landed estates among all the members of a family has this disastrous effect, what may we expect of a system by which it is intended to make the State itself one of the inheritors and, what is worse, an inheritor taking by no means an insignificant share of the inheritance? Wherefore, it seems plain that the Budget, had it passed, would, so far from remedying unemployment, have increased it, and, in particular, would have helped further to drive the agricultural population into the towns to the more rapid ruin of the prospects of labour in both town and country. Which is exactly what all sensible people said at the time.

The writer of the Notes is mistaken with regard to the Budget. It is its opponents who propose to establish the French system of ownership although the system has been proved absolutely unsound in the history of a hundred civilisations.

### BOOK RECEIVED.

**SOCIAL SERVICE**, by Louis F. Post,\*  
Author of "Ethics of Democracy," &c.

We hope to review this book in our next issue. Meantime we quote Tom L. Johnson's opinion of it.

"I am inclined to think it is destined to make more converts than any other book on political economy yet written except 'Progress and Poverty.'"

\*"SOCIAL SERVICE," published by A. Wessels, New York. Price, One Dollar, or 4/2 post free.

"I withdraw all argument" said Kenelm, with an aspect so humiliated and dejected, that it would have softened a Greenland bear, or a Counsel for the Prosecution. "I am more and more convinced that of all the shams in the world, that of benevolence is the greatest. It seems so easy to do good, and it is so difficult to do it, everywhere in this hateful civilized life one runs one's head against a system. A system, Mr. Travers, is man's servile imitation of the blind tyranny of what we, in our ignorance call "Natural Laws," a mechanical something through which the world is ruled by the cruelty of General Principles, to the utter disregard of individual welfare. By "Natural Laws" creatures prey on each other, and big fishes eat little ones upon system. It is nevertheless a hard thing for the little fish. Every nation, every town, every hamlet, every occupation, has a system, by which, somehow or other, the pond swarms with fishes, of which a great many inferiors contribute to increase the size of a superior. It is an idle benevolence to keep one solitary gudgeon out of the jaws of a pike. Here am I doing what I thought the simplest thing in the world, asking a gentleman, evidently as good-natured as myself to allow an old woman to let her premises to a deserving young couple, and paying what she asks for it out of my own pocket, and I find that I am running against a system, and invading all the laws by which a rental is increased and an estate improved."

From Kenelm Chillingly by Lord Lytton.

## THE LANDLORDS' LAW.

### WHAT THE LORDS ARE FIGHTING FOR IN YORKSHIRE.

(Leaflet No. 15.)

#### What the People Pay and the Landlords Receive—For Water.

In 1903 the people of Leeds found it necessary to secure a better water supply. For that purpose they had to pay Lord Masham £68,932 for 537 acres of land at Colsterdale and Leighton, Lord Masham retaining all the sporting rights. This land was valued at less than 12s. per acre for rent. Thus the Leeds ratepayers had to pay £120 per acre, or 200 years' purchase of the rateable value on which Lord Masham paid rates. This is about ten times its fair value.

The people of Harrogate paid Lord Masham £25,000 for 106 acres of land to extend their water supply, or £240 an acre.

Lord Masham voted against the Budget. Under the present law he is not asked to leave one-halfpenny out of his tens of thousands towards the rates. The overworked and underpaid men and women of Leeds and Harrogate have to pay these rates out of their small earnings. **This is the Landlords' Law.**

#### What the People Pay and the Landlords Receive—For Sanitation.

In 1909 the people of Leeds required land for sewage works. Last August they had to pay the Hon. E. Lindley Wood £149,644 for 610 acres on Templenewsam estate. The rateable value of this land was £1 7s. 6d. per acre. The Leeds ratepayers paid £245 an acre, or 180 years' purchase of the value on which Mr. Wood paid to the rating authorities. **This is the Landlords' Law.**

#### Land Values in Business Centre.

By paying rates to bring in water and to carry out a sewage scheme the ratepayers send up the value of land in the city. In 1862 a plot of land in Park Row, Leeds, was offered for sale at £31,460 per acre. In 1893 the next plot but one was sold at the rate of £145,200 per acre. In 1898 the plot next the first one was sold at the rate of £278,300 per acre, an increase of £246,840 over the neighbouring plot in 36 years.

In 1897 a site overlooking City Square sold at the rate of £363,000 per acre.

