

The SINGLE TAX

THE ORGAN OF THE SCOTTISH LAND RESTORATION UNION.

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Notes and Comments.

TO INQUIRERS.—Mr. S. M. Burroughs, 67 Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C., intimates his willingness to send to any address in the country Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade," on payment of postage, 1½d.; "Progress and Poverty," 1½d.; and "Memoirs of Henry Richard, the Apostle of Peace," bound in cloth, for 3½d. Since Mr. Burroughs made his generous offer he has been kept busy attending to orders.

A NEW Labour Army is to be established. Its chief efforts will be concentrated on Parish Councils. In things Parliamentary every endeavour will be made to support suitable candidates. It will—its programme avows—support and encourage attacks upon wrong doing, endeavour to raise low wages, demolish excessive salaries, equalise taxation, stop frauds (legal or otherwise), and assist as far as possible the wronged and suffering poor. Mr. William Saunders, M.P., L.C.C., is Chairman, and Mr. Frank Smith, L.C.C., Secretary.

REFORM OF THE LORDS.—In response to enquiries the *St. James' Gazette* has been favoured with opinions on this subject from heirs to peerages. The Marquis of Lorne in his reply summarily sets the Radical policy on the question aside, and appeals solely to those who think that second thoughts as well as second chambers are good. He cites the American Senate as a pattern, and suggests a second chamber "composed of men who have held high offices in former governments, and men who have municipal office for two or three years in great cities." But second chambers and second thoughts can have no superior merit as such. It depends on their wisdom and usefulness entirely. The House of Lords has furthered and defended the interests of their class in the most shame-faced way, and abuses that threaten the very life of America have grown up there despite the existence of an elected second chamber. It is the Radical policy of "ending" our gilded anachronism that is making progress in the public mind. County Councils and Parish Councils are but the precursors of Home Rule all round and one Imperial Parliament.

In a letter from which we quote in another column, Count Tolstoi states he has been acquainted with Henry George since the appearance of "Social Problems" which he highly commends. "When I had read this book," he says, "I turned back again and read 'Progress and Poverty,' and learned still more to esteem the productions of Henry George."

THE Labour Party in New South Wales seem to be in a bad way. According to a report in the *Glasgow Echo* there are four distinct Labour papers in Sydney, each championing a particular set of Labour candidates. The *Echo* quotes the *Sydney Bulletin*, an ultra democratic weekly, on the subject, as follows:—"On the eve of a General Election, when unity, concentration, and organisation of forces are above all things desirable, the officers wrangle over pay and precedence, and the men are in that state of indecision and perplexity which is the certain preliminary of rout. . . . They were all so competent (or incompetent) to command that nobody cared to obey." The *Echo* adds "that

this is evidently the rock on which the Labour Party in every Parliament are most likely to split." To be quite candid the "rocks" here seem to be outside of Parliament. Belief in Party Government is dying slowly, but surely. Perhaps "the never-ending audacity of Elected Persons" is responsible for this; but man's commerce with man is evolving, in spite of Party Government, a common understanding that will foster a desire for less Government and more liberty. It is not in proposing to do so much for individuals as in undoing the much that has been done, that the true solution of the social problem lies. Single Taxmen propose to begin by undoing the primary monopoly of land.

At the Eleventh Annual Congress of the Labour Electoral Association held on the 19th June, one of the delegates, Mr. John Gray (Shipley), said, *inter alia*:—"With respect to another party calling itself the 'Independent Labour Party,' he claimed that they, of the Labour Electoral Association, were really the Independent Labour Party. . . . He attributed some of the defections from the ranks of the real Labour Party to the desire of members of the 'Independent Labour Party' to be an organisation in which they could play first fiddle."

THE life boat demonstration in Glasgow was a decided success. The weather was most propitious. The Shepherds and League of the Cross men were numerous represented in the procession through the streets. The British Sailors might have given a better account of themselves. They have been supplanted to some extent by the "cheaper" material that India so abundantly provides, and (shades of Ossian) the men of the "Clan Grant" who stepped it out behind the banner of the "sons of the deep" were "natives" of our Indian possessions.

THE "Financial Reformer" for June has an able Single Tax criticism of Mr. HAROLD COX'S essay on "Land Nationalisation." "Mr. Cox," the "Financial Reformer" was told, "had thoroughly replied to HENRY GEORGE," but they get speedily undeceived, and demonstrate in the most convincing and entertaining manner Mr. Cox's confusion on the Single Tax method of land restoration. Mr. Cox also takes exception to the late Professor THORALD RODGERS' statement that "the fifteenth century was the golden age of the English labourer." But as this is one of the strong points of the "Financial Reformer," they have no difficulty in showing where Mr. Cox is astray, and quote his own statements to witness against himself. The criticism is to be continued, and is well worth reading.

In another column will be found a closely reasoned article by HENRY GEORGE on the recent American coal strike. The lesson it seeks to teach is just as applicable to our own affairs, and we take the liberty of publishing it in this issue.

THE ANTI-LORDS DEMONSTRATION.—One of the attractions of the S.L.R. Union's turn-out, was the presence, in one of the brakes, of the veteran Highland land agitator, John Murdoch, dressed in the characteristic kilt and plaid, and still evidently as hale and enthusiastic as ever.

Mr. Murdoch afterwards spoke from one of the platforms on the Green. Another attraction—though of a totally different kind—was a gigantic red rose, as big as an ordinary sized cabbage, gaily worn in the button-hole of the sportive Treasurer of the Union, who was conspicuously seated on the dickie of the leading machine. The exact significance of this monster floral decoration was a subject of much discussion among the spectators who lined the route of procession. Some took it to be emblematic of the "laud" that was to be "restored to the people;" but others seemed to think it rather typified the *red terror* that was coming on the hapless House of Lords.

"THE RIGHT TO WORK."

WHAT IS THE TRUE LESSON OF THE GREAT COAL MINERS' STRIKE IN AMERICA.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

Says the *World*, alluding to the great coal strikes:

"Every man who is willing to work has a right to work, and the right must be protected in the United States if there is enough moral suasion in police clubs and gunpowder to do it. When one workingman is driven from his labour by violence, every workingman is wronged. It must not be tolerated."

The right to work, involving as it does the right to life and the right of property, is indeed a fundamental right, which it is the first duty of government to protect. That this right is being violated by the coal miners in half a dozen States, who are forcibly preventing the working of mines by men willing to work for less wages than they themselves demand is true. But is it the whole truth? Is the illegal violence of these striking miners the only, or the first violation of the right to work? Will the right to work be really vindicated when "law and order" has been restored by clubs and machine guns, and the mine operators are free to set to work whoever is willing to take what wages they offer?

This is a question which concerns not merely the coal miners, but all labour organizations, for the methods by which the coal miners are striving to keep up their wages are but carrying to the point of violence methods which all labour organizations must employ. Every strike and every threat of strike depends for its efficacy upon the power of preventing from working those who are willing to work. This gone and the power of organized labour is gone.

"Every man who is willing to work has a right to work." This is true—as true of the "scab," the "blackleg," the "knobstick," as of any member of a labour union. And that no one shall be compelled to work against his will, save as punishment for crime; and its correlative, that no one shall be prevented from working when he is willing to work, is an essential principle of liberty, in the maintenance of which, if one class can be said to be interested above another, it is certainly those who have nothing but the power to work—those whom we call workingmen.

How then is it that such great bodies of workingmen as are engaged in these miners' strikes are willing to incur danger and defy law in violating the right to labour, and that so far from working men in other trades feeling

wronged by this, the general feeling of working-men throughout the country, even in occupations directly injured by the cessation of the supply of coal, is that of sympathy with the strikers?

