

# The SINGLE TAX

THE ORGAN OF THE SCOTTISH LAND RESTORATION UNION.

VOL. I.—No. 4.

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PRICE ONE PENNY.

## TO LAND REFORMERS.

The Executive of the Scottish Land Restoration Union appeal to all sympathisers throughout Scotland to become members of the Union. Minimum Annual Subscription, 1s. A Subscription of 2s. 6d. secures membership of the Union and a copy of the *Single Tax*, post free, for a twelve-month. Office—45 Montrose Street, Glasgow. David M'Lardy, President; N. M'Lennan, Secretary.

## Notes and Comments.

**HIGHLAND LAND LEAGUE—GLASGOW BRANCH.**—Under the auspices of this branch a public meeting will be held in the Assembly Rooms, 136 Bath Street, Glasgow, on Friday, 7th September, at 7.45 p.m. The meeting will be addressed, among others, by Mr. Frank Smith, L.C.C.; Mr. W. Saunders, M.P., L.C.C.; Mr. Donald M'Kenzie, President of the branch; Mr. John Murdoch; Councillors Burt, Ferguson, and Starke; Rev. J. M. Cruickshanks and Mr. David M'Lardy.

An *Echo* man interviewed Mr. Michael Davitt during his visit to Glasgow last month. Referring to the Coal Strike, Mr. Davitt said:—"I notice this in connection with the present strike as I have observed in connection with similar strikes in England, that the miners overlook in their contests for better wages the position of the royalty owner. One not acquainted with the Labour movement in Great Britain would imagine from what the leaders of the coal-miners say and write in connection with this strike, that there was no such thing as an individual royalty-owner connected with the coal industry. The landlords claiming to own the coalpits of Great Britain and Ireland are privileged to levy upon each miner's daily labour a tax in the shape of mineral royalties amounting, I believe, to an average of 8d. per ton of coal brought to the surface of the earth." Mr. Davitt has barely touched the power of the landlords as royalty confiscators. The question has been more fully dealt with in a pamphlet—"The Land Question," by "Appollonius,"—recently published by the Scottish Land Restoration Union (price 2d.), from which we quote in another column. As for the Labour leaders, they seem only to be concerned about putting a period to the landlords' taxing powers by purchasing them out. It never seems to strike them that the Single Tax method of taxing them out is the line of least resistance, and at the same time the only just way of settling the question in favour of the workers as against the idlers. Why should we purchase—and who ever heard of compensation for taxation.

**THE COLONEL'S LAST KICK.**—Mr. Gladstone's old opponent, Colonel Wauchope, has retired from the field at Midlothian. In bidding his comrades farewell from a lorry at Musselburgh he advocated the principle of the *referendum* and said "that if the people wanted to see this kingdom knocked into a cocked hat then they must have it, for the people must rule everything." The Colonel hasn't yet written Keir Hardie that he now sees that the real enemies of the people are the two great political parties, and that they must be wiped into oblivion before justice can be done to the workers; nor has he joined the Social Democratic Federation. He has simply returned to his place in the

ranks, there to await the coming of the commands of the people with the *referendum*.

**THE PRACTICAL DIFFICULTY.**—Who could go upon the land to work it right away, and how would the putting of people on the land solve the unemployed problem as it effects the artizan and labouring classes in the towns (?) is a question that is sometimes asked of landrestorers. Mr. John Murdoch replies:—"To begin with, that already there are in these three kingdoms 1,120,000 small holdings, of from one-eighth of an acre to five acres. In England alone, whose people have been most difficult to move hitherto, there are 929,000. So that there is no occasion to run the risks which ruined Fergus O'Conner's scheme and broke up Mr. Mill's colony, by letting land to weavers and tailors. In England and Scotland there are over a million of these lovers and tillers of the soil, who, having been faithful in that which is small, are proved to be worthy to have more entrusted to them. A million of these skilled husbandmen advanced so far as to obtain holdings at the outset of 10, 12, 15, or 20 acres apiece—besides their own settlement, where they need never want—there are a million situations left vacant, to be stepped into by those behind, some of whom are unemployed, while others step forward for the sake of the allotments vacated by those going to the farms. These last-mentioned leave other vacancies, the filling of which will cause others again, until the labour market is swept of its unwilling idlers."

