

Land Values

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NOTES OF THE MONTH.

Tom L. Johnson.

Those who have been privileged to meet Tom L. Johnson, those who have looked for his coming to this country for years, have found all the impressions they formed of him more than realized and fulfilled. If they have one feeling of disappointment, it is expressed in the question: Why did he not come earlier? Those who have followed the accounts of Mr. Johnson's fight against the gigantic and relentless forces of monopoly in the United States appreciate the ability and strength of character which were required for this task. No other man could have accomplished it. It was Shelley who said, when he was about 28 years old, that he had lived longer than his father, even if the latter lived to be 90. The saying applies to Mr. Johnson's strenuous and crowded career. He has lived long, if life is measured by achievement. His brief holiday here is perhaps the first real respite he has had since he entered politics in Cleveland. With good health we believe he is capable of carrying out the highest and most effective work for freedom in American politics, and we hope that the rest and change which he has enjoyed in this country will fit him for the work on which his mind is still so firmly set.

Budget Blessings.

I am advised to include in the sale two plots of land on the ——— Road, one of them being the two acres adjoining your land. There was a time when I had

hoped to keep all my land free from building, but growing expenses, and the coming Budget, leave me no alternative. Valuable as is my outlying land for building purposes, it brings me in nothing but worry and expense. . . . I could have sold it to a very quiet lady some time back, but I have tried to hold on as long as possible.

This is from a letter written by a landowner on April 15th, 1910. Blessed Budget! It blesseth him that gives and him that takes. Perhaps even the "very quiet lady" will now have a chance. At any rate the present owner will be relieved from "worry and expense," the land being "valuable for building purposes" will be put to use, builders will earn their profit, and workmen their wages, and those who need house accommodation will get it at last. Such is the ruin and misery which the Budget brings in its train!

The Unionist Land Policy.

The policy of promoting small ownership in land, on which Mr. Balfour laid stress at the last election, is not being lost sight of by Unionists, and a careful scrutiny into the financial machinery for carrying out the policy is being made. A committee has been appointed, with Mr. Balfour's approval, to consider the finance of the question and its application. The following are the members of the committee:—Lord Milner, Mr. Jesse Collings, Lord Lovat, Sir Horace Plunkett, the Hon. Edward Strutt, Sir Alexander Henderson, Sir Francis Walker, Mr. E. A. Rawlence, Mr. Seymour Lloyd, and Sir Gilbert Parker, who is the chairman. The committee sits once a week, and so far has held three meetings. For the present the committee are confining their inquiry to the question of whether a satisfactory financial scheme can be devised for promoting small ownership. The two main proposals under consideration are understood to be whether it is desirable that the State should lend the small owner his purchase money, to be repaid by him in a term of years, or whether a central land bank should be created which would advance the money to the would-be purchaser on the same condition of repayment.

This statement from the TIMES of April 12th indicates that the Unionists are preparing to push their policy of land purchase, as soon as they get an opportunity. The presence of Sir Horace Plunkett on the Committee shows that they are inclined to profit by their "success" in Ireland. To forestall this move the Liberals will have to lose no time in bringing forward an alternative policy. Ireland has already been captured for landlordism in opposition to the taxation of land values, and if the Liberals allow the Unionists to extend their policy to England and Wales, and convert the agricultural classes into opponents of the principle of taxing land values, the country will be committed to a disastrous policy which will ruin agriculture, and hinder progress in every direction.

"A Rude Awakening."

The great business community, which hates party politics, and has for centuries been founded on the security of property in land, had never seriously concerned itself about an agitation which seemed to it

puerile and impotent, because it did not appeal to practical minds. But when the 1909-10 Budget was introduced, there came a rude awakening, and men realised that passive commonsense does not always prevail against active folly.

This is one of many similar statements made in the prospectus of the Land Union, of which Mr. E. G. Pretyman, M.P., is president. Having confessed that they were once mistaken, and that they have had one rude awakening, it is reasonable to ask those men to think it possible that they may be mistaken again in their opinion of what constitutes common sense and active folly. We hope to provide a still ruder awakening for these gentlemen in a few years by pressing forward the agitation which seemed to them "puerile and impotent" to such an extent that the Budget, both Imperial and Municipal, of a few years hence will provide for the repeal of all taxes on industry, and for the total overthrow of property in land, which is the most deadly enemy of "the great business community."

Lord Lansdowne's Unprofitable Business.

Mr. George Terrell, M.P. for North-West Wilts., addressing a meeting at Foxham, a village in that constituency, called to consider the question of small holdings and cottages, quoted some figures which had been extracted from the books of the Bowood Estate for the information of Lord Lansdowne and his agent. He said that in Foxham, part of the Bowood property, there were 273 cottages let to the tenants direct—that is, not as part of the equipment of farms. The gross annual rental was £1,175. The average bill for repairs was £852, the rates amounted to £214, and income tax to £88. The actual return to Lord Lansdowne for the 273 cottages was £20 a year. Mr. Terrell also mentioned, on the same authority, that the allotments of the Bowood Estate, which were numerous, did not pay, although the rents were as usual higher proportionately than the rents of the farms. The reasons were that in many instances plots of land had to be let rent free for a time owing to the bad state in which some outgoing tenants left the land, and to bad debts.—TIMES, April 15th.

This statement of Lord Lansdowne's experience with his cottages suggests many things. Cottages on which the bill for repairs amounts to 72 per cent. of the gross rental must have been wretchedly-built cottages to begin with, and if the landowner, who claims for his class the right to guide the destinies of the whole country through the destinies of their estates, cannot manage his cottage business better than this, it is time he abandoned his stupendous claim. These landlord arguments always strike us as being fearful and wonderful. Somehow or other the landlords manage to live, and to live well, but we expect soon to be told that they make their money off four or five castles which they keep up, off their yachts and automobiles, off their hunting and racing horses, and spend it in giving endowed farms and cottages to farmers and cottagers. If the other departments of Lord Lansdowne's estate only yield a similar return, we see no reason why he should oppose the Budget or anything else. Things could hardly be worse under the "horriddest arbitrariness" of a Single Chamber.

The Discouragement of Forestry.

The Local Government Board have issued a circular to clerks of union assessment committees in reference to the assessment of woodlands. This is the result of the representation of the Timber Trades Conference, held in London last year, and submitted to the Board by Sir Hugh R. Beevor, M.D. In thanking the Board for the issue of the circular, Sir Hugh wrote:—

It will not be until waste land is subjected to no differentiation in taxation which militates against

its utilization for forestry that we shall be able to look upon an advance of the industry of forestry. This Budget fails to see that it is claiming estate duty upon deferred income and thereby mulcting forest land more than similar waste land which earns an annual income from sheep grazing.

Sir Hugh Beevor's statement seems to be a strong appeal against the exemption from taxation of waste or undeveloped land which prevents it from being used for afforestation. His plea for this industry is one that could be advanced on behalf of every industry, and we hope it will be repeated with increasing frequency by those whose interests are affected. The second sentence is an emphatic protest against the estate duty, which falls on the incomes derived from forests. The object of this protest is also good. Taking the appeal for the taxation of vacant land according to its value together with that for the exemption of the wood-growing industry, this is essentially an argument for freedom and progress through the Taxation of Land Values.

Lord Lansdowne's Precious Possession.

In the Newark district a farmer twelve months ago was given notice to quit by the landlord, owing to the latter having received an offer from a cattle-dealer-cum-farmer of several shillings per acre more rent. Whether this will eventually be in the landlord's true interests is extremely doubtful, for the outgoing tenant was admittedly one of the best farmers in the district, always bred and kept the best of horses, cattle, and sheep, and never sold any produce off. With such a record he has found it comparatively easy to obtain another farm in the district which is actually more to his liking. Still this action on the part of the landlord and his new tenant has become widely known, and not only has bad feeling been created between the parties interested, but there is likely to be something akin to a boycott of the new occupier by his more immediate neighbours as a result.

We wonder how many of these farmers who resent the action of the landlord in turning out his good tenant and taking in the butcher, and who are going to boycott this butcher would vote against the system which makes such actions—so horrible to them—possible. It is all very well to be angry with the landlord and the butcher, but such anger, indulged in for centuries, has done the farmer no good. "Surely," said Lord Lansdowne, "what gives reality to ownership, what makes it a valuable precious thing to many people, is that we have hitherto associated with it power of guiding the destinies of the estate, of superintending its development and improvement, and, above all things, the right to select the persons to be associated with the proprietary and cultivation of the soil." This is the system which the farmers vote for, and when the landlords use it to reject and whip them out, they whine and snap like dogs, without using their intelligence to ask where the evil springs from. The valuation of land, in which the farmers themselves will have a say, will settle this difficulty.

Starvation in a Land of Plenty.

A recently published White Paper (337) is a return of "the number of Deaths in England and Wales in the Year 1908 upon which a Coroner's Jury has returned a Verdict of Death from Starvation or Death Accelerated by Privation." The Return includes 125 deaths, of which 52 occurred in the Administrative County of London.

It is a terrible thing to realise that here in a land which it is claimed to be the richest in the world, and probably the boast is not far out, people should perish from want. If Civilisation produces this, then something is wrong with Civilisation. There is surely enough wealth to prevent

these occurrences, and if opportunities to earn a living were equally open to all, that is, if the land was open freely to production, then Starvation would be but a word for story books.

Emigration.

Once again the faces of a large number of people born and bred in English villages are turned westward in the direction of that land of promise, which is marked on the map of the world as Canada. Shipping companies, we are told, have their hands full in providing accommodation for the crowd of emigrants, a good many of whom are not of that class of men who by selling their little all at home raise just about enough to pay their expenses, but individuals of substance who have capital behind them, and are encouraged by the good reports of the new land beyond the sea to break off their connection with the old country, and make new homes for themselves and families in the colony referred to. We are in the habit of thinking of the emigrant as a man who cannot get on in this country, or one who could do fairly well but has not much money, and can see a prospect of making more abroad than at home, but the man of means is a new type of emigrant, and it really means that he is only changing his place of business. It says a good deal for any land of promise which has attractions for individuals of this type, and while Canada gains the old country loses, as she does when not only men of capital leave her shores, but also sturdy young fellows who have brain and muscle as their stock-in-trade. Canada has no use for the idle or the unfit, and the regrettable thing about this tide of emigration, from our point of view, is that the best are going.

The MARK LANE EXPRESS of April 11th makes this comment on the great tide of emigration that has set in from England to the Colonies. For more than half a century Ireland has been chiefly affected by this movement. But it has now spread to England and Scotland. The seriousness of the problem in the latter country is a cause of alarm even to the GLASGOW HERALD, which actually says that we must look to our system of land tenure if we are to stop the almost fatal drain on the best part of our population. This is another and a most pressing reason for urging and compelling the Government to devote itself primarily and exclusively to the solution of the land problem.

Trapping the Unwary.

The TIMES of April 14th contained a prominent advertisement of a "sale of gilt-edged securities." The property situated at 124, Euston Road, is advertised to let on lease, and one of the advantages attaching to it is set forth in the following words:—

Attention is called to the fact that in the near future the front portion of the premises may be taken by the Borough Council (as shown on the plans at their offices) for widening Euston Road, and considerable compensation should be thus obtained.

The property is also described as near to King's Cross, Euston, and St. Pancras Stations.

This advertisement is a rather frank admission that the owners are lying in wait for the approach of these public bodies who have such an innocent or interested method of representing the community, when land is required for public purposes. The Budget Valuation should prepare the way for the extinction of this foxy species.

Unionist Activity.

Over a hundred Unionist Members of Parliament met in the House of Commons on April 14th to discuss their

land policy. Mr. Jesse Collings presided, and Mr. Balfour, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Pretymann and others spoke. The following resolution was passed:—

"That this meeting of Unionist members is in favour of Mr. Balfour's policy of creating an extended system of cultivating ownerships in land, and, without desiring to commit him or the meeting to all the details of any scheme for carrying out this policy, expresses its strong desire that the cultivators should be given the most favourable terms possible for the repayment of moneys advanced on their behalf."

An Instructive Experiment.

For those who prefer to study theories about land systems and taxation in connection with practical proposals, we should recommend a perusal of the report of the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee (Cd.5012); and the Minutes of Evidence (Cd. 5013). The report, and more particularly the evidence, show clearly how business men who had pre-possessions against the Taxation of Land Values have come to recognise in this principle the means of securing the only suitable system of land tenure and revenue for the new Protectorate. The examination of Mr. John Holt, of Liverpool, in this connection is peculiarly instructive. The recommendations of the Committee have saved this territory, extending to about 35,000 square miles, from the evils of land-owning, and for this result great credit is due to Mr. Wedgwood, M.P., for his work on the Committee.

Land Tenure in Southern Nigeria.

We reproduce under our Colonial and Foreign Notes an article from the MORNING POST of March 14th. The article deals with the increasingly difficult problem of land tenure in Nigeria, where the native system is breaking down in face of the customs being introduced by European influences. It is the difficulty which has been experienced in this country from the time that the greater part of our land was recognised as common property. There is no occasion for recrimination in the one case any more than in the other. Our ancestors in this country did not know how to combine the private possession of land with the security of public rights in it. The Nigerians to-day are in a similar position, except that the light which is now breaking on Great Britain may be carried to their land. We commend a careful perusal of this article to our readers. The problem is stated so fully and transparently that the solution itself seems to break through. "The creation of a class of irresponsible landowners paying no tribute to the original owners, which is being formed in defiance of native law, will, in time to come, bring the chiefs in the protected States to the same abject level as that on which we find the White-Cap chiefs in Lagos to-day." This is a quotation from Mr. Dennett, Deputy Conservator of Forests in Southern Nigeria. The MORNING POST correspondent adds: "Some reform in the native system of land tenure is therefore necessary by which, on the one hand, the payment of rent or tribute may be secured to the chiefs, and on the other hand, stability of tenure assured to the farmer." This is simply saying in other language that what Nigeria requires is the taxation of land values. We trust that what Sir Percy Girouard did for Northern Nigeria as its Governor may now be done for Southern Nigeria.

I tell you, Doctor, there is no coercive power to the monopoly of capital except as it is derived from the monopoly of land. Put free land into competition with monopolised land, and monopoly of capital would disappear. But with monopoly of land, monopoly of capital is as destructive to labour interests as our socialistic friend says it is.—L. F. POST, Social Service.

"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.*

THE RETURN OF STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE.

After subjecting their supporters to a severe and unnecessary strain, the Government have repaired the mischief by placing the Budget definitely in its natural and proper order of precedence. They have arranged that it shall pass before the confusion which may attend the proposal to limit the Veto of the Lords can arise, or the still greater confusion which may follow any scheme for reforming the House of Lords. This is well done, and the Government have received their reward in the approval of the country. Among the first statements of this strong policy was that made by Lord Crewe at Winchester on April 5th. This statement, which is the best we can recall, was impressive by the fact that it was the first attempt on the part of a Minister to argue against the hostile attitude which the Irish Party had adopted towards the Budget, and by the further fact that it contained a clear and strong declaration that, as soon as the proper occasion arose, the Government would advise the King as a matter of right to sanction the creation of Peers. This is the sort of leadership which inspires confidence. It did not go too far and raise remote difficulties; it was marked by sound judgment and by a fearlessness whether to check hasty and mistaken allies and friends, or to defy strong opponents. If such methods prevail with members of the Government, there should be little cause for anxiety in the future. The Budget has won, and this substantial victory for freedom and progress is a sufficiently demoralising blow to the Lords for some little time.

Now that the Budget is safe, it is worth while to discuss one or two questions connected with the late crisis. The causes which gave rise to the trouble are still operating, and will assert themselves again. It was a time of trial and disappointment such as Liberals have seldom experienced. "I am very uplifted," wrote an active and prominent woman worker in the Liberal Party to a colleague on April 19th. "I am very uplifted about the political situation. I have been so very terrified as to what the Irish would do." This simple and frank statement expresses feelings which were shared almost universally by Liberals. Nothing seems more strange. Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party had succeeded in giving this country and the world the impression that, if they did not get their way on the Veto, they would reject the Budget and free the House of

Lords from the odium and peril which they had incurred by their action of last year. It is almost inconceivable, but it is true that Mr. Redmond threatened to do what the Lords were unable to do, deprive the British democracy of the only measure which they have welcomed with decided and unmistakeable approval for years. We never believed that the threat would be carried out, but we fail to see a single good reason why it should ever have been made, or why the Government should have left it so long unanswered to the discouragement of their followers.

The explanation of the trouble may be regarded as twofold. To begin with, leading members of the Government plunged widely into the constitutional question in their declarations about refusing to assume or retain office without certain guarantees, and plunged as wildly out again when they realised their position. Mr. Redmond could not refrain from asserting the power which he possessed in holding the balance of votes. Nothing was gained, except the warning that it is unsafe to drive very far into the empty and barren territory of the constitutional question. In the second place, both the Irish Party and the Government show a marvellous reluctance to support or dwell on the principles of the Budget which has given them a majority. If they touch the ground here for a moment in a doubtful way they bound off as soon as possible to the cloudy regions of the Veto which is full of difficulties, or to other questions which make no appeal to the people.