The truth—a truth ignored by those who only denounce violations of the right to work when committed by strikes and strikers—is that beneath the illegal wrongs that these striking miners are committing are legal wrongs from which they suffer; that it is violation of their own right to work which impels them to blind efforts to violate the right of others.

The true reading of the principle invoked against the striking miners is this: Everyone has a right to go to work for himself; hence no man has a right to prevent others from going to work. But how can these coal miners go to work for themselves? Coal cannot be mined in the air or on the high road. To mine coal, the coal miner must have access to coal land. All round the districts where coal miners are striking there is an abundance of coal land—of coal land which no one is using. If the coal miners were free to use this unused coal land there would be no strikes, no violence. But they are not. Though there is unused coal land all about them, it is all monopolized, treated by our laws as the private property of those who have legally appropriated it, and who will not permit it to be used unless they are paid, in royalty or purchase price, a heavy tribute for their permission to apply labour to what God provided for the use of labour long before man came. Hence, so long as this monopoly exists (and its pressure tends constantly to increase, by the steady increase in the value of coal land) coal miners have no way to prevent the lowering of their wages but to stop work themselves, and, to make that efficacious, must prevent others from working in their place.

And the operator against whom the miners strive to direct their pressure is also under compulsion. For the operator as operator cannot pay the coal miner what his labour is really worth, since he must pay to the coal-owner, for the privilege of taking the coal from the vein, a price in many cases as much as he pays for labour. Behind the struggle of endurance between coal miner and coal operator lies the coal-owner. The miner must eat or he will starve. The machinery and buildings of the operator will rust and decay. But the veins of coal! They do not eat; they do not rust and decay. And, secure in his legal possession of God's bounty to man, the coal-owner commands the situation.

Here, in brief, is the heart of the labour problem—the primary wrong that lies at the bottom of the blind and bitter struggle that is everywhere going on. It is as true of all production as it is of coal mining, that it cannot be carried on without the use of land. For all human production, in minutest part, is resolvable at last into the expenditure of labour on land. Production is not the creating of anything; it is the mere changing in form, place or combination of matter and forces already existing, the ownership of which is involved in the ownership of land.

"Every man who is willing to work has a right to work." How this principle is mocked in present social conditions! In this country of abounding unused opportunities for work, and during a time of profound peace, millions of men willing to work have found it impossible to exert the right to work, and men only anxious to work are to-day suffering and starving.

The reason is clear. That every man who is willing to work has a right to work, means that the right to work is equal; and that the right to work is equal, means that the right to the use of land is equal. This principle we have ignored. We have made the right to the use of land, and consequently, the right to work, the special privilege of some, who are thus enabled to compel others to pay them for the exercise of the right to work. So labour, the producer of all wealth, is made a beggar; and monopolists grow rich while labourers become poor and helpless.

The method of the strike is essentially wrong, both in principle and in policy. The true way to improve the condition of labour is not by denying the natural rights of any one, but by asserting the natural right of all. Labourers

under present conditions are weak in endurance, which is called for in the strike; but they are strong in votes, which is the way by which equality of rights is to be secured. And while in the strike they are soon forced into opposition to a self-evident principle of justice, they would in the other way have its power in their favor. The ownership of land is the key of the labour question. Let all taxes be removed from labour and the products of labour, and let the owners of land be made to pay the community for the privilege of holding valuable land whether they use it or not, by the taxation of land values, irrespective of use or improvement, and the power to monopolize land would be gone. Wages all over the country would rise to their natural rate, the full earnings of the labourer, and we should no more hear of men willing to work, but unable to find work.

SCOTTISH LAND RESTORATION UNION.

QUARTERLY MEETING.

The usual Quarterly Meeting was held at 45 Montrose Street, on Tuesday, 12th June, at 8 p.m. Mr. D. M'LARDY, President, in the chair.

After various apologies for absence had been intimated, and the minutes of last meeting read, Mr. NORMAN M'LENNAN, Hon. Secretary, submitted his report of the work of the Executive during the quarter, of which the following is a summary:—

SUMMARY OF SECRETARY'S REPORT.

One of the principal events of the quarter has been the formation of a new branch of the Union at Hamilton. The Executive having entered into communication with several Single Taxmen in that town who were anxious that steps should be taken to propagate their principles there, the result was that a public meeting, under the auspices of the Union, was arranged for and held in Hamilton Liberal Club, on the evening of 27th April. The meeting was presided over by Bailie BROWN, of Hamilton, and addressed by Mr. D. M'LARDY, Councillors BURT and STARKE, and Mr. J. PAUL. At the close, 24 names were handed in for membership in the proposed branch Association. A few days later, such an Association was definitely formed.

Fresh proposals having been submitted for the issuing of a monthly organ of the Union, the Executive have seen fit to adopt these, and to go into the task of publishing a monthly organ and propaganda paper. The first number of the new paper, which has been called "The Single Tax," appeared on the 1st June. And it is to be hoped that the new venture will be backed by all the force at the disposal of the Union and its branches.

On steps being taken by several democratic bodies in Glasgow to hold a great open-air demonstration against the existence of the House of Lords, the Union joined the other bodies in getting up the demonstration, and afterwards took part in the procession, on Saturday, 2nd June.

For the occasion, the Executive printed 10,000 of a special little leaflet, entitled, "Landlordism and the House of Lords," and also received from the Financial Reform Association 10,000 copies of their leaflet, entitled, "The cause of all the trouble;" and both of these were all distributed along the route of procession.

The stock of literature has been slightly increased during the quarter. At present, the Executive are in course of receiving several thousand copies of a work, entitled, "Tracts for the times," issued by the £20,000 Electoral Committee for the taxation of land values.

In April, the out-door van of the Land Nationalization Society, with Mr. HYDER in command, paid a visit to Scotland. At several of the meetings the Union's speakers attended, and, along with Mr. HYDER, spoke on behalf of the land for the people to large and appreciative audiences.

On the publication of the text of the Scotch Local Government Bill, for the establishment

of parish councils in Scotland, the Executive adopted a resolution regretting that provision had not been made in that Bill to permit the proposed councils to raise their revenue by a tax on land values, and urging that such a provision should be inserted. Copies of this resolution were specially sent to the members of the Government, and to all the Scotch members of Parliament, as well as to the press.

The Rev. DAVID MACRAE and Mr. G. B. WADDELL have been appointed to the Executive of the Union, to fill up the two vacancies left at the annual meeting.

Herr BERNHARD EULENSTEIN, of Berlin, the translator of Henry George's "Condition of Labour" into German, and one of the leaders of Single Tax thought in Germany, recently visited Glasgow on business, and several of the members of the Executive spent some time in his company. Mr. EULENSTEIN resided for many years in America, and has since travelled a great deal in Germany, Britain, France, and other European countries. Of the economic thought of all these countries he had something to say, and he was, in turn, very highly interested in the details that were given him of the Single Tax propaganda that was being carried on in Scotland, and the progress which the cause was making here.

After a lengthy discussion, the Secretary's report was unanimously adopted.

Satisfactory reports were afterwards read from various branch Associations.

Highland Notes.

At the Annual Meeting of the Ross and Cromarty Highland Land League, held at Dingwall, 9th June, a resolution impressing upon the Government through Sir George Trevelyan, the desirability of expediting the work of the Crofters and Deer Forest Commissions, and also of amending the Crofters Act so as to include leaseholders, was unanimously agreed to. The meeting also resolved to secure the services of Mr. John Murdoch for the Crofters, during the forthcoming visit of the Deer Forest Commission to the County.

