

peceptions of the Indianapolis Star when it says: "The ever increasing population will shortly bring American farm lands to a level with those of western Europe, where tillable land brings from \$500 to \$600 per acre." When that time comes, the Indianapolis Star expects intensive farming. But isn't it as likely that when American farms bring as much as farms in Europe, American farmers will be without farms as European farmers are now? With farm lands worth \$500 an acre, it is not the farmer who farms farms that will be prosperous, but the farmer who farms farmers.

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#### **A Land Reform Reference Book.**

A reference book of land-reform movements is in course of preparation by Joseph Edwards (21 Palace Sq., Norwood, London, S. E., England), originator of the "Labour Annual," which is now in other hands. Mr. Edwards has demonstrated his ability to do this sort of work, and certainly a reference book of that kind is a needed publication. • His is not to be confined to any special phase of the movement, but is to cover the whole field, including its personal and its historical aspects. The co-operation of persons interested, all over the world, is very desirable in such an undertaking; and accordingly Mr. Edwards solicits aid in the way of contributions of names, addresses, and photographs of land reformers for an international directory department; of lists of societies with their reports, publications, officials, etc., which are or have been concerned radically with land questions; of the names of periodicals devoted to the subject, with sample copies; and of the names of books and official reports relating to it. The more information of this kind Mr. Edwards receives, the more complete and useful will he be prepared to make his proposed reference book, and the greater the probability of his being able at an early day to turn it into an annual.

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#### **The Privilege of Tariff Protection.**

Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale is another of the academic economists of the new school who are adding theirs to the voice of the old school in condemning protective tariffs. Nor is his condemnation of them the most gratifying thing. It is the reason he gives. "The worst feature of the situation," he says, "is not that the tariff is a tax on the American consumer, nor that it fails to keep up American wages, but that it is a glaring example of special privilege." This statement might lend itself to hypercriticism, since it is a characteristic of special privileges that they do tax con-

sumers and do keep down wages; but that would not detract from its value as an indictment. It is the essential evil of protective tariffs that they are special privileges; and no matter what they may seem to do or fail to do, for that reason alone they stand condemned.

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#### **PERSONNEL OF THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.**

So much effective work of real value is being done in behalf of the single tax movement in Great Britain that it may be quite impossible to describe its personnel without invidious distinctions. But this risk must be taken if the followers of Henry George in the United States are to know anything of the men who are leaders in the British movement, and to profit somewhat by their example and methods.

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In several respects British single taxers encounter the same disadvantages that are encountered here.

One of these is the difficulty of getting impatient masses of disinherited men and women to appreciate the radical and far reaching character of so simple and apparently superficial a reform as the shifting of taxation from business to land. In that respect the opportunist socialists have at present in many places a very great agitational advantage. No matter what may be the evil against which the working masses at any time or in any place or group complain, British socialists of the opportunist type have obvious legislative specifics ready at hand; whereas the single tax agitator must make his hearers appreciate a normal relationship—what may be to them an unfamiliar and obscure relationship—of cause and effect.

Nevertheless, in Great Britain as in the United States, there is a growing apprehension in the public mind that land monopoly, whether the mother of all other monopolies or not, is at any rate their residuary legatee.

If, however, the British single tax movement encounters, in common with the American movement, the agitational difficulty noted above, it has some advantages over the kindred movement in the United States. One such advantage comes from the fact that in most parts of Great Britain landlordism is undisguised. In such places the arguments of single tax agitators have an obvious application, which gives them an agitational advantage akin to that possessed by socialist agitators in places where landlordism is masked in capitalism.

The rise and vigorous growth of the British single tax movement, especially in Scotland, may probably be attributed to the more obvious relationship there of land monopoly to industrial opportunity. At all events it was in Glasgow that the Henry George movement took firmest root and spread with most vitality.

The Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values, with headquarters at 13 Dundas street, Glasgow, organized by Henry George himself in 1882, under the name of the Scottish Land Restoration League, is the most vigorous body of social reformers in Scotland. It was under the leadership of this league, inspired by John Ferguson (now deceased), Peter Burt, John Paul, and such men, that the Glasgow City Council, of which Ferguson and Burt were members, came to have a single tax majority and to petition Parliament for municipal authority to raise local revenues from land values exclusively—the same system that has now gone into operation in New South Wales, and the same that has been petitioned for by more than 250 other municipalities of Great Britain.

Although there is no longer a distinct single tax majority in the Glasgow Council, the single tax sentiment of the city is still alive; and so powerful is its influence that the capitalized value of Glasgow "feus"—annual ground rents "as long as grass grows and water runs," reserved by landlords on building sites—have fallen from a 32-years' purchase to a 22-years' purchase.

The secretary of the Scottish League is James Busby, he having taken the place long and efficiently held by John Paul, upon the latter's going to London for special work. James Fairlie, a manufacturer of Falkirk, is the president, and David Cassels (one of many of this name and family in the League) is the treasurer. A prominent member is Edwin Adam, of Edinburgh, a lawyer of distinction now holding an important judicial office.

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Throughout England there are local branches of the English League, which is modeled after the Glasgow organization. The method of work through branches is similar to that of the political parties of Great Britain, which establish permanent headquarters and engage regular agents for particular constituencies.

One of these branches is in Yorkshire, with headquarters at Keighley. It is under the chairmanship of F. H. Bentham, with Charles H. Smithson, a business man of Halifax, and T. B. Lund, as honorary secretaries, and Fred Skirrow

of Keighley as agent in charge of the headquarters and the organizing work of the district.

Among the other prominent members are H. H. Spencer, J. A. Guy, and Arthur Withy; also C. W. Sorenson of York and C. J. Cawood of Duggleby, both of them prosperous tenant farmers.

Another of the branch organizations is at Manchester, where L. W. Zimmerman, a justice of the peace and reputed to be one of the best Liberal organizers in England, is the chairman. Dr. McDougall is one of the leading spirits and tireless workers. John Bagot, who writes as "John Middleton" and is the editor of a suburban paper, is also a member of this branch.

In the Liverpool region the movement is promoted by the Financial Reform Association, an autonomous body which claims all England for its jurisdiction, and dates back to the days of the Cobden corn law fight. J. W. S. Callie is secretary and J. K. Musprat, a justice of the peace, is president. It should be explained that justice of the peace in an English city is a magisterial office of responsibility and honor and without emolument, which is usually conferred by the Ministry upon men of high character and local distinction.

The English League for the Taxation of Land Values, which is to England what the Glasgow body is to Scotland, has headquarters in London at 376 Strand. Lewis H. Berens, one of the authors of "My Dictatorship," and well known in the United States and Australia as well as in England and Scotland, and Frederick Verinder, who has been in this service for more than twenty-five years, are the active men at the London office. This is a center for the publication of literature and the general promotion of the movement. Mr. Verinder is general secretary and Mr. Berens the general business manager.

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All the leagues of England, Scotland, and Ireland have centralized for Parliamentary work in the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, which has headquarters at 20 Tothill street, Westminster, London. Crompton Llewellyn Davies, a prominent young lawyer of London, is chairman, and John Orr is secretary. It was to take the secretaryship of this Parliamentary committee that John Paul came down from Glasgow, but excessive work during the session just closed and the one preceding it, brought him to the verge of nervous prostration. He is therefore in the Scottish Highlands recuperating, while Mr. Orr has added the labor of secretary to that which

he had already been doing as literary representative of the Committee.

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In addition to the movement expressly for the taxation of land values, is the land nationalization movement, which has long been identified with the name of the great scientist, Alfred Russel Wallace, and of which Joseph Hyder is the working secretary and organizer. The treasurer is G. A. Hardy, a member of Parliament. Its office is 432 Strand, London, where it publishes "Land and Labour" as its organ.