Out of these hundreds of thousands the landlords pay not a half-penny to the rates. But during the last ten years the ratepayers of Leeds have paid £6,528,076 to maintain and improve their public services, to maintain and increase the value of land. **This is the Landlords' Law.**

#### Sheffield's Loss and the Landlords' Gain.

Between 1767 and 1839 thirty-five Acts were passed permitting over 63,000 acres of common lands within twelve miles of the Sheffield Parish Church to be made private property. By the Bradfield Enclosure Act passed in 1811 the Duke of Norfolk of that time got 7,000 acres. Other members of the House of Lords have shared largely in the division of these public lands, and where the people used to walk freely and feed their cattle, sheep or geese, they are now warned off by the notice, "Trespassers will be Prosecuted." Without any right to use the land as their fathers used it, without any share in its value, the people of Sheffield have to pay rents to the landlords and rates to the Council to maintain the value of the stolen land.

### The IDEAL Policy

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In 1823, 690 square yards in South Street Moor, being part of land which had been enclosed in 1779 by Earl Fitzwilliam was let for 99 years at a ground rent of £12 10s. Negotiation for the renewal of the lease is now (1909) proceeding on the following basis:—Surrender of 13 years unexpired term, new lease at ground rent of £225, present buildings to be improved at cost of £1,000, or to be rebuilt at a cost of £5,000. **No wonder the Duke of Norfolk and Earl Fitzwilliam voted against the Budget! That is what the Lords are fighting to maintain. This is the Landlords' Law.**

### WHAT THE LORDS ARE FIGHTING FOR IN BIRMINGHAM.

(Leaflet No. 16).

#### Birmingham Land Values—What the Landlords receive.

In 1550 King Edward VI. gave to the Grammar School Foundation a piece of land. The rent of this land was then £19 per annum. Since that time Birmingham has become a large city, and this land, which lies near its centre, yields more than £40,000 per annum in ground rents.

In 1830, 700 square yards of land at the corner of New Street and Bennets Hill were let on lease at £69 per annum. In 1905 the same site was let on a new lease at £975 per annum.

In 1901 the Corporation paid £4,400 for 83 square yards of land to widen New Street. This is at the rate of £256,500 per acre.

In the heart of the City there are some 82 acres belonging to the Colmore estate. In 1904 the people of Birmingham required 9,890 square yards, or about 2 acres, of this land for the Council House Extension. Under leases which had expired these 2 acres were let at less than £250 a year, but under the new lease the Council are required to pay £5,400 a year.

#### What the People Pay.

During 1908 the ratepayers of Birmingham paid £92,000 to maintain the streets, £30,500 to light them, and £20,300 to keep up the Fire Brigade. During the last three years alone the ratepayers have paid £3,017,327 in rates. Within recent years there has been an expenditure of £8,250,000 on a water supply, £3,785,000 on gas and electricity supply, £1,249,000 on the tramway service. All this money has been spent by the Birmingham ratepayers to create and maintain land values for Birmingham landlords, and out of the hundreds of thousands received by the landlords they are not asked to pay one half-penny to the rates. The poor, the unemployed, the overworked and underpaid, the busy men and women occupying houses, factories, and shops have to pay all. **This is the Landlords' Law.**

#### The People's Burden and the Landlords' Reward.

The Birmingham Improvement Scheme was started at the expense of the ratepayers in 1876. Corporation Street was carried through the "unhealthy area," and while large sums were paid for the land acquired, the value of the adjoining land was greatly increased. The landlords are receiving higher rents as a result of the improvement, while in 1908 the yearly charge on the ratepayer was £23,000 on the debt incurred. **This is the Landlords' Law.**

On June 17th, 1884, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, giving evidence before the Housing Commission, said:

"With regard to all these improvement rates I cannot understand why the ground landlord should escape from his share of the contribution. At present

it is charged upon the occupier. It appears to me that the ground landlord is benefited immensely by the general improvement to the place to which the improvement contributed, and I do not see why he should escape scot free."