THE Nether Lochaber Branch of the Highland Land League have been discussing the land clauses of the Parish Councils' Bill. But the cry is still for more land. When crofts become vacant, they are in nearly every case added to the farms. The extension and amendment of the Crofters Act is of more importance to them.

At the June Meeting, Bonar Bridge Land League, the following resolution was adopted:—"That this meeting strongly condemns the action taken by the Caithness Land Leaguers and land reformers in not resisting the ruthless and cruel eviction of Mr. James Lawrie, of Howie, especially after their bombastic talk; and that we consider it to be a slur on the principle of our reform movement the cowardly way in which the Caithness men acted towards Mr. Lawrie; and that we express our sympathy to him in the tyrannical way he has been treated by his fellow men." Votes of thanks to the Chairman brought the meeting to a close.

"In the very centres of our civilization to-day are want and suffering enough to make sick at heart whoever does not close his eyes and steel his nerves. Dare we turn to the Creator and ask Him to relieve it? Supposing the prayer was heard and at the behest with which the universe sprang into being there should glow in the sun a greater power; new virtue fill the air; fresh vigour the soil; that for every blade of grass that now grows two should spring up, and the seed that now increases fifty-fold should increase a hundred-fold! Would poverty be abated, or want relieved? Manifestly no! . . . The new powers streaming through the material universe could only be utilised through land, and land, being private property, the classes that now monopolise the bounty of the Creator would monopolise all the new bounty. Landowners would alone be benefitted. Rents would increase, but wages would still tend to the starvation point."—Henry George.

Foreign News.

When news came of the drastic reforms in the land system of New Zealand several of our leading papers indulged in dismal prophecies regarding the future of that country. It is a curious commentary upon their political wisdom, that since New Zealand went in for land taxation it has been the most prosperous of the Australian Colonies.

A Bill has lately been introduced in the New York Assembly by the Hon. D. E. Ainsworth, and in the Senate by the Hon. David Bradley, known as "The Ainsworth Bill." The Bill provides that the members of the county and city governments shall have power to levy taxes for local purposes upon—(a) personal property alone; (b) land and improvements alone; (c) the assessed value of land alone, exclusive of improvements and personal property, or (d) personal property, land, and improvements. The Bill has been endorsed by nearly all the Labour organisations and many local granges and agricultural associations.

The Victoria (British Columbia) City Council has just lowered the assessment of improvements for the year 1894 from 50 to 25 per cent. of their real value, while land is to be assessed at its full value.

Little Tasmania is outdistancing Victoria in the progress towards real democracy. The struggle between property taxation and that of the unimproved value of land, has been decided in favour of the latter after a severe and protracted fight. The new Ministry is pledged to inaugurate the latter system, and Sir Edward Braddon and Mr. Fysh may be proud of the victory which they have won.

Mr. Edward Marshall reports in the "North American Review" that three-fourths of New York population live in tenements, and one-half in overcrowded tenements. Six wards form "the most crowded spot on earth," the average for the whole district being 252,834 to the square mile. The "tenth ward" has 357,888 to the square mile, affording less than a square yard to each person.

The causes of the recent outbreak in Sicily are attributed by R. Corniani, in an article in the January number of "La Rassegna Nazionale," to absentee landlordism, similar to that prevailing in Ireland, and land monopoly.

£273,708 7s. 2d. is the total amount received for the land on which the City of Melbourne now stands.

It is calculated that during the last ten years the people of the United States have paid £3,000,000,000 in rent to the land owners. Not on houses and land, not on improved land, but simply in ground rent alone. This robbery of the people amounts to £5 per head per annum. The commercial value of land in the United States is close on £100 for every man, woman and child. The interest on this is not less than 5 per cent., and this is what is paid by labour to landlordism. Had the Single Tax been in force, all this £3,000,000,000 would have gone into the public treasury, tariffs and other abominable robberies would have been dispensed with, and the present depression, which is bringing its thousands in sorrow to the grave, would have been unknown.

"The land question means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labour spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of houses, the misery, sicknesses, deaths of parents, children, wives, the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor, when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital rights of mankind. All this is contained in the land question."—*Cardinal Manning.*

"Often enough a cause is lost because there are so many, or several, leaders, each or all of whom are jealous of the other's power and fame; and so come schisms treachery and disruption."—*Nunquam.*

COUNT TOLSTOI ON HENRY GEORGE.

Mr. Bernard Eulenstein, the leader of the Single Tax Party in Berlin, who recently spent a couple of pleasant evenings with the Glasgow Single Taxmen has received a letter from Count Tolstoi, the well-known Russian Social Reformer, on the subject of the Single Tax, from which we quote the following:—

"At the present time the evolution of man's knowledge in reference to the use of land goes on, and, as it would appear to me, the process of putting this thought into action must soon commence.

"In these processes, which from a social point of view form the chief lessons of our time, Henry George was and is the pioneer and leader of the movement. Herein his paramount importance rests. He has, by his excellent works, materially contributed both to the improving of people's ideas on this question as well as to their direction on a practical basis. It is curious that in regard to the question of the abolition of the clearly unnatural monopoly of land, we have an exact repetition of what, in our opinion, happened when slavery was abolished both in Russia and America. The Government and the leading classes, recognising in their inner consciousness that in the question of land was contained the solution of all social questions, with the settlement of which all their privileges would, at the same time, break down, and that this question now stands within the region of practical politics; make believe as if they had a great care for the salvation of the people; but while they erect savings banks, labour inspections, Income Tax, and even Eight Hours' Day Labour, carefully ignore the question of land, and with the help of their subservient political economy, which proves all they please, maintain that the abolition of private ownership of land is useless, injurious, and even impossible. Just the same is going on now as happened with slavery. People had felt for ever so long that this condition could not last any longer; that slavery was a dreadful, soul-insulting anachronism, but the quasi religion asserted, notwithstanding, that slavery was necessary, or that it was too soon to abolish it. At present the same is happening in regard to the land question, only with this difference, that religion is replaced by political economy.

"One would have thought that it must be as clear as day to any educated man of our time, that the possession of land by people who do not cultivate it themselves, but prevent hundreds, nay thousands, of starving families from access to the same, must be a state of things as immoral as the possession of slaves; but, none the less, we see educated, refined English, Austrian, Russian, and Prussian aristocrats enjoying this cruel, base privilege;—based on the ready sophisms which political economy affords them—and they are not only ashamed, but pride themselves in it. The merit of Henry George now lies in this, that he has dissipated into thin nothingness all these sophisms which are brought forward for the defence of property in land; so that the defenders of this already dare not discuss the question, but cautiously avoid it and pass it over in silence. But Henry George has also shaken this evasive policy, and herein lies his great merit; he has not rested satisfied with bringing this question to the highest degree of clearness, so that it is only the people with closed eyes who cannot perceive the immorality of private property in land, he was also the first to demonstrate the possibility of a solution of the question; he was the first to give a clear and straight answer to the usual objections which are used by the enemies of all reforms, which culminate in the point that the demands of progress are declared to be vain, impracticable, Utopian ideas which can be passed over in silence. The proposals of Henry George controvert these objections, as he puts the question in such a way that already committees could be formed to-morrow for the examination and discussion of the proposal and the carrying of it into law."

"The land shall not be sold for ever for the land is mine."—*Lev. xxv., 23.*

ECONOMIC VAGARIES.