But there is also a positive cause of the trouble for which both the Liberals and Nationalists are largely responsible. Mr. O'Brien has been untiring in his efforts to intimidate them with regard to the Budget. He claims to be the author of the Irish land purchase scheme, and he has endeavoured to stir up the Irish people against the Budget, because it threatens to undermine his policy. He goes up and down the country boasting falsely that the Land Act has abolished landlordism from a large part of Ireland, that it has given thousands of men access to land, and there is not a man wise enough or brave enough to deny the falsehood, and tell the people that this policy has established and strengthened landlordism a thousandfold, and has entangled innocent Irish farmers in the barbed wire of mortgages which will eat like iron through their flesh and bones and enter into their souls. This vicious, landlord policy, originating with Mr. O'Brien, Lord Dunraven, Lord Castletown and others, was adopted and supported by the Nationalist, Liberal and Labour Parties. Is it necessary to tell the Liberals that they cannot run two opposing policies without having awkward collisions in which they are bound to suffer? They cannot plant the thorns of landlordism and expect to gather the fruits of liberty and justice. Their Budget policy and their Irish Land Act policy are absolutely opposed to each other. The Budget is a Liberal measure in the interests of every man who

takes part in industry, or who has the desire to do so; the Irish Land Act is a purely landlord, Tory measure in the interests of men who are enabled to obstruct and prey on industry to the detriment of everyone. The Unionists are using this measure as the means of defeating the Budget policy, and so far it has prevented a new valuation of agricultural land in Ireland.

But this positive support and extension of landlordism is supplemented by the reluctance of the Liberals to make their attack on it effective. Much may be excused to a busy Minister for his omission to recognise the importance of the land question, but it must be pointed out that erratic and changing statements of policy inevitably produce inconstant support and interest in the country. Mr. Churchill has done admirable work for Liberalism, but on April 12th, in what was hailed as his most successful speech in the House of Commons, he named the measures which awaited the removal of the Veto for their enactment. "We wish," he said, "to make a national settlement with Ireland, we wish to free Wales from its alien church, we wish to deal with the grievances of Nonconformists, we wish to sweep away the electoral anomalies which distort representation and deny the franchise to so many." It is rather strange that in most of these important statements there is no reference to the Taxation of Land Values. This is not necessarily a sign that the Government intend to abandon the policy that has proved most acceptable to the country and most profitable to themselves. But in so far as they are to be taken seriously these statements show that the Government are uncertain in their appreciation of the issues that are ripe for treatment.

If we take the question of Home Rule, or a settlement with Ireland, there seems to be little hope of success in seeking to legislate on it. Mr. Redmond has criticised Lord Rosebery for his half-hearted challenge to the Lords, when they rejected the Home Rule Bill in 1894, and he has urged the importance of abolishing the Veto before passing the Budget on the ground that Home Rule could then be carried. We fully sympathise with Irish aspirations in this matter, but again we must point out that Mr. Redmond and his friends have turned aside from the work of promoting Home Rule to that of pushing land purchase, and Home Rule cannot be carried on a lame agitation. Besides, the fact that the land question has been raised and dealt with even by landlords' methods proves that it has been regarded as the more important. In view of this it would be unwise and unfair to ask the Liberal Party to devote itself to a cause that has been allowed to lie more than half dormant for years. The same remarks apply to the other questions mentioned by Mr. Churchill, and it may be added that Bills introduced on those subjects generally have the effect of dividing the people who demand their introduction.

The truth is that the power of the Lords in politics, in ecclesiastical matters and in every department of our

national life rests on their wide and absolute control of land. It has grown as this control has grown, and will be weakened as this is lessened. Therefore the Taxation of Land Values is the only method of limiting the Lord's Veto, as it is the only means of weakening their control over land and through land over the lives and destinies of the people. There are Ministers who keep telling us that we must repel the attack of the Lords on the people's rights. There is a subtle mistake here. To do the Lords justice, and still more to do the Government justice, the latter have been the aggressors. The Lords have encroached on the people's rights for centuries, and to the credit of the Government they have made a formidable attack on these usurped privileges. They only need to continue this. They may address the Lords on the Taxation of Land Values in the words that Shakespeare gives to old Menenius about the Roman State, and feel assured that they never had such a full and true application as to this movement:—

whose course will on

The way it takes, cracking ten thousand curbs

Of more strong link asunder than can ever

Appear in your impediment.

There is nothing to fear. With the valuation proceeding, and with the more effective agitation that is now possible, we shall be able to make headway in spite of the energy that will be given up to war-dances and denunciation of the Lords. We even hope with these advantages to pass safely through the divisions that may arise among Liberals as to the new form of the House of Lords. The Budget and its promise have brought the sap of spring into the tree of Liberalism, and they will keep it there, if they are given an opportunity. The removal of the old foliage which seems to hinder growth and development is a matter of course. The new life that is flowing through the tree will shed those obstacles with the greatest ease. J.O.

THE BUDGET PASSED.

On April 25th, the second reading of the Budget, or Finance Bill, was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 86.

On April 27th, the third reading was carried by a majority of 93, and the Bill was sent to the House of Lords and read a first time in the presence of four Peers.

On April 28th, the Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords and passed through all the remaining stages without a division.

On April 29th, the Bill received the Royal Assent, thus becoming law exactly one year after its introduction.

The most interesting features of the debates came out on that of the third reading in the House of Commons. Mr. Devlin, Nationalist M.P. for West Belfast, strongly supported the Budget and attacked the Irish Land Purchase Scheme, and those "gentlemen who added £17,000,000 to the cost of Irish land . . . who are here not in the interests of farmers, but in the interests of the reactionaries and landlords." At a later stage Captain E. G. Pretymann attacked Mr. Joseph Fels for his work in promoting the Taxation of Land Values.

SCOTTISH MINERAL RENTS.

The following official statement was published in Edinburgh on February 28th.
 RETURN as regards Scotland, for the last complete year for which the figures are available, (1) of the output of coal, shale, and iron ore, and (2) of the rent and wayleaves therefor, respectively, as ascertained for the purposes of the Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act 1854, under the following headings:—

County.	Output in Tons for Year ending 31st December, 1908.	Rent.				Wayleaves.		
		Fixed Rent where there is no Output.	Fixed Rent where Lordship does not amount to Fixed Rent.	Lordship where same exceeds Fixed Rent.	Total.	Fixed Rent where no corresponding Lordship	Lordship where Wayleave exceeds Fixed Rent.	Total.
I. COAL.								
Argyll	261,812	..	..	795	795	..	..	..
and Duffries .. .. .	..	..	..	2,583	2,583	..	..	..
Ayr { Carrick District	4,058,059	250	600	..	600	..	..	..
			412	10,394	*11,056	31	1,338	1,338
{ Cunningham District .. .. .	..	..	3,815	41,039	44,854	..	1,025	1,025
{ Kyle District .. .. .	..	..	1,140	6,974	8,114	..	65	*65
Clackmannan	406,474	185	440	2,383	*3,008	..	573	873
Dumbarton	497,000	1,475	8,655	58,846	68,976	300	788	802
Edinburgh	2,349,373	5,288	4,600	131,940	141,828	14	515	515
Fife { East Division	8,412,856	..	3,314	43,520	46,834	..	2,403	2,463
{ West Division			22,265	23,146	60	..	..
Haddington	1,076,349	1	880	4,218	4,218	..	..	..
Kinross	146,784	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lanark	17,026,367	1,172	16,294	396,270	*413,736	1,082	8,470	*9,552
Linlithgow	1,865,190	..	3,530	34,150	37,680	150	2,868	3,018
Peebles	1,143	..	25	..	25	..	..	..
Renfrew	96,786	..	900	989	1,889	..	115	115
Stirling	2,954,341	..	3,205	71,153	74,358	40	1,289	1,329
Sutherland	5,691	..	..	80	80	..	..	..
Total	39,158,225	8,371	47,810	827,599	*883,780	1,677	19,449	*21,126

*The actual rent and wayleaves respectively of the Cunningham District of Ayrshire are £31,509 11s. and £474 2s.; of Dumbartonshire, £10,769 and £1,574; and of Lanarkshire, £421,456 and £9,798. The Assessors for these districts report that they are unable to obtain for certain collieries the details required in the Return.

II. SHALE.								
Edinburgh	811,411	1,115	2,075	11,630	14,820	..	1,491	1,491
Lanark	44,739	..	550	1,397	1,947	..	40	40
Linlithgow	2,035,414	..	1,766	52,574	54,340	10	822	832
Total	2,891,564	1,115	4,391	65,601	71,107	10	2,353	2,363

III. IRON ORE.								
Ayr	269,372	35	865	11,249	12,149	..	441	441
Dumbarton	1,034	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Edinburgh	34,174	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fife	3,831	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lanark	163,468	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Linlithgow	28,528	..	..	46	46	..	..	..
Renfrew	161,257	..	225	2,693	2,918	..	198	198
Stirling	42,389	..	57	1,777	1,834	..	..	..
Total	704,053	35	1,147	15,765	16,947	..	639	639

Note.—It has been found impossible to obtain full information regarding iron ore. In some districts there are no mines producing ironstone alone and the output of those which do produce it is so small that no separate account of it is kept.
 The information for this Return as to rents and wayleaves has been obtained from the Lands Valuation Assessors. The output figures were obtained from the Reports of the Inspectors of Mines.
 The total mineral rent paid is £995,962.

EMIGRATION.

THE WHIP AND SCOURGE OF LANDLORDISM.

Unless we can improve the opportunities of employment at home and reform the conditions of land tenure, Scotland will be impoverished in sound population to a point that will hazard her national prosperity. The dominions overseas want our best, not out worst; they want those we can ill spare, and would not have those whom we would willingly see shipped in large numbers from our shores.

This is from the GLASGOW HERALD of April 9th. From the same paper we learn that 3,500 emigrants left the Clyde on Saturday, March 26th; that 3,000 left on Saturday, April 2nd, "the majority of the emigrants appearing to belong to the respectable working class section of the population, including artisans, agricultural workers, miners, and others." On April 9th it stated that another "1,800 emigrants will leave the Clyde for Canada and America, while a fortnight hence the bookings will account for an estimated number of 4,300 people. During the present month," it continues, "over 20,000 Scottish emigrants will have set out for Canada, while it is calculated that during the season no fewer than 100,000 new settlers, chiefly agriculturalists, will have departed from this country."

No wonder the HERALD is alarmed. Emigration agents and those having shares in the steamship companies may view these facts with joy, so, too, may the shareholders of Canadian Land Companies. Purlblind philanthropists may share these feelings, though probably to a lesser degree. But they will not be shared by those having any spark of patriotism, any regard for the future of our country. There, as here, they will find land monopoly and unjust taxation, enriching the already rich, crushing and degrading the poor, benefiting the idler but burdening the industrious, placing palaces and all the pleasures and refinements of life at the disposal of the privileged few, making the lives of the "middle sort of men" one long struggle for existence, and condemning an ever increasing majority to slum life, poverty and all the evils it entails. Despite all reports to the contrary, unemployment, or disemployment, is by no means unheard of in Canada, and soup kitchens and charity organisations find ample scope for their palliative activities.

In view, however, of the economic conditions prevailing at home in the "dear Mother Country," we cannot wonder that so many of the more energetic of our people, despairing of the future if they remain here, should seek to escape "the ills they know, and fly to others that they know not of." The reasons why they are going, the causes at work impelling so many of the best of our people to break up their homes and fly the country as if it were plague-stricken, are well known to all who want to know, as are also the simple and yet effective means, to-day well within the field of practical politics, by which such a drain of our best national resources might at once be stayed. Landlordism with its high rents is scourging the farmers and labourers off the land. The time may come, and that in the near future, when we may sorely need the men we are to-day driving from our midst. We can only hope to retain them by making the conditions of their life more endurable, and this is only permanently possible by drastic change in our systems of land tenure and of taxation.

Far from ideal though the emigrants will find the conditions under which they will have to live and work in Canada, yet, considering the economic conditions prevailing in Great Britain, we can well understand that "free land," or at all events comparatively cheap land, may attract the pick of our agricultural population. As they do not for the most part read the financial papers, they may have yet to learn that in Canada, as elsewhere, forestalling always precedes settlement, that the forestaller or the engrosser, under different names, is always ahead of the settler, and that in Canada, as in Great Britain, these gentry are the most articulate and, politically and socially, the most powerful class in the community. Still they will be able to obtain the use of land, or the freehold of their holdings, on terms and conditions very different from those demanded by the privileged landholders of Great Britain. To purchase any land upon which by hard and continuous toil a decent living may be gained, they may have to sacrifice much of their savings and mortgage much of the fruits of their future industry, still they will enjoy security of tenure, so long as they can pay the mortgage interest, and enjoy full rights of property in the improvements their labours call into existence. Hence, doubtless, some of the more shrewd, the more fortunate, or the more hardy of the emigrants will do well, and establish themselves as free yeomen in the new country,

and they will be held up as examples to be followed, as proofs that all could do equally well if they tried. Others, probably the majority, will find their position but little improved, or may even "go under," to use an expressive colonialism, and of these we shall hear little or nothing more, at all events not in the average newspaper or in emigration circulars. Still their emigration will benefit somebody; nay, the very prospect of their going has already benefited somebody, as the reports of every Canadian Land Company testify.

No, all the emigrants will not get rich, but their presence and industry will make other people rich, for the most part people who have never been in Canada, who have no desire to go and live there, but who, to use a euphemism "have invested their money in Canadian land." Two typical cases will illustrate. In October, 1906, the Hudson Bay £10 shares touched £100. They are now over £106. The London DAILY EXPRESS of October 17th, 1906, had the following comment on this phenomenon:—

"For the first time on record the £10 shares of the Hudson Bay Company touched 100 yesterday, closing, after much selling and buying, at 101½. This gives a valuation of the company's capital, which stands at £1,000,000, of £10,000,000. . . . The company's prosperity is entirely owing to the large grants of land it has obtained in Western Canada owing to the bargain it made with the Government thirty-six years ago. Under that bargain it has received a total of 5,365,006 acres of land in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Of this total it has sold over a million and a half acres, but there is still nearly a million pounds of the purchase money to come to the coffers of the company. The remainder of the land is yet unsold, and every year adds to its value in view of the marvellous progress the provinces are making. For the year ending March 31 last, the company paid a dividend equal to £4 per share."

Again, the affairs of the Western Canada Land Company, established in 1906, have been very prominent in the financial columns of our newspapers during the past month. According to the MORNING POST of April 9th, the chairman of this company, Major-General Sir R. B. Lane, when moving the adoption of the Annual Report, explained the position of the company as follows:—

"The movement of population into the Canadian West from the States of America was on a very big scale, and immigration also revived from the Eastern States of Canada and from Europe. Satisfactory as these results had been, they gave a sure indication of what might be expected in the immediate future in Western Canada. Having explained what had been the policy of the board, the decision to hold on to their land, and its justification, he went on to say that the directors had disposed of a large block, amounting to 200,000 acres, at prices which would average a profit of about 60 per cent. per acre, the price being £1 12s. net, that was to say, free from all commissions of any sort or kind, and exclusive of mineral rights which might be of value. They had made, as he had said, a profit of nearly 60 per cent. on the cost of the lands, and by their sales to date, the greater part of their original capital was assured to the shareholders, still leaving the company with its big holding of 230,000 acres."

In view of the above facts, it is not surprising that the seconder of the resolution, Mr. A. M. Grenfell, expressed himself forcibly in favour of State-aided Emigration.

"He saw, he said, a Government to-day spending an enormous sum of money trying to grapple with the question of unemployment, but their measures were mere palliatives. If the Socialists in this country were really sincere in their cry of "back to the land," if they really believed unemployment could be mitigated by setting people on the land, and that land hunger existed in this country, surely it would be cheaper for the Government and better for the individuals if the Government by State-aided emigration assisted people to virgin lands in other British Dominions—lands which could be acquired, no doubt, free of cost from the Dominion or Provincial Governments, without having to go through a tedious and upsetting process of taxing holders of land in this country out of existence."

Commenting on the sale of the 200,000 acres referred to by the chairman of this very prosperous company, a correspondent of the TIMES on March 22nd writes as follows:—

"The purchasers are represented by two Canadians, one being a native of this country, and their object is to sell the land retail to settlers, who are flocking into the prairie

provinces faster than ever. This retailing of the land, however, is precisely what the company itself aimed at doing. Presumably the directors think that the new proprietors, being on the spot, are more likely than a London company's local agents to succeed in effecting sales. At any rate, the price offered has convinced them that the 'deal' will benefit their shareholders. It is a serious step to part with two-fifths of your estate in a lump; but when you are offered for the two-fifths as much as you gave a few years ago for the whole property, the temptation is hard to resist. That is the case here. The price has not been officially disclosed; but I have reason to believe that when it is paid the shareholders will find that the whole of their capital has been returned to them, while they will remain in possession of 300,000 acres—equal to the whole landed estate of, say, the Marquisate of Breadalbane—the proceeds of which, as it is sold, they can regard as clear profit."