Mr. Chamberlain was right, but still: **This is the Landlords' Law.**

#### The Landlords wait for Rent—The People wait for Work and Healthy Homes.

The Birmingham City Surveyor, at the enquiry regarding the extension of the City boundaries, on December 30th, 1909, said to the Local Government Board Inspector that "the area of land available for building, but at present unbuilt upon in the City, was 3,554 acres," yet at this moment there are more than 30,000 "back-court" houses in Birmingham, where the people are deprived of adequate accommodation, light, and air. These houses are taxed. The landlords hold up their untaxed land for higher rents and much building capital is unemployed, and there are many builders out of work who would willingly build new and better houses. **This is what the Lords are fighting to maintain. This is the Landlords' Law.**

### WHAT THE LORDS ARE FIGHTING FOR IN BERKSHIRE.

(Leaflet No. 19.)

#### Holding back Land from the Labourers.

Cookham is a typical Berkshire Parish. While most of the land is under farms or market-gardens, there is a growing demand for building land. Sites cannot be got except at too high prices, yet there are hundreds of acres suited for the erection of houses and for small holdings. There is hardly ever a cottage to let. The owners ask from £400 to £600 per acre for the freehold of this land, or from £20 to £30 per acre ground rent. This high price keeps the labourers out, and so there are slums and overcrowding in beautiful Cookham! Instead of being rated at £20 per acre, the value which the owners place on it, the land is only rated at 20s. per acre, and so they can afford to hold it out of use. **This is the Landlords' Law.**

#### Rating the Labourers' Cottages.

Nine workmen's cottages at Cookham, occupying 950 square yards of land, are rated at £10 10s. each, or £94 10s. for the nine. That is, nine workmen's families who can only get one-fifth of an acre on which to live are rated at over ninety times the amount at which the landlord is rated for a full acre. The workmen have to pay, in rates, 450 times as much as the landowners, because they live in houses, the erection of which has given employment to builders, while the landowners have kept their land idle, and kept men out of work. **This is what the Lords are fighting to maintain. This is the Landlords' Law.**

#### The People's Law.

The Budget is the people's law. It provides for the separate valuation of land and improvements. It makes it possible for the tax-collector to get at the landowner, and to take back for the benefit of the people the value which their industry and expenditure create. After the Budget is passed, idle land can be taxed into use and idle men can get employment. Houses can be built and let at moderate rents. After the Budget is passed, shops, houses, and food can be relieved of taxation. **This is the People's Law.**



## THE SHOPKEEPERS' BUDGET.

(Leaflet No. 17.)

### His Enterprise and the Burden of Rates and Taxes.

Of all the units of our population, the shopkeeper, no matter in what city or town or in what part of that city or town, is one of the most useful, and helps forward the prosperity of the district in which he operates as much as any other. It is his activity and business energy which play a large part in bringing about the progress and prosperity of his particular district and so indirectly of the nation. But instead of being encouraged to persevere, and being rewarded for his enterprise and energy, he is discouraged and penalised. The reward he gets often decreases in proportion to the labour and enterprise he expends. The more he spends in improving his premises and fittings, the more rates and taxes he has to pay.

A short time ago, Messrs. Craven and Speeding Brothers, of Sunderland, erected some new buildings and installed some new and improved machinery. As a reward for their enterprise, round came the Rating Department of the Corporation and advanced the assessment of the firm by £500 per annum!

Similar conditions prevail throughout the kingdom. Industry is penalised and enterprise discouraged everywhere.

In one of Glasgow's busy streets there is a building which cost £4,700 to erect and the ground rent of which was £30. The premises were fully let, and the feuar, or lessee, being an enterprising individual, and knowing that it would be an advantage to have a new frontage and wider staircases, among other alterations, had these changes effected at a cost of £1,500. What happened? The City Assessor came along, admired the changes, and put up the assessment from £270 to £375, making a difference in the yearly payment of the rates of over £30. This is the encouragement meted out to progressive and enterprising business people. **Fined £30 a year for improving their business premises!**

### His Goodwill and the Landlords' Power.

The more a shopkeeper creates a goodwill and becomes identified with his site in the street, the greater power the landowner has over him when he wants to renew his lease. In times of prosperity he is apt to lose sight of the heavy weight he has to carry, for his profits are good; but after a year or two of slackness in trade he feels that he is only really working for the landlord and the rating authorities. Everything seems out of joint with him and his affairs. He economises, takes no business risks, loses opportunities, worries and works longer, gets sick at heart and queer with his bank.

Many tradesmen who ten years ago made up their minds to retire at the end of five years with a larger competence than they then had, are still in business lamenting that they did not retire when they had the opportunity. Instead of increasing their savings, they found the opportunity of retiring at all gradually disappearing. They have been doing their duty to the community, trying to help on commerce, and have been punished for their pains. They have had to pay in order to increase other people's incomes, for they have contributed largely to the increase in land value that has taken place in every business and commercial centre, and which invariably finds its way into the landowners' pockets.