There are some people who doubt "Nunquams" ability as an economist, but the brilliancy and originality, not to mention the childlike simplicity, of the following, should convince the most sceptical:—"Why is matchmaking labour so poorly paid? Because matches are cheap.—Why are matches so cheap? Because match-making labour is poorly paid."—*Merrie England*

KARL MARX defines a commodity as— "(1), An external object; (2), satisfies human wants; (3), has human labour embodied in it; (4), is not consumed by the producer, but by some other person." In the following passage, labour-power is a commodity:—"A commodity has, therefore, to be found, whose use-value has the property of being a source of value, whose consumption creates value. The commodity is labour-power." But labour-power is not an external object, having human labour embodied in it, &c. Again, in the following, the labourer himself is a commodity:—"The free labourer must be (1), personally free to sell his labour-power for a definite time only, and not for ever and a day; (2), free from any other commodity, i.e., without any of the means of subsistence, or the means of production." Now, a labourer certainly is an external object, with human labour embodied in it, if you like, but how about satisfying human wants, and being consumed by some person other than the producer?

"Men have equal rights to the use of this world, and equity does not permit private property in land," said HERBERT SPENCER in "Social Statics." But when attacked by conservatism, he explained that he never intended his words to have any bearing upon practical questions. His own words are—"The work referred to—'Social Statics'—was intended to be a system of political ethics—absolute political ethics, or that which ought to be, as distinguished from relative political ethics, or that which is the nearest approach to it." In reply, HENRY GEORGE remarked that "If there be any sort of ethics that has no relation to conduct here and now, the best term for such is 'Pickwickian' ethics."

A Glasgow contemporary remarked some time ago that "Ireland ought to be a prosperous country because she had a rich soil and cheap labour." Query—Who was meant by the term Ireland, since cheap labour means poor people?

Adam Smith held that the food of the people could not be included under the term Capital. M'Culloch disagreed with him and argued as follows:—Since Capital is wealth consumed in production, and the food consumed by such as Watt or Arkwright was much more productive than that consumed by ordinary people, food must be considered as Capital; therefore, food is Capital. Those who agree with M'Culloch might supply an answer to the following:—If a pound of steak in the stomach of a dock labourer is worth One Shilling, how much would the same pound of steak be worth in the stomach of, say, Professor Huxley or Herbert Spencer?

The Electoral Committee for the Taxation of Ground Rents are publishing a very useful pamphlet, "Tracks for the Times." It is valuable at this moment, when so many thousands of minds are exercised on the subject of Parish Councils. The first article deals with "Lords, Land, and Parish Councils" in a lucid manner, showing what the Act is and the power it confers on the labourer, and gives very useful advice concerning the elections in November next.

"There can be no doubt that to abolish the present system of taxation would be, both in a moral and politico-economical sense, one of the greatest reforms the world could witness. I suppose that, because the boon would be so universal and so great, mankind will be slow to adopt it; for the greatest truths seem to struggle longest for recognition even when they are the most obvious to those who will examine them."—*Richard Cobden.*

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May be had from Robert Stewart, 242 Main Street, Anderston; R. A. Aitkenhead, 13 New City Road; James Simpson, Saltmarket; William Love, Argyle Street; A. M'Kendrick, Jr., 111 Canning Street; D. Campbell, 201 Stirling Road and 180 Parliamentary Road; William Barr, 62 Sauchiehall Street, and 42 Dumbarton Road; Holmes, Dunlop Street; Thomson, 4½ St. Enoch Square; William Hood, 229 Argyle Street; Hunter, 205 Crown Street, S.S., and Eglinton Street, S.S.; Luby, Muslin Street, Bridgeton; James Maguire, 532 Springburn Road; James S. Smith, 149 Quarry Street, Hamilton; A. Pettigrew, 54 Main Street, Coatbridge; A. Dickinson, 128 Fountainbridge, Edinburgh; T. Rodger, King Street, Kilmarnock.

All Communications to be addressed to the EDITOR, *Single Tax*, LAND RESTORATION OFFICE, 45 MONTROSE STREET, GLASGOW.

"To raise and maintain wages is the great object that all who live by wages ought to seek, and working men are right in supporting any measure that will attain that object. Nor in this are they acting selfishly, for, while the question of wages is the most important of questions to labourers, it is also the most important of questions to society at large. Whatever improves the condition of the lowest and broadest social stratum must promote the true interests of all. Where the wages of common labour are high, and remunerative employment is easy to obtain, prosperity will be general; where wages are highest there will be the largest production and the most equitable distribution of wealth. There will invention be most active, and the brain best guide the hand; there will be the greatest comfort, the widest diffusion of knowledge, the purest morals, and the truest patriotism. If we would have a healthy, a happy, an enlightened, and a virtuous people—if we would have a pure Government, firmly based on the popular will and quickly responsive to it—we must strive to raise wages and keep them high."—Henry George, "Protection or Free Trade."

DULL TRADE—THE SINGLE TAX REMEDY.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, addressing the London Chamber of Commerce, June 13th, said, *inter alia*, that "the past year showed an increase of £7,000,000, as compared with last year, in the savings of the poorer classes, and that these had now in the savings banks a sum of no less than £128,000,000." This must be very interesting to the "poorer classes" out of work. Sir WILLIAM also told his audience that "there were in trade a hot fit and a cold fit, and the fit was very cold indeed just now. . . . He did not want to have their gold (wealth) in a pond so much as in a running stream." But what will it matter, after all, if when the desired thaw comes, the wealth flows down the same old-time honoured stream of inequality? Some will get a fairer share for a time, but the stagnation will again set in, and the rich will be richer and the poor will be but thrown into a keener struggle for a place to earn a living wage "Low prices," said Sir WILLIAM, "accompany dull trade. There was no lack of capital. What was wanted was rather the means of employment of capital." Well, why not follow up that statement? Where can capital find employment? Where can labour find employment? Is it not in and on the land—the only natural opportunities to employment? When any work is done it will be done on land, and will consist

in growing food and modifying the raw material of land into desirable forms to sustain life and gratify human desire. Why, then, if there is lack of neither capital nor labour, have we dull trade? Let capital and labour advance one step to secure land, and the root cause of the trouble will present itself to them in the form of landlordism. Some landowner will be there, and unless they agree to hand over a goodly share of what they produce they must stand aside. Where land is urgently wanted, or where the landowner anticipates this, a prohibitive price will be demanded. Dull Trade, which is simply No Trade, sets in to those affected. They, in turn, ceasing to be wage-earners, will have their purchasing power checked. Those who have been supplying same will in turn be thrown out of employment, and so this first shock given by private property in land to trade gets on its way, and acts and reacts throughout the whole industrial world. These effects meet like effects from every centre of industry, and the outcome everywhere is trade depression. What else is it but this land monopoly that shuts out employment? It keeps from industry desirable land, and, as a consequence, both capital and labour are forced into idleness. "Low prices," says Sir WILLIAM, "are due to the ingenuity of man." This is true. Invention brings newer and cheaper methods of wealth production; but this only makes land more valuable, and the increase is taken from both capital and labour in the form of higher rent. For example: the *Board of Trade Journal* calculates that the cost of carrying various goods from Manchester to Liverpool through the new canal has been reduced over 100 per cent, and that *correspondingly the values of all adjacent land have gone up by leaps and bounds*. Land has become valuable that before the canal was thought of could be had for an old song. We cannot combat this tendency of value attaching to land, nor is it desirable. Material progress brings more efficient tools and enables labour to produce things with less exertion. Commodities are thus cheapened, and where these can be produced best land will acquire a greater value. It is the result of society's growth, and if these land values are taken for the uses of society from those in possession as the property of the whole people, and, at the same time, all taxation removed from all forms of industry, it is surely clear that the wheels of the industrial machine would get properly oiled and started. No one could keep valuable land out of use unless by paying its value into the common exchequer, and no one would be foolish enough to do so. The land would be freed from the "dead hand," and every step forward would bring richer rewards both to labour and to the nation generally as the common landowner. This is the Single Tax Remedy for Dull Trade—to take by a Single Tax the values of land for public purposes, and to relieve industry of all present taxation, the tax to fall on the *value* of all land, vacant