Yes, the emigration to Canada, however disastrous it may prove to many of the emigrants, however injurious to the Mother Country, is benefiting somebody. Neither in Canada nor in Great Britain will it make the workers rich, but it will help to make some rich without working. Landlordism is the enemy of the masses of the people wherever established, and unfortunately for them the emigrants from the Clyde will find it confronting them when they arrive on the other side of the Atlantic.

L. H. B.

IMPRESSIONS OF TWO MEETINGS.

LOUIS NEIL.

I was at a public meeting about the middle of last month (April) held in a working-class district of London in support of the Veto Resolutions of the Government. The next morning I found myself pondering over the impression the principal speaker had created in my mind, and my thoughts wandered back to a meeting in the same hall in July last, a short time before the Hyde Park Land Demonstration. I fell to comparing the two meetings.

The first meeting was held in support of the land clauses of the Budget. The principal speaker was a private member of Parliament and comparatively obscure. He spoke in support of Land Values Taxation. I remember how keenly the audience listened to his exposition of the land question, how they followed an able speech from point to point, and gave vent to impassioned cheers as particular points appealed to them. The speaker attacked our present systems of land tenure and taxation, bringing argument after argument and illustration after illustration to bear against the evils of land monopoly. He showed positively how landlordism appropriated the fruits of industry. He thoroughly held his audience and reached a brilliant climax, when, after repeated cries of "shame" to his indictment of landlordism, he forced home to them in a few terse sentences that the remedy lay in their hands and the land clauses of the Budget were the commencement of a campaign getting to the root of the evil. The roars of approval and enthusiasm were such as I had never heard before, and I shall carry the memory of that thrilling shout for many years.

The later meeting was in support of the Veto Resolutions of the Government. When I arrived the hall was packed to overflowing. The time prior to the speaking was occupied by the audience singing political songs, the most popular of which seemed to be the famous "Land Song." After the Chairman's opening remarks, the principal speaker, a leading member of the Government, had a fine reception. He started off by pointing out the inequalities of lot among the people of the nation, the tremendous contrast between vast riches and deep poverty. He said every man was appalled at the hardness of life of some and the prosperity of others who had done nothing to deserve it. He said we wondered if nothing could be done to rectify these things, that we believed that although all men were not born equal, they should have equal advantages and equal opportunities. He went on to say that some of us wondered if Parliament had been merely marking time with the Veto Question, but the Veto Resolutions meant they were working at the machinery of the Government—were only dealing with the means towards the end. We were told that he would show us to what work they would put the reconstructed machine. Money was wanted to attack poverty. Where was it to come from? Then we had an explanation of the Budget. The Budget was for Social Reform, and to develop the natural resources of the country. We were told that the land and other taxes were the means of making those pay who were best able, and that

the Peers rejected the Budget because it touched their pockets. Then we heard of the alternative to the Budget—Tariff Reform. As a cure for unemployment Tariff Reform was pulled to pieces.

Although the speech was received with enthusiasm, there was something lacking. We were all satisfied about the necessity of abolishing the Lords' Veto, but no definite or tangible reason was pointed out to us. We were not enlightened as to where we were to gain. We were told that every man should have equal advantages and equal opportunities, but we were not shown how the abolition of the Veto was to get us this.

The result of the comparison I made between the two meetings in my meditations was that the audience in the earlier meeting was shown that it had a real interest in the fight against privilege; something that followed up, would lighten their hard fight against adversity. They appreciated this, and were heart and soul in the fight. At the later meeting they were told they had something to gain and several times they were led to a point where they expected positive explanation, but instead were offered something indefinite and elusive—such as Social Reform or the development of national resources. It was like whetting their appetites with a promise of something good and then leaving them a piece of dry crust. A plain, blunt man advocating the Taxation of Land Values as a remedy for poverty is more effective than a brilliant orator advocating anything else.

HERE AND THERE.

The new valuation lists for Essex show that the total valuation of the county is £5,106,804—£470,448 for land and £4,636,656 for buildings.

The demand for land (in Lincolnshire) this spring has been greater than ever previously known by many of the leading estate agents.—MARK LANE EXPRESS, April 4th.

City rents are still on the up grade, as is shown by the fact that the City Corporation, in renewing the lease of a refreshment depot in Paternoster Row, has increased the rent from £700 to £750 per annum.—ESTATES GAZETTE, April 9th.

The Communal Council of Veytaux, in Switzerland, has under consideration a proposal for the purchase of a mountain in the neighbourhood. The mountain is valued at 275,000 francs (£11,000).—WESTMINSTER GAZETTE, April 4th.

In Lincolnshire owners of land themselves farm 158,309 acres, while no less than 1,363,284 acres are farmed by tenants who have to pay rent to someone else. There are 1,705,293 acres in the county.—MARK LANE EXPRESS, March 28th.

Mr. James Hope of Eastbarns, Dunbar, was recently entertained to dinner by a number of Scottish farmers. It was mentioned that Mr. Hope had for a full lease of 19 years paid a rent of £5 per acre for 1,000 acres. The land is chiefly devoted to the growing of potatoes.

Mr. John D. Watson, M. Inst. C.E., read a paper recently on "Birmingham Sewage Disposal Works" before the Institution of Civil Engineers. Loans to the amount of £1,407,519 had been sanctioned by Parliament and the Local Government Board, and of this sum £956,492 had been spent on works and £451,027 on freehold land.

To make room for the new office in Queen Anne's Gate of the Anglo-American Oil Company—a great white building of splendid exterior and luxurious interior—two old mansions have been demolished. . . . It may be added that land values in this exclusive neighbourhood run from £10 to £15 a foot.—ESTATES GAZETTE, April 9th.

Do not be put on the defensive. (Cheers.) It is not your business; it is not the natural position which you should occupy. We are the great reformers. (Cheers.) It is we who have the great Imperial and domestic ideal which requires most insistently to be dealt with. Do not let your attention be diverted from it, from all those questions which roughly we call questions connected with Tariff Reform.—MR. BALFOUR to the United Club, April 13th.

TOM L. JOHNSON.

We are indebted to the PUBLIC (Chicago) for the material of this sketch:—

Tom Loftin Johnson was born at Blue Spring, near Georgetown, Kentucky, on July 18th, 1854. He was married in 1874 to his fourth cousin, Margaret J. Johnson. Johnson's lineage extends back through the history of Kentucky to its organisation as a District of Virginia, and thence into the parent state itself. His father, Albert W. Johnson, was established in the late 'fifties as a cotton planter with over 100 slaves at Beaver Bayon, Arkansas, making this his winter home and Blue Spring his summer home, where Johnson's childhood was spent in luxurious surroundings. Then the Civil War broke out and throughout its course, his father served in the Confederate Army, first as the Colonel of a regiment then on the staff of General Breckinridge and afterwards on the staff of General Early. Through all his military service his wife kept near him with their three boys, Tom L., William L., and Albert L. The close of the War in 1865 found them all at Staunton, Virginia, absolutely penniless.

It was here and in these circumstances that Tom L. Johnson, then only eleven years old, discovered the powerful character of monopoly as a factor in business, and used it to his advantage. In the disordered state of affairs following the war, only one train a day ran into Staunton and its conductor had autocratic powers. Energetic and far-seeing Tom established friendly relations with the conductor, started a newspaper selling business and was the only one allowed to bring in papers on the train. News was in great demand and the monopoly he enjoyed enabled young Johnson to charge almost what prices he chose. The monopoly only lasted five weeks, but it brought him in nearly £18.

With this windfall the family managed to get to Louisville, Kentucky. Here his father borrowed enough capital to operate his Arkansas cotton plantation, but the venture failed. Then the family moved to Evansville, Indiana, and after a year's unsuccessful work in various businesses, the elder Johnson tried farming near Louisville on a farm belonging to his brother.

The intervening period since the war had been utilized in promoting the education of the children. At Evansville, Johnson attended school for the first time. He had a full year's

schooling there and went through three grades. In addition to attending school he had instruction from his mother. When they moved back to Louisville he had a few months more schooling, but his father, who was skilful in mathematics, and his mother, continued his education. He cared nothing for literary studies, but mathematics came easily to him, and, like his father, his mind seemed to work almost instinctively in mathematical processes.

On 1st February, 1869, he started work in a rolling mill in Louisville. Four months later, Biederman Du Pont and Alfred Du Pont, related to the Johnsons by marriage, bought up the smallest of three street railroads in Louisville and offered him office employment. So in June, 1869, at the age of 15, Tom L. Johnson started on the career that was to make him a street railroad magnate. His promotion was rapid, and in a few months he was secretary of the company. About a year afterwards his father was made superintendent of the road, which position he vacated after several years to take up a position as chief of police at Louisville. Young Johnson took his place and held it till 1876, when he and two associates bought the Indianapolis street car system. Before this, he had invented

a patent fare box which eventually brought him in nearly £6,000.

The Indianapolis system, a miserable affair when Johnson took it over, improved under his management and became very profitable. Later, rather than offend some old associates in the company who opposed his idea of modifying the system by means of electricity, he sold out. He had made money regularly since 1869 and several of his patents, besides the fare box, had been profitable, but the sale of the Indianapolis street car system yielded him by far the largest sum. His net profit was more than £100,000.

In 1880 he bought a small street car line in Cleveland which he built up by utilizing his experiences in Indianapolis. His railway grew and there commenced a war between seven or eight street car lines in Cleveland. Johnson's great fight was against Senator Mark A. Hanna. Hanna was a director in the company with which Johnson first came into conflict. The war was the sensation of the time in Cleveland and resulted in a great reduction of fares, a policy which Johnson always believed in and furthered. Sometimes one side won, sometimes the

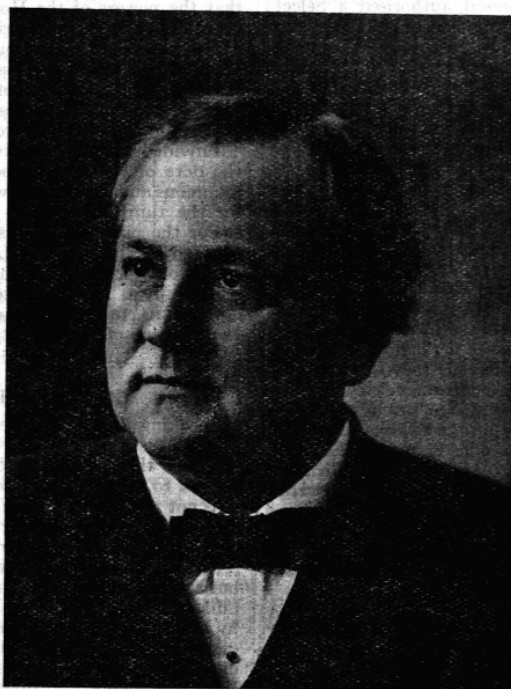
other, but Johnson's road grew the faster. After a while Johnson succeeded in uniting several other companies, forming the Cleveland Electric Railway Company, known as the "Big Consolidated." Hanna replied with a Union of cable-roads, known as the "Little Consolidated." The consolidations resulted in ending the war. Subsequently Johnson disposed of his interest in the "Big Consolidated" and that company united with Hanna's.

By this time Johnson, with his brother Albert, had acquired interests in the Detroit street car system and in the Nassau enterprise of Brooklyn. In 1898, however, he withdrew altogether from the street car business.

The political side of Tom L. Johnson's life is also full of interest. Until the middle 'eighties, he had little, if any, interest in political problems and principles. He was just a money-making man of business, and would probably have remained so but for a trivial incident. While on a street car travelling between Cleveland and Indianapolis he was asked by a newsboy to purchase a copy of Henry George's "Social Problems." He supposed it to be a work on social evil, and, saying as much and that he had

no interest in the subject, refused to buy the book. The train conductor, who was familiar with George's teachings, overheard him, and knowing him well told him he was mistaken in the character of the book. "It will interest you," he said, "more than any book you have read." Reluctantly, Johnson invested two shillings and read the book. It appealed strongly to him and he bought and read "Progress and Poverty." He discussed these books with his lawyer, L. A. Russell, and his partner, Arthur J. Moxham, with the result that all three were converted to George's views. Soon after his conversion, Johnson sought out George and between them a warm friendship and profound confidence took root in 1885, which lasted till George's death in 1897.

It was on George's advice that Johnson entered politics. Johnson had gone to New York in 1886 to further the Single Tax movement of which George was leader. A tremendous labour movement had broken suddenly upon the city and George was called upon to lead it against Tammany Hall and the so-called County Democracy. Johnson contributed liberally towards the expenses and was actively, though not prominently, engaged in the conduct of the campaign. In the following year



Tom L. Johnson.

(1887) he also contributed freely with money and personal effort when George was an unwilling candidate of the United Labour Party for Secretary of State for New York.

It was about this time that George advised Johnson to enter politics. He protested that the impossibility of his being a public speaker stood in his way. "But," said George, "you have never tried to speak; if you put your mind to it you can succeed at speaking as well as in business." So he tried. It was a large Mass Meeting in Cooper Union, New York, in 1888. He spoke for five minutes; crudely, timidly, but with evident sincerity. To-day he is one of the most effective and convincing speakers in American public life.

Convinced by Henry George that the cause to which they were both devoted demanded his personal service in political life, Johnson accepted the Democratic nomination for Ohio for Congress. His Congressional district was strongly Republican, and he was defeated after an unreserved Free Trade campaign. He stuck to his task, however, and two years later was returned for the same district by a majority of 3,000.

He entered Congress in December 1891 and was appointed to a local Committee on the District of Columbia. In five months he secured the passing by the House of a Resolution declaring for a thorough investigation of the methods of the taxing officials. The resolution, after reciting the fact which the Committee had unearthed, that the land values alone of the district were tremendously under assessed, authorised a Select Committee of three to inquire into the method of assessing land values in the district. Johnson was appointed Chairman of this Committee. The other two members were exceedingly conservative and objected to Johnson's recommendation for taxing land values on the ground that the change was too radical. The only result of the inquiry was a few trifling reforms, but the body of the Report was a splendid testimony to land values taxation and did a great deal to educate public opinion.

In 1892, Johnson came up for re-election and was returned by a majority of 3,224. This was the second year of Cleveland's second election to the Presidency when Free Trade carried the day against Protection. Johnson had no small hand in this victory. He had noticed that Congressmen were accustomed to lengthening their speeches with statistics and quotations from books under "leave to print." These matters, though never uttered on the floor of the House or Senate at all, duly appeared in the Congressional record as if they had been actually uttered, and, having appeared in the record, they had full and free rights to the mails under any Congressman's frank. In this way tons of election literature were sent through the post free. After overcoming the objections on the score of precedent of some sympathetic Free Traders, Johnson persuaded them to each contribute at different times parts of Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade." This was done and afterwards the different parts arranged in their order. In this way it was made possible to send over a million copies through the mails free. They were judiciously placed in the campaign of 1892, and the extent to which they helped the Free Trade cause cannot be over-estimated.

Johnson expected much from President Cleveland in the direction of Free Trade, but to his disappointment, Cleveland shelved the question. Johnson attacked the Senate for their surrender to the Protectionists and predicted early defeat for the Democratic Party. His prediction proved correct; for in the election of 1894, the Democrats were swamped, their majority of 95 being turned into a minority of 140. Johnson went under with his Party at this election. He was back again, however, in 1900.

In 1901 Johnson was nominated for Mayor of Cleveland at the Democratic Primaries. He was elected on April 1st, 1901, by a majority of 6,033. Thrice again he was elected Mayor of Cleveland, in 1903, 1905 and 1907, but in November, 1909, he failed to hold his seat, being in a slight minority at the poll.

The long and severe strain of business and politics has told on Mr. Johnson's health, and he has come to Britain for a much-needed rest and change. The followers of Henry George on this side have looked forward to such a visit for many years, and as many of them as have found it possible have joined in welcoming him.

The Imperial Pioneers, a new association which under cover of preaching Imperialism preaches Tariff "Reform," held its first meeting at the Walworth Baths on March 12th. A somewhat stormy meeting closed with the National Anthem, but some of the audience remained to give cheers for Lloyd-George and sing the Land Song, much to the surprise of the speakers.

POLITICAL SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

THE VETO RESOLUTIONS.

The text of the Veto Resolutions brought forward by the Prime Minister, and passed by the House of Commons, is as follows:—

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES AND DURATION OF PARLIAMENT.

(1) **MONEY BILLS.**—That it is expedient that the House of Lords be disabled by law from rejecting or amending a Money Bill; but that any such limitation by law shall not be taken to diminish or qualify the existing rights and privileges of the House of Commons.