Although this movement stands primarily for the nationalization of land, it incidentally advocates land value taxation, as indeed do all the social reform movements of Great Britain in some degree, including the Independent Labor Party and such socialists as Victor Grayson (the only Socialist member of Parliament elected as such) and Keir Hardie. The one important difference between any of these movements in this respect is in the emphasis.

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The land values movement publishes from London and Glasgow as its organ, "Land Values," originally called "The Single Tax." The latter name was changed to "Land Values" to identify it verbally with the movement it represents. John Paul is the editor and John Orr is his associate.

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In the House of Commons are several single tax members, including the president of the English League, Josiah C. Wedgwood, of the famous Wedgwood potteries and a grandson of their founder. Another is John H. Whitley, a Liberal "whip" in the House, member of Parliament for Halifax, and one of the active spirits in the Yorkshire league or branch.

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Two men who are distinguished for service in promoting land reform in Great Britain are Thomas F. Walker, a business man of large interests and one of the justices of the peace in Birmingham, and Joseph Fels, the manufacturer of Fels-Naptha, who lives part of the year in Philadelphia and the other part in London. By their joint liberality these two men have contributed notably not only to the growth in England and Scotland of the idea that the land is the heritage of all the people, but also to the progress of practical reforms in the direction of that ideal. They are in accord in the desire to secure on the part of all the movements favoring land value taxation,

co-operative political action in that respect, to the end that the next Parliament, however its membership may differ on other points, may have an overwhelming majority on this question.

The feasibility of such an effort has been demonstrated by the success of Richard McGhee, formerly an Irish member of Parliament, in co-operation with J. W. S. Callie and Edward McHugh of Liverpool, and Arthur J. Moxham, a British subject but a resident of the United States, in saturating the Liberal party with the spirit of this reform and bringing about its adoption as part of the program of the party. Thanks to that initial work of nearly ten years ago, for the possibility of which Mr. McGhee gives Mr. Moxham the credit, and to the concurrent and supplementary work of the Leagues for the Taxation of Land Values, of the Land Nationalization League, of a large section of the membership of the Independent Labor party, and of Liberal leaders who see farther into the future than prudence in politics makes it wise to announce—thanks to all these, the establishment of land values taxation is apparently not far off in British legislation.

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No report upon the personnel of the single tax movement in Great Britain would even approach completeness if it omitted the names of C. H. Chomley and R. L. Outhwaite, who are Australians temporarily at "home" in England, and whose signatures were attached (see Public of August 28, page 516) to the public explanation made by some of the delegates to the International Free Trade Congress. The document itself was written by Mr. Outhwaite. His familiarity with economic conditions in South Africa as well as in Australia, together with his force and facility of literary expression, enhances the value of the work which he and Mr. Chomley together are just now contributing.

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The working method of the Leagues for Land Value Taxation is simple. Annual meetings are held at which any member is welcome to participate (no financial conditions of membership being imposed), and at which the managing committee is chosen. One function of the managing committee is to raise funds for work, another is to decide upon the work to be done, and another is to maintain a headquarters and efficient agents. Funds are obtained by general subscription and by special subscriptions—general subscription for current expenses and special subscriptions for special work. There are no hard and fast rules, no dead

committees, and no unwieldy body. Efficiency is secured through the small managing committee, which has a free hand; responsibility and democracy come through the power of the whole membership to reconstruct the committee; and funds are obtained through the subscription plan, which appeals to men in proportion to their interest and ability, with reference first to general and second to special work, and without the limitations of a fixed and uniform fee.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### FROM LONDON TO GLASGOW AND HOME.