Allinson, in his "Principles of Population," says:—"Great Britain and Ireland are capable of maintaining in ease and affluence 12,000,000 of people." Sir Richard Phillips says:—"The United Kingdom would support 250,000,000 of people on vegetables, or 80,000,000 on flesh and vegetables, without resorting to importation, or to our 30,000,000 acres of waste land." Professor Baldwin says:—"There are in Ireland alone 6,000,000 acres of land in need of drainage, which would employ thousands of men profitably." Porter, in his "Progress of the Nation," says:—"The present area of land under cultivation, if properly cultivated, would grow sufficient food for 90,000,000 of people by the plough, or 120,000,000 by spade cultivation."

"The Duke of Argyll is beyond all question the most interesting figure in the House of Lords, and were it not for a terrible cocksureness that disqualifies him as an object of pity, he would even be a pathetic figure. His creed, simple as a commandment and hard as cast-iron, is that in the beginning the surface of the globe was given to the landlords, who out of their great goodness have permitted certain inferior creatures to occupy it and to cultivate it on payment of rent; that in default of such payment these lower animals must remove themselves or be removed. He speaks as if a special set of tables of the law had been discovered near Inverary, and while he possesses them the waves of circumstance shall break upon his form in vain. He went down to the House of Lords on Monday night once more to deliver his soul, and he joined with 248 Peers of like mind in destroying the Evicted Tenants Bill. He annexed the whole fields of morality, and claimed that Deity was on his side."—*The Peoples Journal*.

**COMING THE SINGLE TAX WAY.**—A Conference on the Land Question composed of delegates

from various propaganda societies will be held on Saturday, 22nd September, at 7 and 9 Bridge Street, Ludgate Circus, London. The resolutions, drafted by the Executive Committee of the Conference, are as follows:—  
1. "That this Conference of delegates hereby affirms its opinion that the time is ripe for the enforcement by the nation of its right to the control of and revenues arising from its land, which includes all the resources of nature."  
2. "That this Conference calls upon the Imperial Parliament to pass legislation which will confer full and simple powers upon democratic local authorities, so that they may compulsorily acquire the full ownership of whatever land within their boundaries they may consider to be necessary for the public use and benefit."  
3. "That it is the opinion of this Conference that the ancient and unrepealed tax of 4s. in the £ on the true annual value of all lands, whether used or unused (apart from private improvements), be enforced, and that the whole balance of its value be taken by annual increments of 1s. in the £, thus allowing the present so-called landowners 16 years wherein to adjust themselves to changed circumstances."

**THE BEGINNING OF THE END.**—The Earl of Sandwich has informed a Huntingdonshire association of football players "that, in consequence of it having pleased the Government of the country to completely alter the whole system of taxation, people who last year would have been happy to give their hundreds or their fifties, or even their guineas, could now no longer think of such a thing. Those who had up to now been most liberal in charitable donations would have to lay by for the protection of those who were to succeed them." Pity the poor landlords! The small instalment of justice meted out to this class by Sir William Harcourt's Budget seems to have hit them very hard judging from the foregoing and other similar lugubrious effusions reported of late in the public press. But they see in it the beginning of the end of the unjust power they have so long wielded to the detriment of the community.

It is reported that the Duke of Devonshire has had an offer for his mansion in Piccadilly, and that the figure is no less a sum than three-quarters of a million. Fully nine-tenths of the money offered the Duke for this property may be set down as value given to it by the community, and should rightly belong to it. And yet there are some who assert that a more reasonable distribution of the world's wealth is robbery.

**CAMLACHIE TO THE FRONT.**—Mr. C. W. Pearce, the Labour Candidate for Camlachie, in his opening address to the electors the other evening stated—"He proposed to prosecute his candidature upon the cry, 'God and His Social Christ for Camlachie.'" Continuing, he said, "Christ had come to Camlachie in the ideal of the Labour Party, and in the triumph of that ideal his second coming would be completed." So. When we look into the political proposals of this Labour Party, such as Keir Hardie's Bill to purchase out the mineowners to the tune of over £100,000,000, instead of simply taxing them out, we fervently hope and believe that Mr. Pearce is one of the false prophets of his day.