For the purposes of this resolution a Bill shall be considered a Money Bill if in the opinion of the Speaker it contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely:—

The imposition, repeal, remission, alteration, or regulation of taxation, charges on the Consolidated Fund, or the provision of money by Parliament;

The supply, the appropriation, control, or regulation of public money;

The raising or guaranteeing of any loan or repayment thereof, or matters incidental to these subjects or any of them.

(2) **BILLS OTHER THAN MONEY BILLS.**—That it is expedient that the powers of the House of Lords as respects Bills, other than Money Bills, be restricted by law; so that any such Bill which has passed the House of Commons in three successive sessions, and having been sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session has been rejected by that House in each of those sessions, shall become law without the consent of the House of Lords on the Royal Assent being declared.

Provided that at least two years shall have elapsed between the date of the first introduction of the Bill in the House of Commons and the date on which it passes the House of Commons for the third time.

For the purposes of this resolution a Bill shall be treated as rejected by the House of Lords if it has not been passed by the House of Lords either without amendment or with such amendments only as may be agreed upon by both Houses.

(3) **DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS.**—That it is expedient to limit the duration of Parliament to five years.

MR. CHURCHILL ON THE LORDS.

Speaking in the House of Commons on March 31st, Mr. Churchill said:—

Unless the House of Commons carries the Budget it is idle to look to the King or to look to the country to carry the Veto. It is not merely a question of regularising the financial situation. The great series of Democratic taxes which constitute the policy of the Budget are not merely the pathway to future democratic reform, the barrier which we erect against a Protectionist system, but they are the actual gauge of battle with the House of Lords. (Ministerial cheers.) That they should be effectively affirmed by the new House of Commons is the only possible foundation of any successful attempt to punish the House of Lords for their unquestionable constitutional outrage—(Opposition cries of "Oh, oh")—in refusing to pass the Budget. (Ministerial cheers.) Having followed carefully the course of recent political affairs, I believe that at the proper time and in the proper manner and under the proper circumstances we shall succeed in carrying the Veto and the Budget to the steps of the Throne. (Ministerial cheers.) There is a substantial majority of British members in this House resulting from the election in favour of the Budget. (Ministerial cheers)

Parties are associations of men gathered together to pursue common objects and to defend common interests, and if one party or group of parties is unable even in the period of its greatest prosperity and success to give any effective satisfaction to the forces which compose it and is unable to achieve any of the objects for which its members have come into association, that party must perish and dissolve. (Ministerial cheers.) If the Liberal Party can hold office from year to year and month to month only by the sufferance of its political opponents, if at any moment on any ground, financial or otherwise, a Liberal Government is liable to have its whole structure pulled about its ears, then it is certain that Liberal Governments will have become finally impossible, and that in the long run the two historic parties, differing no doubt in method and conviction, but agreed on an enormous body of valuable precepts and principles, must come to a close, and you, the Opposition, will have made it

finally impossible for any but Tory Ministers to render faithful service to the Crown. (Opposition cries of "Oh, oh" and Ministerial cheers.) Do not suppose, however, that you will thereby escape the democratic movement. Those who are now grouped under the standard of party will re-form themselves under the standard of class. When the party system is shattered the class line must be the line of demarcation. See what has happened in Germany. There you have a tremendous Social Democratic Party held down by brute force, utterly estranged from the fundamental institutions of the State, holding rigidly to abstract doctrines, increasing in number and in power, yet wholly divorced from any share in government or responsibility. That is a condition to which we may find ourselves reduced, and so far from realising the ideal of becoming one people and—if I may coin a word—a national nation in which one and all have a share, and where every shade of opinion brings some influence to bear on the business and conduct of the State, that dream will pass away for ever and we shall be reduced to the position from which foreign Governments are struggling to raise themselves. That is why there is a great crisis now. That is why we bring forward our Veto resolutions now while time remains. That is why we shall not hold office unless we have reason to believe that we can carry our resolutions into law. That is why we propose no social legislation though, Heaven knows, it is sorely needed. That is why we have no other object or thought in our minds but to deal with this tremendous danger now. (Ministerial cheers.) We have reached the fateful period when the time for words has passed and the time for action has arrived. (Ministerial cheers.) Since the House of Lords have used their veto to affront the prerogative of the Crown it has now become necessary that the Crown and the Commons acting together—(Ministerial cheers)—should restore the balance of the Constitution and restrict for ever the veto of the House of Lords. (Renewed cheers.)

LORD CREWE ON THE CREATION OF PEERS.

Speaking at Winchester on April 5th, Lord Crewe said:—

In connection with the Budget, he would like to say a word on the attitude of the Irish Party in the House of Commons. The first object of the Irish Party—they would say their only object—was the national one of obtaining self-government for Ireland in purely Irish affairs—(cheers)—and to that they subordinated everything else. He for one was not going to blame them for that. They also undoubtedly thought that there were certain provisions in the Budget, chiefly of a minor character, which pressed with undue hardship upon Ireland. That was a matter upon which each man was entitled to his own opinion. But it was utterly untrue to say that the Irish members or the Irish people were opposed to the Budget as a whole class, and if they felt themselves at liberty to do so they would undoubtedly vote for the Budget. If the Irish members did not vote for the Budget, and, as was known from a process of simple arithmetic, they had the power to reject it, it would be because by some logical process which he was unable to follow they had convinced themselves that to reject the Budget was the best thing for the cause of Home Rule. (A Voice: "No.") He quite agreed with the observation made below. That seemed to him a most illogical proceeding, and he did not believe himself that it would occur; but if it did occur, it would be not because the Irish were opposed to the provisions of the Budget as a whole, but because they had arrived at the somewhat peculiar political conclusion that he had indicated.

With respect to the question of the relations of the two Houses of Parliament, first of all they had to deal with the position of the House of Lords in connection with finance, they having taken up the position that they had a right to throw out the Finance Bill. No one denied that they had the power to throw out a Finance Bill, and the power, he supposed, constituted a legal right; but he was equally convinced that they had no such constitutional right. To throw out the Budget, to make it impossible to collect the taxes, was a breach of the unwritten law which had obtained for hundreds of years between the two Houses of Parliament. It was a breach of the unwritten law in two ways. In the first place the House of Lords by this act declared itself capable of doing what we had always believed only the Crown could do, namely, to dissolve Parliament. That was a breach of the Constitution, an invasion of the prerogative of the Crown. (Cheers.) He would go further and say that even if the House of Lords had been right they

would still have been wrong. (Laughter.) Even if the Budget had been unpopular, and as the result of a Unionist majority a Unionist Government had been formed, he should still say that the House of Lords was absolutely wrong in taking the action it did.

With respect to the creating of Peers by the Sovereign for a particular purpose, that was a universally admitted remedy by all constitutional authorities for a dead-lock between the two Houses. "That is to say," proceeded the noble Lord, "if a deadlock exists between the two Houses and the country has clearly expressed its will, the Minister of the day is entitled to advise the Sovereign to create a sufficient number of Peers to override the opposition of the House. (Cheers.) That is a power which has only once been used, and used to a small extent, and might have been used on another occasion if the House of Lords had not given way. It is obviously a power which only ought to be used in the last resort and under circumstances of the most special character. But I want to impress upon you that it is a power which exists, and has never been abandoned, for the simple reason that if it were, no remedy would exist whatever for the continued and perpetual standing out of the House of Lords against the declared will of the country. It is not for me to indicate in what circumstances such power might conceivably be used. It is to my mind altogether improper even to consider such a contingency until the occasion has actually arisen, if it ever does arise, because its exercise must depend upon a great number of issues. I should like to say, and it is important to remember the distinction, that if ever such an occasion does arise, it is not a question of the Minister going to the Sovereign and asking the Sovereign to create a certain number of Peers as a favour, but it is the constitutional exercise of the power of advice by the Minister to the Sovereign. That is an important distinction. (Cheers.) It is important because it carries this. The Minister has no right to give the advice unless he is prepared to say he would act upon it."

Continuing, Lord Crewe said that there was a great constitutional issue at stake. "If," he went on, "the Opposition win this fight, and it is a fight which may last for some time, if they win, it undoubtedly means that the House of Lords will become the paramount power in the State. The virtue will have gone out of the House of Commons, because the House of Lords by claiming control over finance will thereby claim control over the existence of the Government of the day, and there will be something of a permanent blight upon the progress to which we all look forward. The Unionist Party mean to get this power if they can, and unless we can create in the country a sufficient sense of the real importance of the constitutional issue involved the Unionist Party will obtain what they want. To a great extent the existence of the Liberal Party depends upon the issue of this particular conflict. If we lose this conflict the Liberal Party will not nominally disappear, but with its power of action gone it will tend more and more to become what the Liberal Parties are in many countries on the Continent, that is to say, a band of thinkers and theorists without a really acting and active effect upon the political life of their country." (Cheers.)

MR. CHURCHILL ON LIBERAL AIMS.

Speaking on the Veto resolutions in the House of Commons on April 12th, Mr. Churchill said:—

It is not a mere question of pique or pride. We cannot make any plan either for social reform or political change, or for the ordinary thrifty and careful administration of national affairs. We cannot do that, for the House of Lords now claim, and unless their claim is repudiated at once, have won, the power over finance, including the right of dissolution whenever they are dissatisfied with a Budget or with a naval policy, or on a question of foreign policy. Does the right hon. gentleman really expect us to go on sitting here occupying high offices of State and drawing our salaries at his pleasure, liable to be dismissed at any moment when their lordships have come to the conclusion that there is a chance of the Tory Party bettering their position? (Cheers.) What measures, says the right hon. gentleman, are the House of Lords blocking? Let us be quite frank. We wish to make a national settlement with Ireland (loud cheers), we wish to free Wales from its alien church (cheers), we wish to deal with the grievances of Nonconformists (cheers), we wish to sweep away the electoral anomalies which distort representation

and deny the franchise to so many. (Cheers.) We have promised to do all these things. We are pledged to carry out all these things, we are expected to do so, but we can do none of them although we have a great majority for all of them in this Parliament (cheers), and although we had a far greater majority for them in the Parliament which has passed away. . . It will not be a serious or a vital question if these Resolutions are passed. It will not be a supreme or violent event in the history of our country if they are passed. No, there will be no danger, no revolution, no crisis, and no deadlocks. All will go forward smoothly. The Veto of the House of Lords will pass away as painlessly as the Veto of the Crown, and we shall move forward to the harmonious development of national life. No, the danger is not that they shall pass, the danger is that they shall be rejected. (Cheers.) There is the danger, and let the right hon. gentleman who holds this issue in his hand, who by his signal can direct the course of events elsewhere, weigh well his decision before he takes it. He will find that if these Resolutions are rejected, he will be committed to a long voyage of which the end cannot be foreseen. He and his friends will be committed—it is quite clear by the speech a short time ago of the hon. member for the Walton Division for Liverpool, who spoke of two or three dissolutions in a single year—to a policy of repeated dissolution, with the scarcely concealed object of trying to break financially the organisation of their political opponents. Sooner or later if they embark upon this course of refusing this moderate reform for which we are now pressing they will be driven to raising money without the consent of Parliament, and to administrative action which has not received the force and sanction of the law.

A NEW ZEALAND VIEW.

We publish the following letter written by Mr. P. J. O'Regan, barrister and ex-M.L.A., New Zealand, and a well-known advocate of Land Value Taxation. Owing to the changes in the political situation, the ground of some of Mr. O'Regan's criticisms has been removed, but the main part of his argument is of more permanent value and application:—

"All good democrats in this country are watching the crisis in Britain with the keenest interest and expectation. There are some facts in connection with the struggle which some of us have noted. A point upon which there is some feeling among land-taxers here is the extraordinary tactics of the Nationalists. We had taken it for granted that they were at least the implacable enemies of landlordism. Yet when they have a chance of dealing landlordism a body blow by passing the Budget, they refrain from voting. Personally I have had little faith in the Nationalists since they allowed themselves to be humbugged with the Wyndham land purchase swindle, and their attitude towards the Budget convinces me that there is more of declamation than of sincerity in their denunciations of landlordism. What greater curse this side of perdition can there possibly be than landlordism? Does it not rob the masses of England and Scotland—of every country—as well as the people of Ireland? Does not the long arm of Irish landlordism reach across even to this remote country to pilfer from the pocket of the Irish emigrant a share of his earnings? Has it not driven thousands of innocent Irish girls from their native villages into the vile slums of London, Liverpool, New York, San Francisco? Does it not at this moment rob and steal from millions of Irish poor? Why then give it a moment's quarter? Why miss a single opportunity of paralysing its thieving hand? We have been told that the Nationalists object to the whisky and tobacco taxes. I agree that both are undesirable imposts, but neither can be permanent, and it is not these taxes that have aroused the ire of Sir John and His Grace, but the provisions of the Budget for Land Valuation and Taxation. These contain potentialities for the ultimate destruction of landlordism, and nobody knows it better than the landlords themselves. In any case what have the liquor interests ever done for Ireland except to curse her? Have not the brewers and grog-sellers ever been socially and political the enemies of Ireland? Ireland had been a better and a happier country if the liquor traffic and its twin friend, landlordism, were long since things of the past. The great majority of Irishmen in this country rightly regard Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Birrell as genuine friends of Ireland, and they see in the Budget a message of emancipation to the mass of the people of Ireland and everywhere else. Were Mr. Lloyd-George to visit this country he would get a magnificent popular ovation,

and not the least enthusiastic of his admirers would be Irishmen. I have yet hopes that the good sense of the majority of Irishmen will save us from the humiliating spectacle of landlordism yoking Irish democracy to its chariot. Irishmen and men of Irish descent in this country have in the past never failed to respond to every appeal for funds to enable their kindred in far-off Ireland to gain a modicum of justice. There are many of us, however, who will be less prone to respond after the conduct of the Nationalists in respect of the Budget. No good Home Ruler should hesitate for a moment to support a Budget which must in the long run clip the wings of the lordlings by sapping the privileges which landlordism confers. Home Ruler as I am, I would have no hesitation in preferring the Budget and Land Value Taxation to a Parliament of "shoneens" sitting at Dublin. Let Irish working men ask themselves what they have to expect from an agricultural oligarchy such as the Wyndham scheme must necessarily bring into existence. If land monopoly and the taxation of food are bad things for the poor of England, can they be good things for the poor of Ireland? Have Irishmen forgotten that bells were tolled in Ireland as a token of popular delight when the Peel Government abolished the bread taxes in 1846.

THE HUMOUR AND HARDSHIP OF SMALL HOLDINGS ACT.

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON APRIL 14TH.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW asked the President of the Board of Agriculture whether it had been finally decided that Mr. Clark, whose farm at Welwick was taken for small holdings, was not to receive compensation for disturbance out of the Small Holdings Fund; and whether the Government intended to bring in a Bill to prevent similar cases of hardship in the future. He apologised for bringing the case again before the House, but said that unfortunately the question to which it gave rise had not yet been settled. A day or two ago a cutting from the YORKSHIRE HERALD reached him in which it was stated:—"We are informed that the President of the Board of Agriculture has given Mr. Clark £50 out of his own pocket, and has said, 'For God's sake do not let us have any more about this wretched business!'" (Laughter.) That might or might not be true; but it was just the kind of thing that the good-natured President of the Board of Agriculture would do. (Renewed laughter.) There was a French saying, "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre," which was applicable to such a case.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE mentioned a case within his knowledge in which it was proposed to acquire a farm compulsorily against the will of the tenant, and asked whether compensation would be paid.

EARL CARRINGTON, in reply, said it had been definitely decided that Mr. Clark was not to receive any compensation from the Small Holdings Fund. There was no provision in the Small Holdings Act to enable compensation to be paid; and when the Land Tenure Act was passed it was considered that it would not be fair to take out of the public purse money for compensation in cases in which it would not be paid by private landowners. But a great deal of water had flowed under the bridges since that time. Small Holdings were now supposed to be to some extent a success. During the two years in which the Small Holdings Act had been in operation 75,000 acres of land had been acquired, of which only 11,000 acres were taken compulsorily. That showed that landlords recognised what a great boon small holdings were to the agricultural population. As he thought Mr. Clark's was an extreme case in which compensation might fairly be paid he wrote to him, and in December last he went to Hull and attended a farmers' "At Home." About 150 farmers were present and joined him in smoking cigars. (Laughter.) Mr. Clark's case was the chief topic of discussion. They had a conversation which lasted nearly three hours—(laughter)—and at last they came to a decision. He said to Mr. Clark, "There is going to be an election next year—(laughter)—and nobody knows how the election may turn out. I should be very sorry that anybody should be left on the Crown estate with a nasty taste in his mouth so far as I am concerned. (Renewed laughter.) I honestly believe that you are entitled to compensation, and I have tried to get it from the Treasury; but as I cannot do so, and as I suppose I am morally responsible for your displacement from your farm, I shall be happy as Crown Commissioner to make you a present of £50 myself, and I hope you will accept it in the spirit in which it is offered." (Laughter.) The farmers said emphatically, "We will not stand that." Will

you get another farm for him or his son?" He replied that that was settled and that Mr. Clark had been promised the first chance of occupying another farm. Later he received a pleasant letter from Mr. Clark accepting his offer in the spirit in which it was made, and so the matter was happily concluded so far as Mr. Clark was concerned. (Laughter.) He had always thought that something ought to be done in regard to compulsorily taking land from tenant farmers on private estates. In regard to the second part of the question, the Government intended to bring in a Bill to prevent similar cases of hardship in the future. They intended to introduce that legislation as early as possible, and he rejoiced to know that it was to be treated by both sides of the House as uncontroversial. He hoped it would pacify to some extent the opposition of tenant farmers. It was no doubt a disagreeable thing for them to have a portion of their farms taken away, but it was sometimes necessary that sacrifices should be made for the public good. As to the case mentioned by the Earl of Carlisle, he would have liked time to look up the details. He hoped, however, that when the Bill was passed any tenant of his noble friend whose land had been taken would receive compensation.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE.—Will my noble friend go down and have a conversation? (Laughter.)