### Confiscation of the Results of Industry.

This despotic power which the landowners have, enables them to confiscate the results of business and commercial activity and talent. Here is an example:—

The lease of premises in Piccadilly, occupied by an old-established and famous firm identified with the premises, was renewed in June, 1909. The expired lease itself was a renewed term of 20 years. The old rent for

the land and buildings was £800 per annum. The new rent for the land alone is henceforth to be £1800 per annum, and the lessees are to erect a costly building, which at the end of the lease will revert to the landowner.

What has happened in Piccadilly has happened in every growing town. The landowner swoops down and carries off the fruits of industry.

At Sheffield practically the whole of the more important part of the city belongs to the Duke of Norfolk, whose predecessors let the land to people who built steel works and many other kinds of industrial premises, thus making Sheffield a large and famous town and the land valuable. For some years past these leases have been falling in and enormous values reverting to the Duke. In South Street and Broad Street Park, Mr. Unwin, a draper, held a lease from the Duke at £5 ls. per annum. The lease had 6½ years to run. To secure a renewal Mr. Unwin had to surrender the 6½ years' unexpired term, accept a lease for 40 years only, pay a rent of £150 a year instead of £5 ls., spend £1000 in improving the buildings, and continue to pay all the rates.

### Restricted Use of Land—Restricted Trade and Unemployment.

Under our present system the use of land is restricted, and men having control over land are encouraged to hold it out of use while people are working around and increasing the need for it, and, consequently, the value. They hold on just as long as they think suitable, in order that, as a consequence of the increasing activity and numbers of the people in the vicinity, and the demand for this land becoming greater, they are enabled to demand a high and, in many cases, exorbitant price or rent for its use.

This restricted use of land is extremely harmful to the interests of trade and commerce, because land being the fundamental factor in all production, whether of food, manufactures, or any conceivable article of domestic or commercial use, the restricted use of land must mean restricted production, whether manufacturing or agricultural. This affects the shopkeeper in several ways. The manufacture of the articles he stocks being restricted, they are more costly than would otherwise be the case, consequently he must charge a correspondingly high price, and so restrict the demand for them. Again agriculture and manufacture being restricted, employment is restricted. People are out of work, causing fierce competition for what employment there is; thus wages are lowered, lowered, in fact, as far as they possibly can be. This unemployment hits the shopkeeper in two ways. In the first place, his customers are impoverished, and so purchase less; and, secondly, rates are increased to meet the expenses of unemployment evils, poor law relief, and the workhouse.

### To Free Industry and Encourage Enterprise.

Surely there is something wrong here. The system which takes so much from the industrious shopkeeper, so indispensable a member of the community, and enriches the idle landowner, who contributes nothing to the welfare of the community, is absurd and out of date. **A new system of rating and taxation is required**, so that when an individual works hard and well, instead of being discouraged by being mulcted in heavy rates and taxes, as is now the case, he would be encouraged to increase his efforts by the exemption of his improvements from rates and taxes. **This could be accomplished by adopting the Land Values system of taxation**—that is, all rates and taxes should be levied on the value of land. This is the only equitable method; for just as the increased value of a shopkeeper's business is due to his own energy, enterprise, and ability so is the value of land due to the presence, activity and enterprise of the people on and around that land. As the land owes its value to the energies of the people, it is only

just and fair that the people should utilise that value to meet their expenses as a community, expenses incurred in road-making and repairing, scavenging, cleansing, and the thousand and one things that are necessary where people congregate.

#### Free Land means Free Industry.

A tax on the value of all land would induce the landholders either to make good use of their land, or to meet on reasonable terms those who require its use. Land thus being made accessible, agriculture would be revived, manufacture stimulated, employment increased and better trade secured. The shopkeeper would get his stock cheaper, his customers would be better off and purchase more,