"Pay ransom to the owner,  
And fill the cup to the brim;  
But who is owner? The slave is owner,  
And ever was. Pay him."

THE PARISH COUNCIL'S ACT.—We have received from the Fabian Society, 276 Strand, London, W.C., a most servicable pamphlet on the new rural franchise. How the working classes affected can best manage their local affairs is put in the most readable form. The concession can be worked to advantage for the social betterment of the people, and probably because this is so, those who could best use it to this end will pass it by in their desire to capture the "whole hog." Few concerned will care to wade through the parliamentary verbiage of act act, and our Fabian friends deserve our best thanks for their excellent and timely translation.

## THE SINGLE TAX.

WHAT IT IS, AND WHY WE URGE IT!

BY HENRY GEORGE.

I shall briefly state the fundamental principles of what we who advocate it call the Single Tax.

We propose to abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of the value of improvements in or on it.

What we propose is not a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements. Nor is it a tax on land, for we would not tax all land, but only land having a value irrespective of its improvements, and would tax that in proportion to that value.

Our plan involves the imposition of no new tax, since we already tax land values in taxing real estate. To carry it out we have only to abolish all taxes save the tax on real estate, and to abolish all of that which now falls on buildings or improvements, leaving only that part of it which now falls on the value of the bare land. This we would increase so as to take as nearly as may be the whole of the economic rent, or what is sometimes styled the "unearned increment of land values."

That the value of the land alone would suffice to provide all needed public revenues—municipal, county, and national—there is no doubt.

To show briefly why we urge this change, let me treat (1) of its expediency, and (2) of its justice.

### I.

From the Single Tax we may expect these advantages:

1. It would dispense with a whole army of taxgatherers and other officials which present taxes require, and place in the treasury a much larger proportion of what is taken from the people, while, by making government simpler and cheaper, it would tend to make it purer. It would get rid of taxes which necessarily promote fraud, perjury, bribery and corruption, which lead men into temptation, and which tax what the nation can least afford to spare—honesty and conscience. Since land lies out-of-doors and cannot be removed, and its value is the most readily ascertained of all values, the tax to which we would resort can be collected with the minimum of cost and the least strain on public morals.

2. It would enormously increase the production of wealth—

A. By the removal of the burdens that now weigh upon industry and thrift. If we tax houses, there will be fewer and poorer houses; if we tax machinery, there will be less machinery; if we tax trade, there will be less trade; if we tax capital, there will be less capital; if we tax savings, there will be less savings. All the taxes, therefore, that we would abolish are taxes that repress industry and lessen wealth. But if we tax land values there will be no less land.

B. On the contrary, the taxation of land values has the effect of making land more easily available by industry, since it makes it more difficult for owners of valuable land, which they themselves do not care to use, to hold it idle for a larger future price. While the abolition of taxes on labour and the products of labour would free the active element of production, the taking of land values in taxation would free the passive element by destroying speculative land values, and preventing the holding out of use of land needed for use. If any one will but look round to-day and see the unused or but half used land, the idle labour, the unemployed or poorly employed capital, he will get some

idea of how enormous would be the production of wealth were all the forces of production free to engage.

C. The taxation of the processes and products of labour on the one hand, and the insufficient taxation of land values on the other, produces an unjust distribution of wealth, which is building up in the hands of a few, fortunes more monstrous than the world has ever before seen, while the masses of our people are steadily becoming relatively poorer. These taxes necessarily fall on the poor more heavily than on the rich; by increasing prices, they necessitate larger capital in all businesses, and consequently give an advantage to large capitals; and they give, and in some cases are designed to give, special advantages and monopolies to combinations and trusts. On the other hand, the insufficient taxation of land values enables men to make large fortunes by land speculation and the increase in ground values—fortunes which do not represent any addition by them to the general wealth of the community, but merely the appropriation by some of what the labour of others create.

This unjust distribution of wealth develops on the one hand a class idle and wasteful because they are too rich, and on the other hand a class idle and wasteful because they are too poor—it deprives men of capital and opportunities which would make them more efficient producers. It thus greatly diminishes production.