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.—Will the noble Earl say when the Bill is to be introduced in the House of Commons?

EARL CARRINGTON.—Good heavens! I cannot. (Laughter.)

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE said in spite of the extremely interesting convivial meetings of which they had heard it was felt that there was a grave injustice. Would it not be possible to introduce the Bill in that House so that their lordships before they were abolished might have an opportunity of dealing with the subject? (Laughter.)

THE EARL OF CREWE said he thought it would be generally recognised that the Bill was one which must be introduced in the House of Commons.

EARL CAWDOR said the smoking parties of the noble earl must be rather a tedious business. To say nothing of the consumption of tobacco, three hours' conversation with each tenant would be a very heavy task for any noble lord who might in future hold the post which the noble earl at present occupied. (Laughter.)

MR. ASQUITH'S STATEMENT OF POLICY.

On April 14th, after the division had been taken on the three Veto Resolutions, the Speaker asked who was prepared to bring in the Bill.

MR. ASQUITH.—Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Churchill, Mr. Secretary Haldane, Mr. Pease, the Attorney-General, and myself.

The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to the Bar, and, in response to the summons of the Speaker, walked up the floor of the House to the table and handed the Bill to the Clerk of the House. The scene was one of the greatest excitement. Mr. Asquith was greatly cheered by his party on his way to the Bar, but as he retraced his steps to the table the enthusiasm of Ministerialists was unbounded. The whole party rose in their places, waved their hats, and cheered with the utmost vigour until Mr. Asquith had returned to the Treasury Bench and resumed his seat.

THE SPEAKER again called on the Prime Minister, and he was again received with vociferous cheers by his followers when he came to the table.

MR. ASQUITH.—Mr. Speaker, in moving that this House do now adjourn (a laugh, and loud cries of "Order"), I hope I may be allowed to make a short statement which I would gladly have made at an early hour, and which I think could have been made with more regard to the general convenience of the House ("No" and cheers), in regard to the future intentions of the Government. It is not usual for a Government to make a statement of policy in regard to contingencies which have not yet arisen. (Opposition cheers.) But we are confronted to-day, I venture to think, with an exceptional and perhaps unique case. (Cheers.) The Resolutions which you, sir, a few moments ago put from the Chair have two special characteristics. In the first place, having been approved in principle by the late House of Commons, with an enormous majority, it will not, I think, be anywhere denied that they were prominently, if not predominantly, before the country at the recent General Election. (Cheers.) And they had now, during the last fortnight, been supported at every stage of their progress in this new House of Commons by majorities which had rarely fallen short of 100. (Cheers.) In the second

place, to us who sit on these benches the passing of the principle of these Resolutions into law by means of statutory enactment is a condition, not only of our usefulness, but even of our effective existence as a Government. (Loud cheers.) I said, speaking on behalf of my colleagues and political friends in December last before the election at the Albert Hall (hear, hear)—I have not a word to withdraw or explain (cheers)—I said it would be idle for us here to prolong our existence as a Government unless we could secure the safeguards experience had shown to be necessary for the legislative enactment for the fulfilment of our efforts. These safeguards, these Resolutions, if put on the Statute-book, will provide. Until these are carried into legislative enactment there is no legislation except the Budget and substantially non-contentious measures we can, without risk of utility and even of ridicule, undertake. (Cheers.) It is for these reasons and on behalf of the Government that I think it not only convenient but necessary to give notice to the House and to the country, now that these Resolutions are passing into the control of other people, of our future intentions. (Hear, hear.) If the Lords fail to accept our policy, or decline to consider it when it is formally presented to the House, we shall feel it our duty immediately to tender advice to the Crown—(loud cheers)—as to the steps which will have to be taken if that policy is to receive statutory effect in this Parliament. (Renewed cheers.) What the precise terms of that advice will be (laughter and cheers; "Ask Redmond")—I think one might expect a little courtesy (cheers and interruptions) when I am anxious as head of the Government to make a serious statement on public policy (cheers)—what the precise terms of this advice will be it will, of course, not be right for me to say now, but if we do not find ourselves in a position to ensure that statutory effect will be given to this policy in this Parliament, we shall then either resign our offices or recommend a dissolution of Parliament. (Cheers.) And let me add this: that in no case would we recommend Dissolution except under such conditions as will secure that in the new Parliament the judgment of the people as expressed in the election will be carried into law. (Loud and prolonged Ministerial cheers.)

THE BUDGET REINTRODUCED.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER introduced last year's Budget on April 19th. He made a brief statement showing what money had been raised and how much there was outstanding. The estimated surplus after all the taxes have been collected is £2,962,000. Mr. Austen Chamberlain followed with a criticism of the different taxes.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said he was bound to say that the rosy account which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given of how the estimates of last year would be realised was extremely encouraging. He thought the right hon. gentleman opposite was rather mild and amiable in his criticism, except in the last part of his speech, which dealt with a matter which it was inconvenient to discuss now on the general principle of the land taxes. He thought that mildness should be appreciated, for the right hon. gentleman hated and abominated the Budget, because it switched off Tariff Reform and was the death warrant of that policy. (Cheers.) That had been avowed twice in public speeches on considered occasions by Lord Lansdowne, and therefore the right hon. gentleman and all hon. gentlemen opposite considered this Budget was "Anathema, maran-atha." With regard to land values, he had his doubts about that system of taxation. It was not that he thought land should not be taxed. His opinion was that land was crying out for extra taxation. (Opposition laughter.) But he thought he should have attacked it more directly. He should have been inclined to revive and increase the old, brutal, direct land tax. It was because the landed gentry insisted upon taking 1s. in the pound off that tax that the whole of the trouble arose in our North American Colonies. At that time the land tax yielded £2,000,000 of revenue out of £18,000,000. Supposing it were one-eighth or one-tenth of the whole revenue now. A direct land tax of that kind would be worth having. With regard to the death duties and the income-tax, it was a remarkable fact that while if they took the last 20 years, the total amount on which income-tax was levied had been increasing in a most remarkable manner, the total amount of capital on which death duties were paid had not increased in at all the same proportion; and during the last three years, while the income-tax had been going up the capital on which death duties had been levied had absolutely diminished. His belief was that that was due to the unfortunate

exaggeration of the graduation. If graduation was mild it did not have much effect, but if they made it too violent it might have a very considerable effect on the revenue. There was, for instance, the celebrated case of the Duke of Richmond. He got rid of the whole of the death duties by a most ingenious device. The Attorney-General had drafted a clause, but he did not think it stopped the hole. And so with the income-tax. If they graduated the income-tax very steeply and very severely they would induce people to secrete their income from the purview of the tax-gatherer. Thus, if they continued to exaggerate graduation they would end by seriously impairing, if not largely destroying, the two best taxes they had. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement did credit to everybody. The distressed officials at the Treasury had done what they held to be their duty, and at great risk.

Mr. NELSON referring to the speech of the hon. and learned member for South Bucks, denied that the burden of rates fell heavily on land; it was upon the use the land was put to that the weight fell. When the value of unimproved land was arrived at as distinct from the value given to it by skill and industry, there would be an impetus given to agriculture such as it had never had before. Economic pressure would bring more land into the market for cultivation. The cheaper land was the more people would be attracted to the production of wealth. The great economic problems of unemployment, sweating, overcrowding in slums, and all the other questions agitating the minds of statesmen to-day must be solved in an economic manner. We must solve them through the land question and by economic pressure of rates and taxes. Rates and taxes should fall not upon industry, but upon the unimproved value of the land itself. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. YOUNGER agreed that there was a strong desire in Scotland for some method of taxation, or, as he ventured to say, rating, on this basis. He had advocated rating proposals of this kind for many years. But he did not agree with the method of taxation proposed in the Budget. To rope in the Scottish fear was contrary to the principle laid down by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself only to tax increment value which the owner had done nothing to create.

MR. FELS AT SMALL HOLDINGS SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Central Small Holdings Society was held at Lady O'Hagan's house, 2, Upper Belgrave Street. Lord Shaftesbury, the president, was in the chair.

Mr. R. Winfrey, M.P., said that 67,255 acres had been acquired for small holdings up to January 1st, being at the rate of 3,700 acres a month; but this year the monthly average had dropped to 2,000 acres, though 23,000 eligible applicants were waiting for land, and their patience was being exhausted. Many landowners were getting too high a rent for small holdings; most county councils were charging too much for management; the need of providing decent cottages for small holders had not yet been faced; and the Board of Agriculture was under-staffed. Country-bred men in towns who wanted to get back on the land should, he thought, be enabled to do so.

Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P., said that the society's work was more needed now than ever.

Mr. E. C. Fordham, Chairman of the Small Holdings Committee of the Cambridgeshire County Council, said it was perfectly scandalous that any public authority should reject applicants who did not propose to get their whole living from small holdings. It was particularly desirable to keep in rural districts such men as the village blacksmith, who had been deprived of half his business through the introduction of motor-cars. Nor should an applicant be rejected because he was not now a resident in the district to which he wanted to return.

Mr. Joseph Fels, in moving a vote of thanks to Lady O'Hagan, said that the small holdings movement was simply playing with the question. He vigorously attacked the system of private ownership in land, and argued that all land should be so taxed that it would be forced into use.

The MORNING LEADER cartoon on 18th April showed Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Balfour watching from the turret of a castle the approach of a band of horsemen headed by a leader carrying a large flag on which is written "Budget." The wording underneath the cartoon is—

Lord Lansdowne: "They're coming again, and this time we shall have to surrender."

PRIVILEGE AT WORK.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN IRELAND.

In the cold, hard columns of the Engineering Supplement to the TIMES of April 20th, appeared a long article, entitled "Engineering Work in Ireland." The writer, an Irish engineer, points out how Irish landowners have steadily opposed the improvement and development of Irish land, which would have given much employment to men in this profession. The following are a few extracts:—

For centuries past the cultivation of Irish waste lands has engaged the attention of economists and practical men, and even before 1809, when the Bogs Commission was appointed, many valuable papers and articles have been written. After five years of incessant work this Commission reported that the cost of successfully dealing with the drainage and improvement of 2,831,000 acres of waste and bog lands would be over £1,250,000, and it strongly recommended the State to reclaim the wastes and charge the cost to the proprietors. But no results of importance followed this report.

In 1829 a Bill for the reclamation of waste lands was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Brownlow and passed the Lords; the Committee unanimously reported in its favour and affirmed that there were "immense tracts of land now under bog, peat, or morass, the drainage of which would yield fertile land and amply repay the outlay." But this Bill was finally dropped, and the next measure of importance was introduced in 1847 by Lord John Russell, who advocated the expenditure of £1,000,000 in buying and improving waste lands. This Bill also was withdrawn on the understanding that owners of land would take State loans through the Board of Works and reclaim the land themselves, but, as appeared from a return moved for in 1875, the owners only partially availed themselves of the advantages offered them. From that portion of the return which deals with twelve Poor Law unions in Galway, Mayo, and Donegal it appears that during the 30 years between 1845 and 1875 the area reclaimed by State loans in those unions amounted to 5,249 acres, and that improved to 9,877 acres; and since there were in all over 600,000 acres of waste land in these unions about 585,000 acres must still remain waste. These figures are merely selected to show how extensive are the areas and how much there is to be done in one region only. . . .

It is a remarkable fact that when a littoral reclamation project is started in Ireland—no matter how earnestly it has been clamoured for or how desirable it may be in itself—a veritable host of objections, most of them frivolous or vexatious, is invariably sprung upon the unfortunate promoters, who often find, after expending much time and money, that they are hopelessly blocked by the interference of the very people they expected to benefit and on whose support they counted. Wild-fowlers, cockle-pickers, seaweed gatherers, boatmen and landowners seem to spring suddenly into existence, and by their combined efforts and enormously exaggerated claims for compensation succeed in crushing the enterprise which would give employment and add to the actual value of the country. Many instances might be given to prove that this is no overdrawn picture, but one example must suffice. Not far from Dublin there is an area of 450 acres which could easily be reclaimed and which would give an excellent return without any risk from the engineering point of view. The particulars, cost, &c., having been roughly worked out, the scheme was brought before the notice of the principal adjacent owners, but they not only refused to assist, but indicated their intention to oppose the scheme, though it would be manifestly to their advantage to encourage it. The chief reason—if it can be called a reason—was that the reclamation would, if carried into effect, interfere with the small yachts which during highest tides only are able to sail over the area in question.

At present, and indeed for years past, Ireland seems to be involved in a tangle of inexplicable inconsistencies; there is plenty of work but nothing to do, and millions of acres lie waiting to be reclaimed, yet there is no room for the people, who are obliged to emigrate at the rate of tens of thousands per annum. Unanimity of opinion exists as to the advisability of retaining in the country all that is best of its "bone, blood, and sinew," and equally unanimous expressions come from all quarters as to the folly of expecting strong young people to stay in a country where there is nothing to do except starve.

RENT VERSUS RATES.

On April 11th the Crigglestone Collieries, Ltd., appealed against the assessment by the Assessment Committee of the Wakefield Union, and the Overseers and Parish Council of Crigglestone, of their colliery property at Crigglestone.

The appeal was against an assessment of £13,670 gross and £5,000 net. A revised valuation showed that the present company for the year ended February, 1909, made a gross profit of £905, without, however, making any provision for insurance, repair of waggons, depreciation, directors' fees, or remuneration for a hypothetical tenant. Counsel submitted that in these circumstances the colliery should only be rated at a nominal sum.

Mr. G. Humphreys-Davies, Laurence Pountney Lane, E.C., gave evidence as to the unprofitable nature of the colliery.

Mr. Compston (for the Assessment Committee): Notwithstanding that over £2,000 is now being paid in royalty and surface rents, do you still actually say that there is no rateable value?—I still say there is no rateable value.

The Bench dismissed the appeal with costs.

The meaning of this incident is that while the Colliery Company are quite prepared to pay the landowner £2,000 without receiving the slightest service in return they are quite ready to claim that the Rating Authorities should give them the use of valuable public services for nothing. It is well that the Magistrates have stopped this scheme, and have driven back the Colliery Company to demand relief from the burden imposed on their industry by the private tax-collector whose collection is in the nature of a robbery. If the Colliery Company's claim had been granted it would be a double perversion of things.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

COMPLIMENTARY DINNER TO JOSEPH FELS AND TOM L. JOHNSON.

On April 11th, at the Trocadero Restaurant, Joseph Fels, who has just returned from the United States, where he has been working to promote the movement for the Taxation of Land Values, and Tom L. Johnson, ex-Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., were entertained to a dinner by the United Committee and friends of the movement. Over a hundred persons sat down to dinner, among whom were:—T. F. Walker (Birmingham) in the chair, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Fels, Tom L. Johnson, J. C. Durant, J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., and Mrs. Wedgwood, A. Mond, M.P., A. H. Scott, M.P., and Mrs. Scott, G. N. Barnes, M.P., P. W. Raffan, M.P., W. R. Lester, Peter Burt, J.P., Mr. and Mrs. W. Coates, C. H. Smithson, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Llewelyn Davies, Crompton Llewelyn Davies, Miss Llewelyn Davies, Mr. and Mrs. Crilly, Mr. and Mrs. Berens, Captain and Mrs. Warden, Mr. and Misses Verinder, C. J. Cawood, Geo. Orr, J. Busby, E. McHugh, J. H. McGuigan, F. Skirrow, Frank Smith, George Lansbury, Gustav Buscher, Mr. and Mrs. Chomley, E. Belfour, A. W. Madsen and John Paul.

After the dinner and the [Chairman's opening remarks, the Land Song was sung, the company joining in singing the chorus.

Mr. Wedgwood, M.P., in proposing the toast "Our Guests," said that the name of Tom L. Johnson had been a household word in their movement for many years. He was converted to their faith through reading Henry George's "Social Problems," and for the last 30 years he had been backing their movement. He had stood as the beacon light in the midst of the welter of municipal politics in America during the last 30 years. Mr. Joseph Fels was a new recruit to their cause, but the work he had done in the last few years had beaten that of many others who had been in the movement for 30 years. It was not only in this country that he had worked. In America, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden—in Hungary even—he was the moving spirit in the land attack to-day. (Cheers.)