land included. The vacant land at present held out of use would thus be forced out of the hands of land *owners* into the hands of land *users*. Capital and labour, freed not only from the claims of landlordism but from the heavy burden of taxation, would, like prisoners freed from bondage, rise and set to work, inspired by the knowledge of their freedom both to produce and to enjoy what they produced. Under such conditions of economic freedom dull trade would soon become a thing of the past. It may seem strange to many that we should claim so much from a mere change in the incidence of taxation; but if land monopoly be the primary cause of dull trade, and material progress under present conditions can only tend to induce a closer monopoly of land by raising its value at every step forward, and if the Single Tax will destroy the only incentive to keep desirable land idle—that is, the power of the landowners to take these values as they arise for their own behoof—it must surely be granted that the Single Tax will solve the problem. That there are many other things to do is another story. Our claim is that unless land monopoly be first of all destroyed and society put in possession of the values of land, which are created by the presence, growth, and industry of the whole people, nothing else will avail. Nay, more—the very improvements that are effected by trade combinations and Governmental control and inspection, which are so very popular among labour leaders (so-called), but go to enrich the few monopolists, and lead them to draw closer the cords that are choking both labour and capital. It is freedom trade wants and not regulation. The much-maligned law of supply and demand will ever be the best regulator.

STILL THEY COME!

A NEW Party—the "Isocrats"—has been formed. Their programme is to attack the oligarchy first, then the plutocracy, to house the masses, and give the land to the people; they will begin with the progressive taxation of Ground Rents, and "other minor points of less importance will quickly follow." The price of the book that expounds all this is 14/. "Progress and Poverty" can be had for a few pence. It advocates the taking by taxation, not merely "ground rents," but the whole economic value of land, and deals with the "other minor points" by the way. One of the collaborators of the New Party's book—MR. W. P. BYLES, M.P., says, "Take all the restriction off land, and all restriction off labour, and then a fairy with a magic wand would set all things right in a night." That is just what "Progress and Poverty" teaches and proves to the hilt. It is the economy and philosophy of the Single Tax; and it doesn't matter to Single Taxmen what party gives legislative effect to it, new or old, provided it comes. Events are steadily tending things our way. Even members of this New Party—men and women—sneer at the "inadequacy of the Single Tax," and yet it overshadows and influences their first practical proposals. True, they plead for Socialism, but that is merely so much rhetoric. The remedy for our sickness lies not in iron ring of universal state control. Such a state might have paddled along in the middle ages fairly well, but in these days of industrial extension and world-wide commercial enterprise the notion of extinguishing competition is positively ludicrous. The real remedy

lies rather in giving these forces true freedom, and turning the curses they bring into the blessings they ought to bring to society. An extension of economic freedom that would at the same time force land out of monopoly's grip is a beginning from the bottom, and we do not require to go through the heavy mazes of Land Nationalisation to this end. The taking "all restrictions off land and off labour," as Mr. BYLES says, is the magic wand that would set all things straight in a night. The Single Tax is that "magic wand." It is fully explained in "Progress and Poverty" and kindred works; it is only mentioned in the New Party's book.

THE SINGLE TAX IN INDIA.

In an article on the recent Indian disturbance the *Manchester Guardian* courageously goes to the root of the trouble—the economic position of the common people, the tillers of the soil. The *M. G.*, says, "As there is an unusual increase in the pressure of taxation, the Government find it hard to cover their expenditure. One way of doing this is by raising rent. India is in the happy position which Mr. GEORGE would establish everywhere. The Government is universal landlord and the chief tax is paid in the shape of rent." The writer of this statement is both ignorant of HENRY GEORGE's proposals and the Government's position as a rent collector in India. The Government is not the universal owner of the land in India by a long way, and the taxes they take in the form of rent are not levied by the Georgeian method. The Indian Land Tax is one on the area of land or on the amount of wealth produced. If it is placed on the area of land it tends to keep land out of use to the extent of the tax. If it is placed on the nett product of the land it takes from the tenant who is industrious in proportion to his industry, and falls lighter on the tenant who fails to make the best use of his land. Such a tax ignores altogether the Land Question and the "unearned increment" as it affects towns and market places. The Single Tax advocated by HENRY GEORGE would fall only on the value of land, apart from improvements. It would not fall on all land but only on valuable land. Where land was most valuable, as in and around industrial centres, the tax would be highest; and where land was least valuable, such as agricultural land, the tax would be lightest. The overtaxed peasantry of India have everything to gain, like the tiller of the soil everywhere else, by such a change.

THE RATING FRANCHISE.

"Should non-payment of rates disqualify for voting in the new Parish Councils Act for Scotland?" has been the chief Parliamentary bone of contention during the passage of the Act through Committee. There is scarcely any doubt but that the Government has "wobbled" on the question. Radical thought on this question is all in favour of abolishing this old-time disqualification. Even the Government propose to abolish the restriction on the Parliamentary roll. Why, then, in the name of common sense, do they insist on maintaining, or rather creating it in local affairs? The argument of the Government and their supporters is that every voter is taxed indirectly for the maintenance of Imperial government, and that, therefore, whether he pays local rates or no, he is entitled to have his say on things Imperial: but that non-payment of local rates is still a necessary disqualification. The old fetish, "Taxation and Representation," must surely plead for this anomaly. But what about the landlords' tax over and above the local rate? Every resident must pay this tax in the form of ground rent. The rates are often taken from the poor at the expense of some small comfort, or even food. Their expenditure goes to create and sustain ground rents, which swell the pockets of the ground landlords, and if some of the poor, thus twice-rated all their lives, get some small relief from the rates, or are unable to pay this "special rate," they are to be disfranchised. This, too, at this time of day from the Liberal party! Correct ideas are forming on this subject of taxation, and this action of the Government can only hasten the downfall of the whole iniquity.

Single Tax Items.

ONE of the mottoes of the Scottish Land Restoration Union at the "Lords" Demonstration, Glasgow, was, "Lock the landlords out of their house and tax them off the land." The *Single Tax* would score with the latter part of the advice; let the politicians answer for the former.

KILLED BY RENT.—Some humorist, says a contemporary, has issued a black-bordered mourning-card bearing the following melancholy announcement:—

KILLED BY RENT.

THE PARKHEAD WORKING MEN'S CLUB,
At 282 Great Eastern Road,
On the 28th May, 1894, in its 15th year.
Deeply regretted. No Flowers.

How many like "humorists" there are, and have been, who could have made the same "melancholy announcement."

THE DEFECT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL.—At a meeting of the Executive of the Glasgow Central Liberal Association held on Tuesday, 12th June, in their Rooms, Dumbarton Road—Mr. T. Wright in the chair—the following resolution was unanimously adopted:— "That, looking to the desire to take by taxation the economic rent of land for purposes of local and Imperial government as expressed in the Newcastle Programme, and by the Scottish Liberal Association at their National Conference held in Glasgow last year, this Executive expresses its regret that in the Scottish Local Government Bill now before the country no provision has been made for the taxation of land values, and calls upon the Government and the Liberal members of Parliament to amend said Bill by inserting a clause giving effect to this principle of taxation.