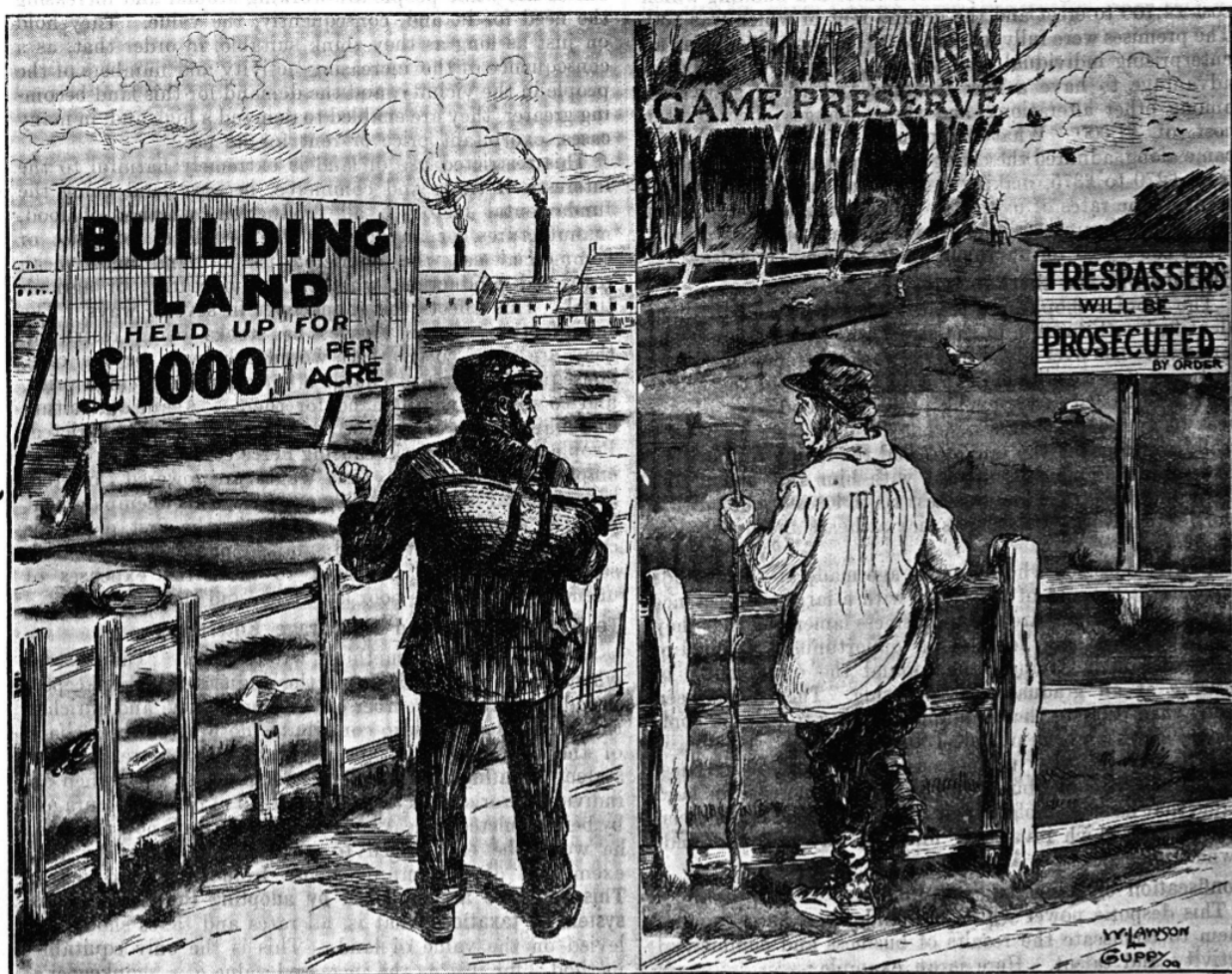
and when he enlarged his premises he would not be oppressively rated. When his lease fell in, and he wanted to renew his tenancy, the landlord would be more anxious to treat with him in a reasonable way.

Shopkeepers, having much to gain, should make it part of their business to help push along this much-needed and long-delayed reform of our rating and taxation laws.

These leaflets are published by the United Committee in attractive form. Quantities can be had on special terms of 4/- per 1000 for use by Parliamentary candidates. Address Land Values Publication Department, 376, Strand, London, W.C.

## THE SOURCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Rates on Land Values would lower Rates on Houses: Bring Idle Land into use: Provide Better Homes: Stimulate Industrial Enterprise and widen the Field for Employment in Town and Country.



BILL SMITH "Seems to me, mate, wot's put you out of a job 'as put me out."

HODGE: "That's right, we must vote Progressive; idle land means idle men."