Mr. Fels, in responding, explained the position of the land question in America, where great progress is being made, and said that the United States was influenced more largely by the example and the teachings of Great Britain than by those of any other country. In this country the Liberal Party had done nothing to help them. They did not enjoy the courage of their own convictions; otherwise there would be Taxation of Land Values, with 6d. in the pound on all land within the next six months. What in the name of common sense was the use of

exempting agricultural land? Thank God the movement had come to stay. The knowledge of Henry George and his immortal works had gone throughout the earth.

Mr. Tom L. Johnson, who also responded, said that in Cleveland they had been engaged for the past nine years in a work having for its aim the Taxation of Land Values. The conditions here and in America differed. What they sought, as followers of Henry George, was to abolish a system of privilege and advantage, called by many names, expressed in many ways. In all countries in some form, under some name, some men enjoyed privileges which belonged to all men. Their quarrel was not with men, but with landlordism, privilege and monopoly. (Cheers.)

The toast, "Our Movement at Home and Abroad," was proposed by Mr. Harry Llewelyn Davies, and responded to by Messrs. J. C. Durant and Peter Burt, J.P.

Mr. John Paul, in response to calls, spoke for a few minutes, and appealed for co-operation in carrying out an effective distribution of the literature published by the Committee.

MANCHESTER.

In addition to meetings already announced, the following have been held:—

- Mar. 2.—Broadbottom League of Young Liberals. Mr. John Bagot.
- April 4.—Blackburn League of Young Liberals. Mr. John Bagot. "Unemployment and its cure."
- " 5.—Greenfield League of Young Liberals. Mr. John Bagot. "The true scope of Social reform."
- " 7.—S. and J. Watts' Shirt Factory, Manchester, dinner-hour meeting. John Bagot and A. H. Weller.
- " 7.—Economic Class Meeting at the Manchester Office.
- " 10.—North Manchester I.L.P. John Bagot. "The true scope of Social Reform."
- " 11.—Newton League of Young Liberals. John Bagot. "Social ideals for Young Liberals."
- " 13.—Marple League of Young Liberals. John Bagot. "Social ideals for Young Liberals."
- " 14.—Crossley's Works, Openshaw, dinner-hour meeting. Dr. P. McDougall and A. H. Weller.
- " 14.—Economic Class Meeting at the Manchester Office.
- " 17.—Queen's Park Parliament, Manchester. John Bagot.
- " 18.—Flowery Field (Hyde) League of Young Liberals. John Bagot.
- " 20.—Alderley Edge League of Young Liberals. John Bagot.
- " 21.—Hyde League of Young Liberals. Dr. P. McDougall.
- " 21.—Economic Class Meeting at the Manchester Office.
- " 25.—West Salford League of Young Liberals. A. H. Weller. "Taxation of Land Values."

Up to the time of going to Press the following meetings have been arranged:—

- May 4.—Newton Heath League of Young Liberals. Open-air meeting. A. H. Weller. "Land Reform."
- " 5.—Economic Class Meeting at the Manchester Office. Paper by Miss H. M. Hamar on "Progress and Poverty."

At a committee meeting held on April 6th it was decided to run a vigorous open-air campaign during the coming summer. Meetings will be held in the Parks on Sunday afternoons (subject to the permission of the Parks Committee of Manchester), and dinner-hour addresses will be given outside large works in and around Manchester and Salford.

The office of the League is at 134, Deansgate, Manchester.

PORTSMOUTH.

On Tuesday, 19th, April Mr. M'Guigan addressed a meeting of the Fareham Women's Liberal Association on "The Lords and the Land Question," at which Mrs. Laphorn presided.

At the monthly meeting of the Portsmouth League held on April 20th, Mr. Cole read the address of Mr. Fels to the Franklin Institute.

Mr. M'Guigan will address the Bevoir Town Liberal Association at Southampton probably on May 9th.

The Committee of the League are preparing a leaflet on the rating question applied locally, which will be published shortly.

BLACKBURN.

On March 17th, at the Cob Wall Liberal Club, a meeting was held under the auspices of the Blackburn League of Young Liberals. Mr. Ratcliffe was in the chair, and Mr. Skirrow gave an instructive address on "The Remedy for Bad Trade." Mr. Skirrow showed that the remedy was to carry Free Trade to its

logical conclusion, freedom to produce, and this was to be accomplished by taxing Land Values. An interesting discussion followed the address.

Mr. Skirrow also spoke under the same auspices on the following evening at the Mill Hill Liberal Club, when he dealt with the Housing Problem, showing its connection with the Poverty Question and its solution through a solution of the land question. Mr. Moore was in the chair.

PARLIAMENTARY LAND VALUES GROUP.

The MORNING POST of April 20th thus announces the progress made by the Land Values Group in Parliament:

The "Land Values Group," as it calls itself—members who are generally in sympathy with the nationalisation of land—are delighted that part I. of the Finance Bill stands. They had some fear—though it is difficult to understand on what it is based—that alterations might be made. They are not concerned with the fact that the new valuation will exclude Ireland; and at a meeting held yesterday they exchanged congratulations. The terms of the resolution to be moved this night week by Mr. Verney were decided on:

That in the opinion of this House the present system of taxation, rating, and tenure of land tends to restrict the best use of the land and the application to it of capital and labour, thereby hindering the production of wealth, and causing unemployment.

On that evening the group will have as its guest at dinner in the House, Mr. Tom L. Johnson, ex-Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio.

Since last month the Land Values Group has been added to by the following members:—Messrs. A. W. Black, N. Buxton, J. A. Dawes, Enoch Edwards, T. E. Harvey and C. A. McCurdy. The group now consists of 105 members.

Mr. J. A. King had been successful in the Ballot for the 30th March, but unfortunately the debate did not take place, his resolution on Rating Reform, urging the relief of buildings, improvements and machinery from taxation, being withdrawn for some unexplained reason. The Group have elected a standing committee of fifteen members, from whom an executive of five will be elected.

SCOTTISH MUNICIPALITIES AND LAND VALUES.

At the annual meeting of the Convention of Royal Burghs held in City Chambers, Edinburgh, on March 5th, ex-Provost Keith moved "That in the opinion of the Convention an equitable rating of urban land values could be arrived at by an amendment of the existing Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Acts in certain respects." He proposed entering on the Valuation roll the annual value of unused land; that the value of residential mansions and estates on the roll should include the yearly value of structural cost, amenity, and site value. Provost Moffat, Forfar, seconded the resolution.

Mr. Thomas Hunter, Town Clerk, Edinburgh, pointed out difficulties in carrying out the proposals. The Budget proposed a tax on capital; these proposals suggested a tax on annual value; they could not have both. He moved the previous question.

Mr. George Husband, Haddington, seconded.

Councillor Anderson, Glasgow, moved that the whole subject be remitted to the Annual Committee.

This was seconded by Provost Lennox, Dumfries, and on a show of hands was adopted over the motion and the previous question by a large majority.

LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION.

The twenty-third annual meeting of the Land Law Reform Association was held on April 5th, at the National Liberal Club, Mr. J. Sharp Higham, M.P., presiding. The annual report stated that during the last Parliament much good legislation had been passed dealing with the land question. It was, however, the proposals in the Budget of Mr. Lloyd George which would stand out as a signal advance. Whatever fate might befall this particular Budget, the taxes on land values embodied in it had secured a position that could never be ignored—the principle of a system of just land taxes had been adopted by the country. The executive committee attached great importance to the proposal for the revaluation of the land of the country.

Mr. Higham, in moving the adoption of the report, referred to the great progress which was being made in the movement for land reform, which a few years since was hardly mentioned on public platforms. The present land system was particularly vicious in the rural districts, owing to the rent demanded by landlords, the farmer could not pay a living wage to his labourer, who, in his turn was unable to afford a decent house. (Hear, hear.)

The motion having been adopted, Mr. Toulmin, M.P., moved a resolution expressing the hope that all land reformers would concentrate their efforts in supporting the Government in its action in regard to the land clauses of the Budget. He urged that the land question should not be allowed to play a secondary part in the present crisis. The veto resolutions were the spearhead, but the demand for land law reform was the spear with which to force that resolution home. (Cheers.)

SCOTTISH NEWS AND NOTES.

RECEPTION TO MESSRS. JOHNSON, FELS, AND PAUL.

A reception was held in the Charing Cross Halls, Glasgow, by the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values, in honour of the Hon. Tom L. Johnson, ex-Mayor of Cleveland; Mr. Joseph Fels, Philadelphia; and Mr. John Paul. There was a large company, and Mr. Alexander Mackendrick, the president, occupied the chair.

The proceedings opened with the singing of the "Land Song," led off by Mr. John Wilson, of Armadale.

The Chairman in a brief address referred, at the opening, to the presence of Mr. Tom L. Johnson, whom they had not had the pleasure of meeting before. Mr. Joseph Fels had been with them at a similar meeting, and Mr. Paul was an old friend. They had received many things from America. Material gifts were trifling compared with the intellectual and spiritual gifts, and he had held that the greatest benefit one individual could confer on another, was to put a new idea into his head. This service Henry George had done for all of them, and they were met to welcome a colleague and warm personal friend of Henry George. Indeed so highly did Mr. George esteem Mr. Johnson, he had selected him as one of the men to whom to dedicate his final work, the Science of Political Economy. The triumph of Henry George was the complete vindication he had made of the laws of nature. Poverty had been shown to be due to a removable cause, and it was their duty to remove this cause.

Ex-Bailie Burt, in welcoming the guests, said the cause in which they were bound together knew no national borders; it was the cause of humanity, and that night they were getting fresh inspiration in the glorious fight in which they were engaged by the presence of Mr. Johnson, Mr. Fels, and Mr. Paul. Mr. Johnson was the warm personal friend of Henry George, and the pioneer of municipal reforms in America. Mr. Fels was their champion hustler; he had the faculty of making other people work, and had put new life into the movement. As regarded Mr. Paul, they had never appreciated his worth until he went to London. Their guests were known wherever the gospel of Land Value Taxation was being preached. Those friends of the movement who had not met them face to face yet had their names as household words.

Mr. Johnson, who had an enthusiastic reception, said he would carry back pleasant recollections to America. The Chairman had spoken of what they owed to his people on the other side. He was reminded of what the people on his side owed to them by way of advice and inspiration in their great cause. In Scotland the great truth taught by Henry George had never been lost sight of. He wanted to say how anxious he had always been to meet the friends in Scotland. It had been a wish of his to meet John Paul, and also to meet Mr. George's old friend in Scotland, Mr. John Mactaggart. He had now met those whom he had formerly known by name as personal friends of Henry George. To accomplish this he would have been prepared to come in a sailing ship, instead of occupying comfortable quarters as he had done in the Mauretania. He was anxious to retain the friendship of those who had kept the faith, and he valued that above any other honour they could confer on him. There were three great phases through which every movement had to pass. The first was that the idea was ridiculous, the second was that it was contrary to religion, and the third was that it was just what everybody had always believed. Their movement had reached that stage on this side, and he was proud of the achievement. All the English-

speaking people were interested in the present political struggles at Westminster.

Mr. Paul stated that the movement was making great progress in the South, but there was still plenty of scope for missionary work in all parts of the country. They must take a leaf out of the book of the Tariff Reformers, and disseminate literature explaining their cause in every household. After the valuation proposals of the Government were passed into law they wanted to plead for the Local Rating of Land Values. The Lord Advocate had agreed to address a meeting in St. Andrew's Hall on May 17, at which he would explain what was behind the question of the Veto of the House of Lords.

Mr. Fels said that nobody could accumulate a large fortune without somebody being robbed. He had stated before now that the best use he could make of his unearned increment was to make use of his brains to spend that unearned increment in destroying the damnable system by which he had made it, and he desired that night to reconsecrate himself to the task. The wealth he possessed was the result of conditions over which he had no more control than other individuals, and of which he along with others, had been able to take advantage. He had no sympathy with the system under which a score of men in a community may grow rich by reason of the industry of a score of thousands in the same community. The people of this country had merely skimmed the froth off the material benefits which had come as a result of municipal progress. They had yet to enter into the benefits of the wealth which cropped up under the name of land values, and which had been produced by their combined industry.

Other speakers were:—Messrs. D. McLardy and W. D. Hamilton, Glasgow, and Mr. C. H. Smithson, of Halifax. The singers on the programme were:—Miss McLardy, John and Adam Wilson, and a vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by Mr. G. B. Waddell, brought a successful meeting to a close.

The Annual Meeting of the Scottish League was held in Glasgow, on April 20th. The report for the year ending December, 1909, showed a record of successful work. The Lord Advocate had spoken at several large meetings organised by the League in co-operation with other associations. The success of the procession and demonstration held on September 18th had done much to impress the Government and the country generally with the importance of the land clauses of the Budget, and their popularity in Scotland. In addition to these more notable activities, a series of meetings had been carried out at which members of the league had advocated the Taxation of Land Values in the fullest manner. During the election campaign an exceptionally large distribution of literature took place. Mr. Alexander Mackendrick was appointed President, and Mr. David Cassels, Treasurer, for the ensuing year. The League is giving up their offices at 13, Dundas Street, and will remove, on May 28th, to new offices at 67, West Nile Street, Glasgow.

Under the joint auspices of the United Committee and the Scottish Liberal Association, the Lord Advocate will address a demonstration in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on May 17th.

Among the meetings addressed during the month, Mr. George Stenhouse has spoken on the Taxation of Land Values to the East Park Literary Society, the Maryhill Young Scots Society, and to the Glasgow branch of the Progressive League.

WHAT THE ENGLISH LEAGUE IS DOING.

The following meetings have been held:—

- March 14.—Gosforth Junior Liberal Association. R. Brown.
- April 3.—Baptist Union P.S.A., Sandy. W. R. Lester, M.A.
- " 11.—Dorking League of Young Liberals. Councillor J. Chuter Ede.
- " 12.—Tunbridge Wells League of Young Liberals. F. Verinder.
- " 14.—Hook and Tolworth (Surrey) Liberal and Progressive Association. Councillor J. Chuter Ede.
- " 15.—Herne Bay Liberal Association. A. Wilme Collier.
- " 16.—Radcliffe, Lancs. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P.
- " 18.—Leatherhead Liberal Club. Councillor J. Chuter Ede.
- " 19.—Fareham Women's Liberal Association. J. H. M'Guigan.
- " 20.—Yorkshire Office. Discussion, opened by T. Wardle.
- " 21.—Amble, Northumberland. James Veitch.
- " 23.—North Islington Liberal and Radical Association. J. W. Graham Peace.

- May 25.—Central Council, E.L.T.L.V., and Public Discussion. W. R. Lester, M.A., "How the Budget makes possible the untaxing of industry."
- " 26.—Loughton Women's Liberal Association. F. Verinder.
- " 23.—Crewe. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P.
- " 29.—Worcester Park (Surrey) Liberal and Radical Association. Councillor J. Chuter Ede.

Essex Small Hall was crowded on the 25th ult. for the public discussion which followed the ordinary quarterly meeting of the Central Council. Mr. Godfrey Collins, M.P., presided, in the place and at the request of Mr. E. G. Hemmerde, K.C., M.P., President of the League, who was detained at the House of Commons. Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P., Mr. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., Councillor Toovey, C.C., and other friends, sent letters of regret. Mr. W. R. Lester, M.A., read a paper on "How the Budget makes possible the Untaxing of Industry." There was a good discussion in which Messrs. Coad, Berens, Loveridge, McCulloch, Verinder, and a number of visitors took part. Mr. A. Wilme Collier moved, and Mr. O. F. Dowson seconded, a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Lester for an able and interesting paper which had evidently been greatly enjoyed by those present. The thanks of the meeting were also unanimously accorded to Mr. Collins, who had so kindly taken the chair at very short notice. There was a good sale of literature. The new "discaphone" record of the Land Song was used at the meeting.

Two London members of the League—a member of the Executive and his wife—who have just changed their address, have intimated the fact to their friends by means of the following circular:—

Dear Friends,—Kindly note that we are to-day removing from — to the above address. We take the opportunity of asking you to help in every way you can to abolish entirely the present rates on houses and other buildings, machinery, &c., as well as the existing taxes on food, all of which handicap everyone who works either with brain or hand, and to establish in their place a uniform tax or rate on land according to its value, whether the land is used or not, which could not fail to induce landowners to put their land to profitable use, thus vastly increasing the demand for both capital and labour.

We note with interest and satisfaction that the new home of these two untiring propagandists is in the constituency of St. George's, Hanover Square. They could hardly have chosen a neighbourhood where educational work of the kind they do so well is more urgently needed.

One of the oldest members of the League writes: "I feel more than ever that our cause is the one great cause, and I want to help it to the best of my power. So here is £5. Take it as a subscription for this year, and understand that I hope to be able to give £5 annually (instead of my usual guinea)."