THE DEATH DUTIES.—The Primrose League have issued a leaflet appealing to workmen against the Budget Proposals of the Government. "Many new landlords," they say, "will be obliged to shut up their houses and leave the country for several years. They will be obliged to turn off servants, stablemen, gardeners, keepers, and labourers of all description to whom they now pay wages." In addition to this catastrophe "village tradesmen, carpenters, plumbers, painters, and other artisans will be thrown idle." The Primrose Leaguers must be new at the business. The idea that landlords keep the people was severely disposed of in the earlier stages of the land restoration movement. The carpenters, painters, plumbers, etc., etc., are the producers of wealth, the landowners are the non-producers, and to put things square it is not necessary even for the landowners to leave their homes, it is only necessary to prevent them taking, by law, their living out of the earnings of the wealth producers. The equalisation of the Death Duties is a very moderate proposal, but it is a beginning that clears the way to the complete destruction of the landowners' power to take in the form of economic rent or land values, some £160,000,000 per annum from the people for the mere privilege of using land. Meantime the Primrose League are doing useful propaganda work in thus defending the landlords' claims. There is nothing like publicity in such important questions.

PAISLEY is to have a New Grammar School. The cost of the ground is £5,000. At every gate the landlord is there with his first charge.

FIRST, let the landowners get off the backs of the people. Let the Government tax land according to its full value for occupancy and use, exclusive of improvements.—*Journal of (American) Knights of Labour.*

AN INTERESTING BABY.—The little Astor baby born recently is heir to \$150,000,000, chiefly in land values. It is a most interesting baby, especially to the army of New York city poor, who are going to pay it a large proportion of their earnings for permission to stay where they are. At six per cent. this baby will keep 40,000 men at work, each handing it over 75 cents per day. Good, patient soul! and

they will continue doing so till America gets the Single Tax. "You may fool some of the people all the time, and all the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time."—*Melbourne Beacon.*

DEEPLY REGRETTED.—A vigorous fight is going on just now in the Australasian Colonies against land monopoly. The evils there are more plainly seen than in such a complex industrial beehive as Britain. The landlord party recently called into existence an organ called the "*Landowner*," to defend their rights to the land, and to all they could take from the land, not by their own labour, but from the labour of those who work upon the land. The production amused the Single Taxers immensely and gave the *Melbourne Beacon* some happy expectations. But these high hopes have been suddenly dashed to the ground. The *Beacon* for May has the following announcement:—"We now regret to state that after three issues the "*Landowner*" has become defunct.

CANADA TO THE FRONT.—The Single Tax principle of exempting improvements from municipal taxation can be adopted at the option of any municipality in Canada from 49th parallel to the North Pole, and from Lake Manitoba to the Pacific Ocean.

BETTERMENT IN EDINBURGH.—According to evidence given before the Lords' Committee on Betterment, on 15th June, there has been discovered "an Act in force but never acted upon," which contains a clause giving power to assess owners whose property might be benefited through public improvements *not less than one per cent.* It was further stated "that the act seemed to give almost unlimited powers to put on various charges in districts specially set aside and presumed to be benefited by the improvement." There is room for a Councillor Burt and a Councillor Ferguson in the Edinburgh Town Council.

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES FOR GLASGOW.—A Sub-Committee of the City Council on the incidence of taxation have been instructed by a majority of the Council to take the question, as embodied in Councillor Ferguson's motion, into consideration.

At the Labour Electoral Congress, 20th June, Mr. Biggins, Hull, moved a resolution declaring "that as the mismanagement of the land was at the root of our economic evils, the Government should give urgency to the question of land law reform by passing a resolution promoting the municipalisation of the land." He said all rent which was paid to any except the State was robbery of the vilest kind, and the highwaymen who took the nation by the neck and throttled it were the legislators who made laws to make their booty secure. He thought the best way to nationalise was by gradually taxing the land up to its full value. Mr. E. Cope, Notts County, seconded the resolution, and it was at once put and carried unanimously.

AN OVERLOOK.—From a speech by a lady at a recent Single Tax Banquet at Minneapolis, U.S.A.—"A common oversight of many is, in not knowing that, when they do any useful work, they create two kinds of value; one, direct and visible, the other, indirect and invisible; one, for which they are duly paid in products or wages, the other value, unknown to them, intangible and unreckoned, is not paid to them, for it attaches itself to land. It never materializes till the landowner comes round to this vicinity and sells a piece of land upon which not a stroke of work has yet been done, netting three, five, ten—fifty times the first investment, when presto! this invisible unsuspected value turns suddenly into real dollars indeed. People do not yet see that, when they do any productive work, they not only help themselves, but that they are a real advantage to the community. This advantage (estimated in money only through increased land values), should pay all their obligations to the community, *i.e.*, their taxes. But since they are juggled out of this fund, by having it taken for private gain, they must make up the deficit by paying their taxes over again, out of their direct earnings."

From over the Border.

When the poor Irish kicked against landlordism Dougal and Hodge both sided with the landlord. Then Dougal awoke and kicked also, and now it is the turn of Hodge. The Red Vans of the English Land Restoration League are swiftly revolutionising the countries of England. Hodge is beginning to understand both the landlord and the parson, and he is not going to allow them to throw dust in his eyes any more. With the Red Vans go lecturers and literature on the great gospel of "the land for the people."

The London *Weekly Dispatch*, the able paper edited by Frank Smith, contains Red Van notes from week to week. These notes are intensely interesting and give pictures of landlordism in a topographical way. We cannot do better than give a few extracts from these notes, while at the same time we advise our readers to buy the *Weekly Dispatch* and get the whole of them.

"A very general opinion seems to be that the lecturers, given fine weather, will have a 'very jolly time of it.' But the life of a Red Van lecturer is by no means 'all cakes and ale.' That dreadful potentate, 'the lord of the manor,' is frequently on his track, either personally or by his agent. The gentleman who claims to own, or at least to control, what is still called the 'village' green, often has prejudices against Red Vans and other revolutionary agencies, and sometimes uses unpleasant methods for giving effect to them. The village policeman is a frequent caller upon the lecturer, and often exhibits much curiosity about names and addresses, and talks about 'summonses' and 'trespass' and other recondite legal topics. Occasionally an irate, but not exactly sober, farmer has, in the dimness of the night, mistaken the van for a bathing-machine, and, with an energy that would have been praiseworthy if directed to a less mistaken end, has attempted to restore it (and its inmates) to what he conceived to be its native element. It is no joke to have a stallion, not in the most amiable temper, hooked on to a van in which two men are sleeping, with the amiable intention of hauling them down the bank into the bosom of Father Thames!"

"Some of the Marquis of Hertford's allotment land is let at £4 per acre to the labourers, but is assessed to the marquis on the rate-book at £1 6s. 8d. per acre. Another piece of land (about 100 acres) which the marquis lets to labourers at £1 10s. per acre is assessed to him at 10s. an acre. (These figures are official.)"

"SIR ARCHDALE PALMER recently claimed a maximum sum of £4,092 for seven acres of land required by the Leicester Corporation to construct a storm outfall culvert. The claim was resisted by the Leicester Corporation, whose valuers stated the value of the land to be between £500 and £600. Mr. Squarey, the arbitrator, has now fixed the figure to be paid to Sir Archdale at £1,685 5s."