D. The unjust distribution which is giving us the hundred-fold millionaire on the one side and the tramp and pauper on the other, generates thieves, gamblers, social parasites of all kinds, and requires large expenditure of money and energy in watchmen, policemen, courts, prisons and other means of defence and repression. It kindles a greed of gain and a worship of wealth, and produces a bitter struggle for existence which fosters drunkenness, increases insanity, and causes men whose energies ought to be devoted to honest production to spend their time and strength in cheating and grabbing from each other. Besides the moral loss, all this involves an enormous economic loss which the Single Tax would save.

E. The taxes we would abolish fall most heavily on the poorer agricultural districts, and thus tend to drive population and wealth from them to the great cities. The tax we would increase would destroy that monopoly of land which is the great cause of that distribution of population which is crowding people too closely together in some places and scattering them too far apart in other places. Families live on top of one another in cities because of the enormous speculative prices at which vacant lots are held. In the country they are scattered too far apart for social intercourse and convenience, because instead of each taking what land he can use, every one who can grabs all he can get, in the hope of profiting by the increase of value, and the next man must pass farther on. Thus we have scores of families living under a single roof, and other families living in dug-outs on the prairies afar from neighbours—some living too close to each other for moral, mental, or physical health, and others too far separated for the stimulating and refining influences of society. The wastes in health, in mental vigour, and in unnecessary transportation result in great economic losses which the single tax would save.

### II.

Let us turn to the moral side, and consider the question of justice.

The right of property does not rest on human laws; they have often ignored and violated it. It rests on natural laws—that is to say, the law of God. It is clear and absolute, and every violation of it, whether committed by a man or a nation, is a violation of the command, "Thou shalt not steal." The man who catches a fish, grows an apple, raises a calf, builds a house, makes a coat, paints a picture, constructs a machine, has, as to any such thing, an exclusive right to ownership, which carries with it the right to give, to sell, or bequeath that thing.

But who made the earth that any man can claim such ownership of it, or any part of it, or the right to give, sell, or bequeath it? Since the earth was not made by us, but is only the temporary dwellingplace on which one generation of men follows another; since we who find ourselves here are manifestly here with the equal permission of the Creator, it is manifest

that no one can have any exclusive right of ownership in land, and that the rights of all men to land must be equal and inalienable. There must be an exclusive right to possession of land, for the man who uses it must have secure possession of land in order to reap the products of his labour. But this right of possession must be limited by the equal right of all, and should therefore be conditioned on the payment to the community by the possessor of an equivalent for any special valuable privilege thus accorded him.

When we tax houses, crops, money, furniture, capital, or wealth in any of its forms, we take from individuals what rightfully belongs to them. We violate the right of property, and in the name of the state commit robbery. But when we tax ground values we take from individuals what does not belong to them, but belongs to the community, and which cannot be left to individuals without the robbery of other individuals.

Think what the value of land is. It has no reference to the cost of production, as has the value of houses, horses, ships, clothes, or other things produced by labour; for land is not produced by man, it has been created by God. The value of land does not come from the exertion of labour on land, for the value thus produced is a value of improvement. That value that attaches to any piece of land means that that piece of land is more desirable than the land which other citizens may obtain, and that there are more willing to pay a premium for permission to use it. Justice therefore requires that this premium or value shall be taken for the benefit of all in order to secure to all their equal rights.

Consider the difference between the value of a building and the value of land. The value of a building, like the value of goods, or of anything properly styled wealth, is produced by individual exertion, and therefore properly belongs to the individual; but the value of land only arises with the growth and improvement of the community, and therefore properly belongs to the community. It is not because of what its owners have done, but because of the presence of the whole great population, that land in New York is worth millions an acre. This value, therefore is the proper fund for defraying the common expenses of the whole population; and it must be taken for public use, under penalty of generating land speculation and monopoly which will bring about artificial scarcity where the Creator has provided in abundance for all whom His providence has called into existence. It is thus a violation of justice to tax labour, or the things produced by labour, and it is also a violation of justice not to tax land values.