Mr. J. W. Graham Peace, a member of the Executive and a frequent speaker for the League, is "Chancellor of the Exchequer" in the Kingsland Parliament. His Budget speech, lasting an hour and a half, was a brilliant exposition of the case for the Taxation of Land Values. He proposed the abolition of the burdens placed on business by the Stamp Duty, of the Custom's duties on food, and of the burden upon commerce represented by the profit made by the Post Office. In order to remit these taxes, to remove the pauper disqualification for Old Age Pensions, and to lower the pension age to 65, he proposed to levy a tax of 4d. in the £ on the capital value of all land in the United Kingdom. The Kingsland Parliament has already discussed a Bill for Rating Reform on a Land Value basis.

Mr. Skirrow is arranging a number of meetings for which dates have not yet been fixed. He has also in hand the arrangements for the great meetings in Blackburn (Prince's Theatre, May 11th) and Burnley (May 12th), at which the Lord Advocate is to be the principal speaker.

- May 1 (Sun.)—North Camberwell Radical Club, 45, Albany Road, Old Kent Road. Fredk. Verinder. "The Budget —and After." Noon.
- May 7 (Sat.)—Hammersmith League of Young Liberals. J. W. Graham Peace.
- May 9 (Mon.)—Bevo's Town Liberal Association, Southampton. J. H. M'Guigan.

COLONIAL AND FOREIGN NEWS.

CANADA.

Sir James Whitney, Premier of Ontario, led the movement in the Ontario Parliament which defeated the Bill for giving municipalities power to tax Land Values and exempt improvements. Two hundred and seventy municipalities had petitioned in favour of this legislation. Sir James Whitney spoke of this as a Henry George measure, and used those arguments with which we are so familiar on this side about unearned increment attaching to other things than land. The Press of Ontario supported the Bill almost without exception, and papers which on other questions are supporters of the Government have almost unanimously condemned the Premier's action in this case. The OTTAWA EVENING CITIZEN of March 19th says that it has always been an admirer of Sir James Whitney, "but when the first Minister of His Majesty's Government in the leading province of Canada treats in such a superficial and prejudiced manner, the all-important question of Taxation of Land Values, the question that is vital to every man of the community, we must, in the public interest, raise our voice in protest."

AUSTRALIA.

ELECTION NOTE.

The Labour Party has won a decisive victory in the Australian Federal Elections. It has a peculiar programme. It stands for Protection, but in addition it proposes to take some of the profits made in protected industries and use them to increase the wages of the labourers. The Labour Party also stands for a tax on the capital value of land. This last step has been often proposed for the purpose of breaking up the huge estates, and it seems likely that the Labour Party will carry it through.

The manifesto of the Labour Party on the Land Question was published in the MORNING LEADER on the 18th April. The LEADER calls it Land Nationalisation, but after carefully reading the manifesto we fail to find a word of land nationalisation by purchase or any other method.

"Land monopoly," says the manifesto, "is the curse of Australia. With immense areas of fertile land within reasonable distances of great centres of population, blessed with a regular rainfall, sufficient to support 50 millions of people in comfort, a population of less than five millions cannot obtain land for its own limited requirements. The foundation of all national greatness and prosperity must rest on some form of agricultural or pastoral pursuits. In the Commonwealth nearly 80 per cent. of the people live in the towns; over 50 per cent. are crowded in the six capital cities of the several States. Such conditions are unnatural; they make healthy progress impossible. We must get the bulk of the people on the land. To do that we must kill land monopoly. If we do not destroy land monopoly it will surely destroy us."

"Very much has been lately said about immigration and the need for a rapid increase in population. And no doubt this is very necessary. We want more people to develop Australia; we want more people to help us to defend it. But it is useless, and even dangerous, to invite people to a country unless we make preparations to receive them."

"In the overcrowded cities immigrants are a drug on the labour market, a menace to the worker, and a burden to the community. They create no new wealth, benefit no one, not even themselves, and by the reports of their misfortune give the country a bad name. But settled on the land, every white immigrant may be welcomed with open arms; he is an asset to the nation's wealth, an additional guarantee of the nation's safety."

"Land monopoly, then, bars the road to a policy of successful immigration, imperils our national safety, retards our development, threatens our very existence. But land monopoly is a upas tree; its deadly roots are firmly embedded in the earth. It is not to be uprooted by fine speeches or a rosewater policy. During the last few years it has flourished unchecked. We have only dallied and paltered with the matter. Orations by Mr. Deakin and closer settlement schemes by State Governments have been equally ineffective."

"Large estates are growing to-day faster than the closer settlement schemes are cutting them up. Their effect is like the attempting to bale the ocean with a sieve, and something much more drastic must be resorted to. There is, in our opinion,

but one practical remedy, and that is a graduated tax upon unimproved land values. If returned with a majority, we shall impose a tax upon estates of the unimproved value of £5,000 and over (in the case of absentees there will be no exemption), beginning at a penny in the £, and rising by graduations necessary to make it effective."

"The future of Australia hangs upon the result of the forthcoming election. Whether land monopoly should exist and flourish safely, sheltered within the citadels of vested interests—the Legislative Councils of Australia—or be shattered at one blow, depends upon the votes of the people. To ensure the development of our great resources, the speedy peopling of our vacant lands, the effective defence of the country, land monopoly must be destroyed. Under the regime of the old parties, land monopoly has grown up, flourishes, and sleeps secure."

LAND OWNERSHIP IN NIGERIA.

DECAY OF NATIVE CUSTOM.

By a Correspondent in MORNING POST, March 14th.

At the base of all problems of development in tropical Africa lies the land question. It is the appropriation by the State of native lands which constitutes the *gravamen* of the charge against the system of administration built up in the Congo under the Leopoldian régime. In French Equatorial Africa troubles have been accumulating for some years past owing to the policy adopted, there alone among French African possessions, with regard to land ownership and the right to the products of the soil. In French West Africa and in the British Colonies and Protectorates these particular troubles have been avoided, because the native chiefs and peoples have, in the main, been confirmed in their occupation of the land and their enjoyment of its fruits. But even the most scrupulous observance of native rights by the protecting Power cannot prevent native ideas and customs from being influenced by the advent of the white man with a totally different set of ideas as to the constitution of society. In Southern Nigeria at the present time there is threatened a break-up of the native system of land tenure which is viewed with the gravest alarm by those who are most conversant with the situation, and who desire the development of the country to proceed along sound lines. In view of recent events a brief survey of the situation may serve a not unuseful purpose.

Southern Nigeria is an amalgam of the old Southern Nigeria Protectorate with the Lagos Colony and Protectorate. It is in this latter country, now constituting the Western Province of Southern Nigeria, that native civilisation is most advanced and that the land question is of most pressing importance. The distinction between the Colony and the Protectorate, though generally disregarded in estimates of the extent of British rule, is really of considerable practical importance. The Colony is under English law. In the Protectorate, on the other hand, though the Supreme Court of Lagos has jurisdiction in each native State over aliens, the chiefs exercise a large measure of authority over their own subjects, and native laws and customs still prevail. It is inevitable, however, that methods of law and procedure in the Colony should influence the development of the protected territory. Thus, in the coast towns, including Lagos, the practice of buying and selling land, the ownership of which is vested in individuals, has contributed materially to the growth of a similar practice in the interior, where private property in land cannot exist under native law and custom, and where the occupier of a farm holds it as a grant from the chief, in whom the ownership is vested as the representative of the community. So long as the grantee conducts himself loyally towards the chief he is entitled to remain in occupation, and the farm passes from father to son in the usual order of succession; but he does not own the land, and he cannot dispose of it to a third party.

A TRANSITION PERIOD.

Such, very briefly, and without reference to complicated details, is the theory. Its observance in practice varies according to the degree in which the native States have preserved their old-time customs and are still under the control of their chiefs. Even where land is still regarded as inalienable it is often pawned by occupiers who find themselves in financial difficulties, and the person to whom it is pawned is recognised as possessing certain rights. But in addition to these cases are

multiplying in which land is bought and sold outright. In an article contributed to the African Society's JOURNAL, Mr. R. E. Dennett, the Deputy Conservator of Forests in Southern Nigeria, says:—"All who have travelled about Egba-land know that this law (of holding land as an inalienable grant), an excellent one in its day, when land was abundant, is being gradually worn down by economic pressure and the demand for land. Land which at one time was worth nothing now fetches from £3 to £5 per acre, and the crime of selling is winked at by the chiefs. Nay, the chiefs in many cases are as anxious to sell now as they were at one time willing to give (and why should they give what the recipients sell?). What the ancients looked upon as a crime is in the present generation gradually becoming a custom."

In face of this situation what should be the attitude of the British Government? Native opinion itself is divided on the subject. Nothing could better illustrate the present uncertain state of affairs than the spirit of vacillation displayed by the Alake of Abeokuta, one of the most enlightened native chiefs, in the Protectorate, who rules under a special treaty with the British Government. Recently the Nigerian mail brought word that the Alake, sitting in council, had recognised the practice of the private sale of land for debt. A later mail brings word that he has since affirmed the inalienability of land. As a result he has been waited on by a deputation of natives to urge the view that land is not inalienable, but the private property of those who occupy it.

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY.

Two courses are open to the British Government—either to encourage the transition from the native system of communal ownership of land to a system of individual ownership, or to strengthen the hands of the chiefs in maintaining the old laws and customs. Both courses have their advocates, and their is much to be said in favour of either one or the other. But it is imperative that some definite policy should be adopted. A course of drift can only lead to confusion and infinite trouble. In this connection the forthcoming report of the Commission which has been inquiring into the system of land tenure in the Northern Nigeria Protectorate will be of the greatest interest and value. It is understood that the Commission recognises the communal ownership of land and recommends the maintenance of the native land laws as being the best adapted to the progressive development of the country. Most of those who have studied the question in Southern Nigeria incline to the same view as regards the course to be pursued in that country. "The creation of a class of irresponsible landowners," says Mr. Dennett in the paper already referred to, "paying no tribute to the original owners, which is being formed in defiance of native law, will, in time to come, bring the chiefs in the protected States to the same abject level as that on which we find the White-Cap chiefs in Lagos to-day. This class of people, it seems to me, is not only becoming a danger to the very existence of the native States, but a future cause of great trouble to the protecting European Powers." At the same time it is recognised as only reasonable that the individual native should wish to be secure in the possession of his farm. Naturally he is unwilling to spend time and labour and money in developing his plantations unless he can be sure that the land will not be taken from him at the pleasure of a native despotic ruler. Some reform in the native system of land tenure is therefore necessary, by which, on the one hand, the payment of rent or tribute may be secured to the chief, and, on the other hand, stability of tenure assured to the farmer. But if matters are allowed to drift it will speedily be too late to provide for the maintenance of even a reformed system of land laws based on the principle of communal ownership. Unless the chiefs of the independent States are strongly backed by the protecting Power the people, under the influence of changing conditions, will reduce to chaos their national land laws; the basis on which the native system of society has been built up will be overthrown, and the disintegration of the States themselves will inevitably ensue.

NORTHERN NIGERIA.

LAND TENURE AND TAXATION.

There has just been published the Report of the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee (Cd. 5102) setting forth the conclusions of the Committee (1) on the land system which it is advisable to adopt, and (2) as to the legislative and administrative measures necessitated by its adoption. The report is admirable from every point of view. It marks the most wonderful advance in the efforts that have been made to establish systems of land tenure which would secure justice and freedom to all parties in our Colonies or Protectorates. The following are a few extracts:—

"... The first object of the Government is so to exercise its power of control of all lands as to secure to the native the undisturbed enjoyment of his occupation and use of land. No intermediate right to the land (nothing in the nature of a relation of mesne lord and tenant) is recognised. The native conception appears to be that each head of a family is entitled to the enjoyment of sufficient land within the limits of the village or other community to which he belongs for the support of his household. If the land he has occupied is exhausted he is entitled to permission to occupy fresh land. If he has no land, for instance, when he grows up and has a family of his own, he is entitled to permission to cultivate a new piece of land. It is the duty of the Government to protect the occupier from disturbance. His title to the enjoyment of land is that of a licensee of a Government, and he can only be deprived of his enjoyment by the Government. . . . The evidence shows that in practice the transfer of the right of enjoyment to a native occupier also required the assent of the Chief. For the proper protection of the native it seems necessary that the consent of the Government should be required to any transfer of occupation and enjoyment from one native to another, and it seems that for this purpose legislation is necessary.

"If anything in the nature of free alienation of the rights of enjoyment and user of land were recognised by law the whole of the land in all probability would within a very short time be heavily mortgaged.

"29. It seems probable that questions of the right to occupy definite portions of land or houses are more likely to arise in thickly populated areas. For instance, should the law make any difference in respect of the occupation of land in urban and in rural districts? We should answer this question in the negative. It is quite possible that some system of land registration may be adopted in urban districts before it can be carried out in rural districts. But it seems important that the principles that all land is under the control of the Government and that legal security for the validity of any transfer of rights of occupation and enjoyment can only be given under a contract to which the Government is a party should continue to be recognised in urban as well as in rural districts.

"In urban and in rural districts there is a risk, especially as vacant land becomes filled up, that some sort of valuable title to bequeath and transfer land may grow up and be recognised by native law and custom; and this development of something akin to a proprietary right in land is a danger against which it is important to guard. It is difficult, if not impossible, to prevent it by legislation, but the variation of the assessment of both rural and urban holdings from year to year, which is in the administrative power of the Resident, should be so employed as to prevent as far as possible land from acquiring a marketable value other than that derived from the improvements made upon it."

Criticising an earlier proclamation or law, the Committee continue:—

"We think it will be necessary to limit the terms of this Proclamation so as to exclude the application of its provisions to the law relating to the tenure of land. As has already been observed the evidence appears to us to establish that the English conception of an estate in land is wholly foreign to Nigerian customs and ideas. That a ruler should control the land, should appropriate such share of the produce as custom allows, and should deprive for sufficient reason the occupier of his enjoyment of land and grant it to some one else is well understood, and the law and methods of administration should, in our opinion, be directed rather to measures for giving security to the occupier against outside interference than attempt to create the new and strange idea of an estate or property in the land itself.

"We think, therefore, that the law of the Protectorate relating to the tenure, occupation and enjoyment of land within the

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Protectorate should rest on Proclamations specially dealing with that branch of the law, and not on the general introduction of the doctrines of English law and equity contained in No. 4 of 1900. We think, further, that it will be necessary also to repeal so much of the Supreme Court and Provincial Courts Proclamations as enables the parties by an express or implied contract to submit themselves to English law in matters relating to the tenure and enjoyment of any land.

"The Lands Proclamation No. 8 of 1900 has already been quoted. This enactment prevents the acquisition of any interest in or right over land from a native by a non-native without the consent in writing of the High Commissioner first had and obtained. This, as has been already observed, is a strong assertion of the principle that the Government has the right and the duty of controlling acquisition of land within the Protectorate by non-natives. It is, in our opinion, a most useful and necessary provision. The phraseology may, perhaps, be open to criticism as recognising a form of alienation foreign to Nigerian custom, and probably the Proclamation may be superseded by a wider declaration of the law to the effect that no right of cultivation or enjoyment of land can be acquired either by a native or non-native without the assent of the Government. We think it is desirable that a declaration of this principle should be made by Proclamation as the basis of the system of land tenure.

TAXATION.

"One of the forms of wealth which is most likely to increase in value is land. All experience shows that in a progressive community the profits arising from the use of land tend constantly to increase. The construction of roads and railways, the introduction of new industries, and the general progress of Northern Nigeria, will, independently of the exertions of the cultivators, augment the profits derived from the use of land. It is desirable that taxation should be such as to aim at securing for the state this increment in value, but at the same time, while recognising this general principle, it is not clear to us that it has yet been accepted or forms any part of the indigenous scheme of taxation. The reason for this is no doubt that such an increase in the profits derived from land has not yet been experienced; there is still an abundance of good land not brought under cultivation, and rent in the economic sense, whether payable to the State or to an individual, has not yet emerged. But that, with the growth of population and the pressure upon the means of subsistence, it will shortly emerge appears probable, and it seems desirable before it has come into view and been made by native custom or legal decision the subject of private property to declare the right of the State in these expanding values. These considerations point to the imposition of a special contribution from occupiers of land which would rather be in the nature of rent than a tax upon agricultural profits. We are united in thinking that a land revenue, which would in fact be economic rent and would increase with the development of the Protectorate, should eventually form an integral part of the revenues of Northern Nigeria, but before such a land revenue can be accurately assessed the country must be surveyed; for this the Government of Northern Nigeria does not possess the necessary staff. . . . In order to carry out our recommendation it is only necessary that the payment made to the State for the use of land should be kept distinct from other taxation and be recognised by the people to be assessed upon distinct principles.

"If our recommendation is accepted, taxation in the Protectorate will fall under three heads, viz. :-

"I. Payment for the use of land, urban as well as agricultural.

"II. A tax on the trading and industrial classes.

"III. A tax on live stock:

"(a) Jangali.

"(b) On other live stock.

"This tax may perhaps ultimately be merged in one or other of the preceding heads.