Anchor Line S. S. "Columbia," Atlantic Ocean, August 19.—On my way home from London northward, I had again to look after my baggage myself at York, or hire some one to do it, and even then to be present in person to identify it. It was very interesting, not to say a little bit exasperating, to observe how slowly the "luggage van" was emptied and the baggage assorted. Two or three men in the States would almost have done it at the rate of a minute a man; but here there were nine men getting skillfully into each other's way, and it was half an hour before I had got my baggage where I could hope to find it again. The delay nearly lost me a delightful afternoon in that city of the Roman wall and the ancient Minster, for a friend who had met the train to offer me the hospitalities of York was about driving away disappointed as I emerged from the enclosed scene of my baggage bafflements. Later in the day, I experienced further difficulties. Obligated to change cars at Leeds in order to reach Bradford on my way from York, I found it necessary to "tip" one porter to find my baggage at Leeds and carry it across the platform, and another to put it on the right train for Bradford, my own time being occupied in the interval between trains in guarding the baggage so that it might not get lost.

In so brief a stay at York, I could only be driven through its quaint streets, have a glimpse of the Ouse that runs through it, and here and there at the old wall on the site of the Roman, make a call upon B. Seebohm Rowntree, and have afternoon tea with my friend. In many respects like Chester, York seems more real; for no attempt is made as in Chester to keep up an appearance of antiquity by constructing new buildings in imitation of old ones. The famous Minster, a noble structure looking as old as it is, impresses the imagination no more by its architectural grandeur and beauty than by its historic associations. Consecrated in its present form before the discovery of America, its site as a place of Christian worship dates back almost a thousand years earlier; and it stands conspicuous in the city where Constantine the Great was proclaimed emperor of Rome, and whence formal Christianity spread through northern England.

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At Bradford, one of the great manufacturing towns,

single tax friends of the region tendered me a complimentary dinner at the Liberal Club, similar to that which at the Trocadero the single taxers of London had hospitably tendered upon my arrival there; and on the following day some of them took me out among the Yorkshire moors in the neighborhood of Keighley (which calls itself "Keethley" in spite of the spelling), and to the Bolton Abbey ruin not far away.

Among those moors, purple with blooming heather, naked of timber, wealthy in building stone, suggestive of bleakness in winter, drenched in summer with rain in one hour and bathed in sunshine the next, renowned for the hospitality of their meager population—those moors where Charlotte Brontë lived and wrote,—we came upon one of the most interesting men I have met in England, a Yorkshire school master who "knows his trade" and works at it in all seasons and at all hours. For seven years he has taught these "nippers" of the moors—these "kids" as we of the "wild and woolly West" would call them—after the manner of a true disciple of the late Colonel Parker of Chicago. But he is not a disciple of Colonel Parker; he is a Colonel Parker himself. Entirely original in his educational ideas, he has instituted in his school at Stanbury the "leadership" as opposed to the "drivership" method of education. He is the chum of his "nippers" in school; and it is no uncommon thing to see him and them studying together geography in the concrete at a brookside, or astronomy in the school yard with a sun dial of their own making for a primer, or geology out on the moors. With him, objects come first, and books about them second; not because books are unimportant, but because they are more intelligently and industriously studied after than before the concrete. To say that he is not the inventor of this system is almost to offend his neighbors; and doubtless he is the inventor. It is another instance of plural perception. Whenever a new truth comes into the world—a new messiah whether of spirit or matter—all who are looking toward it see it with more or less distinctness, and each naturally thinks himself its original discoverer. A new ship shows above the horizon. Who discovers it first? He who is looking in that direction; and it may be that more than one is looking. So is Jonas Bradley of Stanbury one of the discoverers of the newer and better education. His path has not been without the thorns that might have discouraged a less sanguine and virile discoverer; for they have "business" school boards in Yorkshire as well as in Chicago. But in seven years of experiment he has been able to prove his case, and now he is almost monarch of all the educational field he surveys.

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The trip from Bradford by way of Skipton to Edinburgh, offers a succession of picturesque scenes so rapid in their changes and so unique to American eyes that one cannot take the time even to glance at a guide book to see where he is, as in the Edinburgh express he rushes over the 200 miles of track at the average rate of 47 miles an hour. Nor are the scenes picturesque alone. Every mile is rich in historic and romantic associations. A few hours in Edinburgh left time only for a hurried visit with