A CRUSHED COMMUNITY.—"We pitch the Van," writes the Warwickshire lecturer from a village in the west of the county, "near the stocks on a small piece of waste land. This small village consists almost entirely of one long street. The labourers here are reputed to be more crushed and worse paid than in almost any village in the district. One of the farmers at the meeting confessed that he only paid 9s. a week to his elderly daymen and 10s. to men in the prime of life. Four farmers, along with a lot of flunkeys, came to our meeting and used every possible influence to prevent men from giving in their names. We beat them, however, after a two hours' struggle, and got fifteen men to join the union. This is an example of the pernicious 'tied cottage' system, for nearly all the cottages are let to the farmers along with the land, and the farmers, having the power to evict both from work and home, become so absolutely the masters of the men's lives that the latter dare not call their souls their own."

A SAD PICTURE.—It is heartbreaking to wade through these daily reports and see to what once "merry England" has come. "Some of the cottages are scandalously bad." This is from Bedfordshire. "Most have only two rooms, the upper apartment being sometimes divided into two 'cubicles.' Some have only a patch of land about the area of the top of our van, with the closet and ashpit just under the window of the bed-room. The wages of the elderly men are very poor. One woman told me her husband, aged sixty-five, could only earn (or, at least, only got) 8s. a week. Last week 6s. had to be paid to meet club dues. She has several children, but all except one are married, and having children, cannot help; the other can sometimes send her a shilling. Yet this old dame was clean and tidy, and her fingers were busy plaiting the straw to be sold at from 1½d. to 4d. per score yards of plait according to the pattern, and her manner betokened absolute resignation. She showed me with pardonable pride a few square yards of earth in front of her cottage, which industry, not without skill, had transformed into a *bijou* garden, brilliant and beautiful." Again, "The land is neglected, and men, women, and little children either starve or are driven away. Eight men are out of work, and likely to remain so. All they can earn by stooping all day weeding among beans is 1s. One woman said to me, 'It is pitiable to hear the children say, "we don't like the farmers; they are starving us!"' Yet this is a lovely little village, and the men might be supremely happy if they could only get at the land without the intervention of monopolists. All the cottages belong to the squire, who does little or no repairs."

There is about to be formed a league or society to compel the utilisation of waste ground, and so give employment to those presently unemployed. Mr. John Edwards, 20 Moxom Drive, Liverpool, is Secretary, *pro tem*. The Scottish Land Restoration Union exists for this purpose. The best way we think to compel the utilisation of waste land is to put a good tax on to land values.

DIVES AND LAZURUS.

"£100,000 LIVING EXPENSES."—COMPANION PICTURE TO THE "LIVING WAGE."—Creditors of Pascoe St. Leger Grenfell, gentleman, of Bruton Street, Mayfair, and Paris, crowded the meeting room at the Bankruptcy Court on Wednesday. The accounts show gross liabilities £104,532 (£79,593 expected to rank), against assets £3,270. The claims included one for £2,100 by a Paris dressmaker, one for £4,000 by a Paris builder, and one for £21,000 by the debtor's father. There were some strong opinions expressed as to the debtor's conduct, and the Chairman intimated that with the exception of about £500 lost on the Stock Exchange, the whole of the liabilities were for living and personal expenses during the past three or four years.

There are now enough paupers in Great Britain to form, four abreast, a procession considerably over 100 miles in length.

I learn from one of the Society papers that amongst the many trades that flourish in the West-end of London is that of the "dog's tailor." The description of one of these establishments is interesting. I pass over the description of "the luxurious reception-rooms" provided for the comfort of the dogs' owners. But for the dogs themselves I read that there are "rich rugs to rest upon, dainty water-bowls and biscuit-jars to refresh from" during the exciting ordeal of "trying on," and the most charming water-colour pattern-books of the latest fashions in dog decoration, in anything from sealskin to chamois.

DEATH PREFERRED TO THE WORKHOUSE.—An old Irish labourer named James Kerley, aged about 60, residing at Kenyon, was on Tuesday found drowned in a pit near Widdow's Farm, Kenyon. Some conversation took place on Monday evening between him and another man about his being compelled to go into the Leigh

Workhouse, and the degradation is thought to have preyed upon his mind and led him to commit suicide. He was unmarried.

Sarah Bernhardt, the well-known actress, has, with the extravagance of a princess, spent £400,000 in 20 years.

INCREASE OF PAUPERISM AT HAWICK.—At a meeting of Hawick Parochial Board last night it was reported that the number of paupers on the roll was 140 (exclusive of dependents), compared with 125 last year, and that the number this year was much larger than for any year since 1879.

Sir William M'Onie left to his heirs and successors property to the value of £110,366.

RAID ON TRAMPS AT KILWINNING.—At a special J.P. Court on Tuesday—Ex-Provost Paterson presiding—five men and a woman were charged with trespass by taking shelter at the brickworks of Messrs. Kenneth & Sons, Kilwinning. With one exception they pleaded guilty, and were fined 2s. 6d., or three days. James Mair, miner, Kilwinning, pleaded not guilty, and was fined 10s., or ten days. He was also charged with breach of the peace, to which he pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to 30 days, a total of 40 days.

The famous thread-spinning firm of Paisley, Messrs. J. & P. Coats, share yearly profits exceeding half a million pounds sterling.

BETTER THAN BEING A PAUPER.—A Coroners' jury on Monday found that Joseph Robinson, dock labourer, of Bethnal Green, who took some opium, committed suicide whilst temporarily insane. It appeared that, finding he was not dying quickly enough, he had stuffed a handkerchief into his mouth. In one of two farewell letters he said, "No money is a nuisance. I cannot go to no workhouse. I have gone silly thinking about it. I think it better to get out of it than to become a pauper and crawl about in misery." Mr. Beal, deceased's landlord, said there were considerable arrears of rent, but he had never pressed Robinson, as he knew his was a deserving case.

Nothing that Paris saw during the unrestrained reign of gaiety and ostentation under the second Empire could have excelled in wealth and splendour and beautiful diversity the dazzling panorama presented by "the row" in the height of the season.

There are thousands of men and women and children in this city to-day who are living in dwellings in which a humane man would be ashamed to stable his horse.

A woman named Mrs. Emmons Blaine, who hails from the states, has just been paying some £360 for her baby's bassinette and trousseau.

An old man named Joseph Norris, a labourer, lodging at 41 Twyer Street, Gloucester, committed suicide. He had been out of work for a few weeks, and this preyed on his mind.

Gainsborough's picture "The Market Cart," was last week purchased by a wealthy landlord under the hammer at Messrs. Christie's rooms for £4,500.

A victim of starvation was found on a piece of waste ground near Southampton in a fearfully emaciated condition. He was taken to the workhouse, where he died.

"In seeking to restore all men to their equal and natural rights, we do not seek the benefit of any class, but of all. For we both see by fact and know by faith that injustice can profit no one, and that justice must benefit all."—*Henry George*.

By the Way.

THE members of the newly formed Branch of the Scottish Land Restoration Union at Hamilton are busy discussing the economics of the *Single Tax*, adding to their membership, and otherwise preparing for a vigorous campaign.

THE Scottish Land Restoration Union Lecturers are open to address meetings on "The Single Tax," "Labour," and "Social Problem." Address—The Secretary, 45 Montrose Street, Glasgow.

THE Lanarkshire Liberals are not going to allow the Labour Party to sit on them. "If the Labour Party are too conceited or too big, too proud or too 'any mortal thing' to take any notice of the Liberal Association, then the Liberal Association would fight them to the last ditch." So said one of the executive, amid applause, at a recent meeting.