"The retention in Northern Nigeria of annual revisions of the assessment is desirable. It appears that the revision of the assessment provides the occasion for an annual gathering of the district headmen in the presence of the Emir and the Resident at which the rates of assessment are discussed, and if no changes are brought to notice the previously existing rates are renewed. We can well believe that these annual gatherings provide useful opportunities for discussing the condition of the province and a variety of administrative questions, and we are therefore not prepared to recommend any change in what we understand to be the recognised rule, that rates of taxation and land revenue are liable to revision every year."

GERMANY.

DEFECT OF UNEARNED INCREMENT TAX.

A Reuter message from Berlin on March 9th gives the following information about the tax on unearned increment :-

The introduction of an unearned increment tax in Berlin has produced a rush on the part of sellers of land to complete bargains before the impost comes into force. Every day large land sales are announced. Two of them to-day amounted together to 11,000,000 marks (£550,000). In many cases owners have escaped the necessity of paying hundreds of thousands of marks to the city treasury. The tax can only be collected when the property changes hands. The city fathers foresaw the present development, hence their moderate estimate of half a million marks (£25,000) as the first year's yield of the tax.

A further dispatch on April 11th states that :-

As a part of the Imperial financial settlement last year it was enacted that the Government should within a given period introduce a Bill establishing a tax on unearned increment to produce at least £1,000,000 a year. It is announced that the drafting of this Bill has been completed, and that it will be introduced in the Reichstag on its reassembly to-morrow. It provides that the tax shall apply only to real estate. It will be payable on the sale of property and is to be collected by the municipalities and rural authorities, many of whom already have local taxes on unearned increment.

Local authorities will be required to hand over 6 per cent. of the yield of the tax to the Imperial Treasury, which expects to net £1,500,000 yearly from the impost. All forms of property other than real estate are exempted from the operation of the tax on the ground that the inclusion of securities, &c., would impose an intolerable burden on trade, drive capital abroad, and keep foreign capital out of Germany, with a resultant depreciation of German State and other securities and loss of revenue from stamp duties. It is hoped that the measure will pass the Reichstag this session, and, as last year all Parties accepted in principle an unearned increment tax on real property, the hope will probably be realised. The Federal Council gave its assent to the Bill at to-day's sitting.

THE LAND QUESTION IN HUNGARY.

By ROBERT BRAUN, Ph.D.

The history of landholding in Hungary begins—as it does in every other country—with common property in land. When the Hungarians conquered their country, the whole nation was divided into seven tribes, each tribe getting its share of the land. With the introduction of the Christian religion (in 1000 A.D.) and the creation of a new central power, that of a king, the ownership of these tribal lands was transferred to the Crown. With the establishment of western law feudalism appeared, and in the course of centuries—as in other European countries—nearly all the land fell into the hands of large landlords, with tenants and landless peasants under them. But still there were some exceptions, and there were places where the cultivators of the soil had no individual landlord, but were tenants of the crown. In the earliest period of its history the kings, anxious to strengthen their newly created power, looked for support in foreign countries, and to that end encouraged Germans to migrate to Hungary. As an inducement the Germans were promised the maintenance of their own law, the free election of their judges and priests, and exemption from all intermediate ecclesiastical and temporal power. The colonisation of Hungary went on, and many thousands of western Europeans settled, finding relief from the oppression of the land system in their own countries. The descendants of such settlers are the Germans in Transylvania, generally called Saxons. Other citizens of Hungary had similar privileges conferred on them for special services.

The year 1878 put an end to feudalism in Hungary. The peasants became freeholders of the land they had cultivated, the landlords being paid rich compensation for their rights. But only a small fraction of the whole land was under cultivation. The greater part consisted of woods and pastures, up to that time held in common by peasants and landlords, and this had also to be divided. In this division the landlords used their greater political influence in order to secure for themselves the best and richest areas; nevertheless the peasants obtained, in the vicinity of the villages where they lived, their smaller or larger

portion of this land. This was of very great importance to them, as many gained partly or exclusively their livelihood from cattle-raising. The question then arose whether this common land should be the property of the village, with equal right of use to every inhabitant, or the property of the individual peasants who had been using it at the time of division. The question was solved in the latter sense and the consequence was the creation of a rural proletariat. But this was not all. The government regarding common property in land as an obstacle in the way of its proper use, facilitated subdivision and private property. Nearly all the common land in Hungary is either divided or in process of being divided. The basis of the allotment was the amount of arable land held. The more arable land a proprietor had, the greater was his share of the common land, with access to the commonage now denied to them, and artificial pastures were at that time nearly unknown in Hungary, most peasants were rendered unable to feed their cattle, and they were obliged to part with them. The consequence was a decrease in the number of all domestic animals, the land was deprived, not only of the animal power necessary to work it, but also of manure, and a sudden decline in agriculture set in. Even worse results attended the division of the woodland. Systematic forestry cannot be conducted on a small scale; many of the holders of the land after division quickly got rid of their portion, selling as a rule without knowing the extent, location, and still less the value of the property that belonged to them. Adventurers and speculators took advantage of the ignorance of peasants and robbed them of their patrimony. It might be mentioned here that a very conservative author (Dr. Sebes), who held a high position in the ministry, writes that on an average a Hungarian acre (1.72 English acre) of woodland was sold for about 1s. 8d., its real value varying from £17 to £30. The first work of the new proprietors was to cut down the woods, which had become especially valuable during the previous 8 or 10 years. The consequence was quite disastrous. The thin stratum of land being no longer protected, was soon washed away by torrents and the bare rocks exposed, which are never likely to be capable of cultivation. This caused a most unfavourable change in the climate, and in the distribution of moisture. The government felt obliged to interfere in order to check this wholesale denudation and to force the proprietors to observe less reckless methods. They forbade them to give a share for free use to any owner having less than 170 acres. These measures were, however, ineffective as the speculators bought up several shares and, having more than 170 acres, they secured the free use of these lands.

Hungary is a country with remarkable agricultural resources. Of the whole area only 5 per cent. is incapable of cultivation—in Great Britain the proportion is 41.8 per cent.—the soil is, without question, one of the most fertile in Europe. Yet there are few European countries in which the average yield of crops per acre is less than in Hungary.

One third of Hungary is owned by 1000 proprietors. The cultivatable area is poorly exploited, especially on the larger estates. For instance, the Greek Episcopate of Nagyvarad grows cereals on only 1 per cent of its 170,000 acres. The emigration from Hungary is nearly 200,000 people per annum, being second only to Italy. Strangely enough many people are inclined to say that the emigration is due to there being more people in the country than the land can support. There is said to be "over population." People who think this to be the cause are led to think that the remedy is the "protection" of home industries. Aided by a tariff, they say, a manufacturing industry could provide more people with work, that the taxes would be paid partly by the importers, and the cry is "tax the foreigner!" But that the evil is due to other causes and must be cured by other measures, can be proved from the evidence, which even a superficial examination of social conditions will reveal. Let us take an example and a contrast. In the eastern part of Hungary, called Transylvania, where I live, there are two nationalities who never had individual tenure of land: the Hungarians, called in Transylvania Szekelys, and the Saxons, the descendants of the ancient German colonists. The former will provide the example and the latter the contrast. When the new land laws were passed the leaders of the Szekelys used their political influence to promote the division of common pastures and woodlands. The greatest and most valuable part went over to speculators, and the people themselves are now living in misery, often exposed to starvation in winter. The full effect of this expropriation is not yet felt as there is still plenty of work in the woods, and the building of an important

railway in that part of the country provides employment for the time being. The railway will be opened next spring, and gangs of men discharged, and as work in the woods is gradually growing scarcer, the outlook for the people in that region is indeed bad; for there is little opportunity for them making a living. These 600,000 people near the frontier belonging to the properly Hungarian (Magyar) race, have a special political importance, and the government, heedless of the expenditure incurred, are giving them all possible support. A special Szekely relief department has been created in the Ministry of Agriculture, which disposes of considerable sums providing seed, well bred cattle, horses, poultry etc., at cheap or nominal prices, teaching home industries and new methods of agriculture. The Department is working honestly, I myself see its work and know its officials, but in spite of all their efforts there is no essential change for the better. There is not one of the officials who would say there has been improvement. Indeed, it would be a marvel to me if there was any change. For what can such petty means do to make amends for the greatest economic misfortune a people can suffer, namely, the loss of its land? They can be sustained as beggars are sustained and demoralised by gratuitous gifts, but they can never become a free, self-supporting people until their rights to the land are restored to them. Now look on another picture. There are about 200,000 Saxons in Hungary who own about 2 million acres and of this not quite 70 per cent. is common land. The legal proprietor is the village community. Consider how different has been the development of the Saxon territory from that of the Szekelys I have described. The Saxon deputies pleaded in the Hungarian parliament for their special customs, and a territorial law was passed in 1880, exempting all ancient Saxon territory from the operation of the new land-laws. This prevents any individual proprietor from claiming any portion of the common land, large or small. This common land is used partly as common pasture, and partly as arable land, rented to individuals. The woods are managed by the State, and the timber is either divided among the villages or it is sold to the highest bidder. All returns are used for local purposes. Now, everybody knows in Transylvania that these Saxon villages are the most prosperous in the country. Most of them pay no local taxes. Many villages are giving timber and some electric light as a gift to the inhabitants. There are 13 villages in the county Brasso, which are especially prosperous. Even county taxes are paid out of the income from the common land, and to avoid the trouble they had of soldiers being quartered upon them in the villages, they built comfortable barracks to provide for the visits of regiments. Their special endowments for the poor they cannot spend as they have no poverty except perhaps temporarily. Last year one village spent 15 shillings on paupers. The Saxon communities are raising more wheat per acre than is raised in any other part of Hungary, though their soil is by no means the most fertile. As the State does not support their schools (the language in them being German), they maintain their own schools, and not only do they have the best public schools, but they have 10 colleges or "gymnasias." They have the best schools, the best instructed clergy, and the most favourable economic conditions in the country. Is it necessary to add that they have the least amount of crime? Their banks are the richest in Transylvania and one of them spent last year for schools and humanitarian purposes as much as £5,000.

Many argue that this thrift and public spirit is a special characteristic of the Teutonic race. I do not think so. There are many hundred German villages in Hungary in deep poverty; nay, there are even such Saxon villages: but they all parted with their common lands. The good public spirit is the natural outcome of common moral and material interests, the emblem of which is common land. This land once lost, all moral and material ties, which keep a community together, are lost too.

GREECE.

THE LAND QUESTION IN THESSALY.

An article on this subject appeared in the TIMES of April 12th. The following extracts indicate the nature of the problem:—

The existing system of land tenure in Thessaly, unlike that of the rest of Greece—where, except in the Ionian Islands and a few isolated districts on the mainland, peasant proprietorship has been established—is based on feudal principles. It owes its origin to the institution of the Turkish feudal system in 1397, after which a number of Seljuk noble families came over from Asia Minor and received fiefs in this country and in Southern

Macedonia. Some of the present Moslem landowners, who are now in a minority as compared with the Greek proprietors, are their direct descendants. Scattered at wide intervals over the vast central plain of Thessaly may be seen the tall white houses of the landlords, palatial in contrast with their humble surroundings, and around them are grouped the mud-built habitations of the peasants, some thatched, some roofed with red tiles. In many cases, unhappily, the tall house stands empty; sometimes it is even unfurnished; in Thessaly, as in Ireland, absenteeism has been productive of many evils. Close by, as a rule, is the smaller mansion of the overseer, or caretaker, or, it may be, of the enterprising speculator, usually a Greek, who has taken the estate for a term of years with the sole object of making money by the venture. I visited many of the peasants' dwellings in the district of Larissa and in the neighbourhood of this town. The treeless villages, surrounded by deep mud or sheets of water, presented a melancholy spectacle in the pitiless rain which fell in torrents; the houses, generally, consist of two or three apartments, one of which is occupied by farm animals; the dwelling-rooms, as a rule, are fairly clean and not altogether uncomfortable. To judge by appearances, the condition of the Thessalian peasant, though far from satisfactory, is distinctly better than that of his Rumanian fellow-serf, which, in many instances, is a disgrace to European civilization.

The relations of the peasant to the landlord differ considerably on the various estates. The land, as in Corfu, is cultivated on the *métayer* system. In the district of Larissa, where cereals are almost exclusively grown, the landlord supplies the peasant with the seed and takes half the produce of the harvest; in that of Karditza, where the cultivation is of various kinds, he takes two-thirds, but supplies no seed. In many cases he has hitherto stood in the relation of a moneylender to the peasant, who usually needs advances till the harvest is reaped. The primitive state of affairs existing under the Turkish régime was far more favourable to the peasant than the new conditions. He was then a serf pure and simple, and the will of his landlord was his only law. No written contract existed, but the beys, especially those of the ancient families, were easy-going and merciful; they took from him what he could afford to give, they scolded him if he was lazy, and they helped him if he was in need without asking for repayment. The beys, as a rule, lived on their estates and relations of personal sympathy existed between them and their dependants. Then came a change, which vividly recalls what occurred in Ireland after the passage of the Encumbered Estates Act.

In 1881 Thessaly was annexed to Greece. The old class of landlords, thriftless, indeed, but generous and easy-going, was to a large extent replaced by a new set of proprietors, whose little finger was thicker than the loins of the beys. The serf, indeed, became a free man; he acquired political privileges, but the new owners wanted a return for their money, and the *ichifstika*, or farms, in which they invested it were now administered on "business principles." The era of written contracts, of ejections, of middlemen, of black-coated lawyers and politicians began. The peasants have not found happiness under the new dispensation. They scarcely understand the contracts and are powerless to impose terms on their employers. The lawyers have taught them to repudiate the advances of the landlord, who now closes his purse, his place being often taken by the usurer. The politicians profess sympathy for their grievances—for the peasant has a vote—but have hitherto done little to further their interests by beneficial legislation. In a word, the Parliamentary oligarchy, which constitutes the Greek single Chamber, has shamefully neglected the rural population. Even agricultural banks, such as have existed for years in Bulgaria, to the great advantage of the peasantry, are still unknown in this country. The excuse—that owing to the want of a cadastral map defining the limits of property such institutions of credit could not work satisfactorily—has never been put forward in the younger Balkan State. Greece is, in the main, an agricultural country, and Thessaly alone could supply its entire population with breadstuffs leaving a margin for exportation. Yet cereals to the value of some £2,000,000 are annually imported. The Government, it is true, has done something for Thessaly—by fits and starts; but space forbids a description of its spasmodic endeavours. The best record of its achievements is to be found in the actual state of the country—*si monumentum requiris, circumspice*.

Meanwhile education has progressed; the Greeks are a singularly intelligent race and never fail to read the newspapers; every village, however poor, has its schoolhouse and its schoolmaster, who, unlike his conservative English *confrère*, is usually

more or less a revolutionary. In Thessaly, as in Rumania, the schoolmaster has played his part in inculcating the rights of man and fomenting agrarian discontent. The free citizen of to-day, the serf of yesterday, is beginning to ask whether he is not entitled to a civilized existence. He sees around him a corruption which exceeds anything that he or his father witnessed in the days of the Turks. Of this even a casual visitor can find palpable evidence; the dreariest spectacle which I have witnessed in Thessaly was that of the wretched refugees from Bulgaria in "New Philippopolis" shivering in badly constructed houses built by unconscientious contractors, while the rain soaked through the roofs, and complaining that the little parcels of land meted out to them by the officials had been filched by usurpers possessing the protection of some powerful politician. All is now quiet, but all is not well. Sooner or later fresh trouble is inevitable, and the peasants are said to have resolved to "hold the harvest" next autumn. Something assuredly must be done to better the condition of these helots of modern Greece.

RUSSIA.

The TIMES of April 11th stated that the Council of the Empire had passed the main clauses of the Agrarian Bill, rejecting by narrow majorities amendments substituting the principle of family ownership for the principle of individual ownership of peasant lands. The minority included members of both sides of the House, who apprehended disastrous consequences from the sudden abolition of the communal system. It required all the persuasive eloquence of the Premier to save the Bill.

JAVA.

STATE RESUMPTION OF LAND.

The Netherland Legation has issued the following statement which appeared in the TIMES of April 18th:—

It has been brought to the notice of the Netherland Government that a rumour finds currency among commercial circles in England that it is not the intention to expropriate the private lands (freehold estates) if the sovereign rights to those lands are surrendered. This rumour is entirely without foundation. By such a surrender the objections against ownership of this kind, which for many reasons exist, are not removed, so that the Bill which has often been referred to, and which is well known in this country, aims at bringing back to the State domain the property itself, with all rights and obligations appertaining thereto.

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Mr. Post's book, which we briefly reviewed in our March issue, has been published in attractive form by Mr. T. Fisher Unwin. We are glad that this book, with its extremely practical treatment of economic questions, has been taken up by a British publisher. No better book for enlisting and directing thought along the line opened up so definitely by the Budget could be recommended.

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

A Further Plea of Urgency.

ADDRESSED TO THE GOVERNMENT BY THE
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