MR. JOHN BURNS shares the honours with Mr. Asquith in terminating the London Cab Strike.

"NUNQUAM," the Editor of the *Clarion* is down on some Labour Paper for lampooning John Burns. John has been working for labour through the Liberal Party.

THE Glasgow Chamber of Commerce have been amusing themselves with the Factory Act. The Factory Act can stand some criticism but the G. C. of C. are not the men to do it.

THE Glasgow Lords' Demonstration fell somewhat short of the expectations of most of its promoters. The inclement weather gets most of the blame.

MR. FRANK SMITH of the London County Council, and Secretary of the Electoral Committee for the taxation of Land Values, is before the Tradeston folks as a Labour Candidate.

MR. KEIR HARDIE commends Mr. Smith as "one who is without exception the most devoted man to the cause of humanity, within the circle of my acquaintance."

"GIVE us but a score of men of the Keir Hardie type," says Mr. Frank Smith, "and the closing hours of the century will witness such a glorious period of liberty and emancipation as this or no other country has ever seen."

THE *Herald* refers to the Leeds Liberal Conference as "a precious collection of ministerial wire pullers," and to the Labour Electoral Congress as "true, simple, transparent, politicians," when the Tories foregather the *Herald* calls it an "important meeting."

AN "Important Meeting" of the defenders of the Established Church in Wales was held the other day. £5,000 was subscribed on the spot to provide ammunition to defeat what Lord Salisbury calls "predatory instincts" of the great enfranchised. The "poor" Duke of Westminster gave £1,000.

American Industries for May 19th contains a likeness of Henry George, and a brief sketch of his career.

LABBY "holds the doctrine that the greatest burden on the land is the landlords, and that it would be an uncommonly good thing for the masses of the community to get rid of them."

"CHAMBERLAIN," he says, "is a played-out man. The Tories persuaded him that he was a real aristocrat himself, and now he preferred to be despised by every Radical."

THE *Glasgow Echo* says "It is surely clear enough now to the meanest apprehension that no legislative work can be done by a Liberal Ministry until the House of Lords is deprived of its present power."

THE *Star* has opened a fund to assist John Burns' "Election Fund" and "Wages Fund."

MR. WALTER MENZIES is the adopted Liberal Candidate of Dumfriesshire. Mr. Menzies goes in thoroughly for the taxation for Land Values.

ACCORDING to a Board of Trade Return there were 692 strikes and 8 lock-outs in 1892. 283 of the strikes and 4 of the lock-outs are classed as "successful." 236,798 persons were concerned. The estimated value of the fixed capital laid idle in the case of 511 establishments was £18,823,264.

AGRICULTURAL Statistics go to show that England has about 1,840,520 milch cows; Scotland, 432,916; Ireland, 1,441,175; and Wales, 281,180. The rent of the agricultural land is about £60,000,000 per annum—another interesting item.

SAYS Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P., "The Democracy must be led by somebody, and if it is not led by the leaders, it will be led by the wire pullers." An idea seems to be abroad that it is misled by both.

MR. BALFOUR "dismisses the Socialistic ideal as one which I should not reject on its merits, but which never will come into play."

"SOCIALISTIC theories," he further stated, "were impossible to secure the services of the right individuals except upon the individualistic principle of giving them a fair profit for their labour." Exactly, and when real free individualism obtains, when aristocratic privilege to live on the profits of others' labour is impossible, Mr. Balfour and his friends will have an equal chance with others to render to society a *quid pro quo* for their living.

In a *Clarion* article on "Real Democracy" "Nunquam" alludes to himself as one of the real few democrats amongst the English Socialists.

"CARLYLE and Ruskin," he says, "insist vehemently upon our finding out the men best fitted to rule over us and setting them to their work. But *how* are we to find them, and *where* are we to find them? Carlyle and Ruskin are silent."

SAYS the *Weekly Times and Echo*—"In no sphere of activity is the judgment, 'Thou art weighed in the balance and art found wanting,' written over more careers than in the Labour movement. Man after man, politician, trade unionist, agitator, labour has seized upon; to find in them, not a staff and a weapon, but a reed that bends and breaks, to the people's betrayal and hurt."

"The tax upon land values is the most just and equal of all taxes. It falls upon those who receive from society a peculiar and valuable benefit, and upon them in proportion to the benefit they receive. It is the taking by the community, for the use of the community, of that value which is the creation of the community. It is the application of the common property to common uses. When all rent is taken by taxation for the needs of the community, then will the equality ordained by nature be attained. No citizen will have an advantage over any other citizen save as is given by his industry, skill, and intelligence; and each will obtain what he fairly earns. Then, but not till then, will labour get its full reward, and capital its natural return."—*Henry George*.

"If the bulk of the human race are always to remain as at present, slaves to toil in which they have no interest, and therefore feel no interest—drudging from early morn till late at night for bare necessities, and with all the intellectual and moral deficiencies which that implies—without resources either in mind or feeling—untaught, for they cannot be better taught than fed; selfish, for all their thoughts are required for themselves; without interests or sentiments as citizens and members of society, and with a sense of injustice rankling in their minds, equally for what they have not and what others have; I know not what there is which should make a person of any capacity of reason concern himself about the destinies of the human race."—*John Stuart Mill*.

Poetry.

THE IDLE LAND.

Millions of acres of unused land
Are lying in grievous dearth;
And millions of men in the image of God
Are starving—all over the earth!
Oh! tell me, ye sons of America!
How much men's lives are worth!

Millions on millions of acres good,
That never knew spade nor plough;—
And millions of souls, in our goodly land,
Are pining in want, I trow;
And orphans are crying for bread this day,
And widows in misery bow!

To whom do these acres of land belong?
And why do they thriftless lie?
And why is the widow's lament unheard—
And stifled the orphan's cry?
And why are the poor-house and jail so full—
And the gallows-tree built high!

Those millions of acres belong to man!
And his claim is—that he NEEDS!
And his title is sealed by the hand of God—
Our God! who the raven feeds;
And the starving soul of each famished man
At the throne of justice pleads!

Ye may not heed it, ye haughty men,
Whose hearts as rocks are cold!—
But the time is nigh when the fiat of God
In thunder shall be told!
For the voice of the great I AM hath said,
That "the land shall not be sold!"

—A. J. H. Duganne.

FROM "PICK-ME-UP."

PATHOS A LA MODE.

The Ballad of the High-minded Criminal.
(This may be recited at Penny Readings without fee or license.)

'Twas only a humble burglar,
Alone in the dark by night,
With heart that was sad and heavy,
And tread that was soft and light,
And what if his ways were taking?—
It's little the world will give—
Well, judge him, you favoured fatlings
Of Plenty—the poor must live.

He sighed as the rich man's silver
Shone garishly in the moon's;
And, dreaming of guileless childhood,
He pocketed fifteen spoons.
He thought of his poor old mother,
And collared a silver tray;
Then, weeping with high-souled sorrow,
He carted the lot away.

But hearken, the solemn warning,
The sound of a creaking shoe!
And, filled with a nobler purpose,
He did as a man should do.
He dumped down his heavy burden,
Withstanding temptation's shock;
And quickly, ere virtue faltered,
He bolted like one o'clock.

* * * *

What, only a simple burglar?
Ah! yes, you may scoff and smile,
But burglars are *most* effective
If served in the proper style.
Oh, dear to the penny audience,
The pauper with tattered vest;
But yarns of the white-souled gaol-bird
Are the fare that they fancy best.

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