These are the fundamental reasons for which we urge the single tax, believing it to be the greatest and most fundamental of all reforms. We do not think it will change human nature. That man can never do; but it will bring about conditions in which human nature can develop what is best, instead of, as now in so many cases, what is worst. It will permit such an enormous production of wealth as we can now hardly conceive. It will secure an equitable distribution. It will solve the labour problem, and dispel the darkening clouds which are now gathering over the horizon of our civilization. It will make undeserved poverty an unknown thing. It will check the soul-destroying greed of gain. It will enable men to be at least as honest, as true, as considerate, and as high-minded as they would like to be. It will remove temptations to lying, false swearing, bribery, and law-breaking. It will open to all, even to the poorest, the comforts and refinements and opportunities of an advancing civilization. It will thus, so we reverently believe, clear the way for the coming of that kingdom of right and justice, and consequently of abundance and peace and happiness, for which the Master told His disciples to pray and work. It is not because it is a promising invention or cunning device that we look for the single tax to do all this; it is because it involves a conforming of the most fundamental adjustments of society to the supreme law of justice, because it involves the basing of the most important of our laws on the principle that we should do to others as we would be done by.—From the "Financial Reform Almanack."

### By the Way.

The Editor of the *Glasgow Echo* is not now in favour of taxing the "unearned increment." He desires to lecture on the subject, and he has been offered the platform of the Henry George Institute.

At the sitting of the Royal Commission of Agriculture in Banffshire the other day, a Mr. Turner of Ballindalloch confessed to a willingness to pay a higher rent on his own improvements.

Speaking at the Economic Section of the British Association, Professor Mavor, late of Glasgow, now of Toronto said, "the unemployed problem was created by the shiftless, the loafer, the criminal, the semi-criminal, by the man whose character prevented him from getting a situation, or keeping it when he got it. The energetic and industrious did not need to be 'regimented' in labour homes."

Said Lord Salisbury at the British Association—"We live in a small bright oasis of knowledge surrounded on all sides by a vast unexplored region of impenetrable mystery."

Councillor Ferguson has challenged Mr. T. S. Cree of Anti-Trades Union fame, to publicly debate the rectitude and urgency of taxing the unearned increment for public purposes. Mr. Ferguson to affirm.

Mr. Henry Quelch, Editor of *Justice*, the organ of the Social Democratic Federation, and Mr. John Paul of the Scottish Land Restoration Union, are to debate the subject—"Single Tax versus Social Democracy"—which would be most beneficial to the people, in the People's Palace, Watson Street, Glasgow, on Sunday, 2nd September, at 2.30 p.m.

Miss Margaret Irwin, one of the Labour Sub-Commissioners, tells a sickening story of the long hours worked by women shopkeepers and assistants in Glasgow, 70 to 96 hours per week, and in one case a girl just under 18 had been employed for 110 hours per week including Sunday.

The Edinburgh Trades' Council have resolved to issue a leaflet appealing to working men to use every influence to discourage the making of purchases on Wednesday afternoons, and to steadily avoid late purchasing at all times, more especially on Saturdays.

The Glasgow School Board have rejected the "Fair Wages" motion of the Labour Members by 7 to 5 votes.

PARLIAMENT AND THE MINERS' EIGHT HOURS.—The Local Option Amendment "to give the majority of men employed underground in each county throughout the country the option of saying whether or not the eight hours system should prevail" was carried by 112 votes to 107. The Bill has been withdrawn.

Mr. Hewitt Smith, West Ham, of the Social Democratic Federation thinks "it is absolutely necessary to keep a very keen eye on Keir Hardie's new party."

Lord Tweedmouth hopes "it will not be long before every man who is of age and neither a criminal nor a lunatic will have a vote, and only one."

Sir William Harcourt anticipates the Government being able to bring in a Bill for Payment of Members next session.

"Fionn," Mr. Henry White in his Glasgow letter to the *Oban Times* refers in flattering terms to the August number of the *Single Tax*, and quotes the article of Councillor Ferguson to some extent.

An *Echo* man discovered a Single Taxer in an interview with an old miner out Hamilton way, and got supplied with the Single Tax Key to the solution of the coal strike, and the prevention of all other strikes and labour troubles.

In a letter to the *Weekly Times and Echo*, Mr. H. M. Hyndman referring to the Independent Labour Party, says, "it has been in existence only two years, and at its commencement there were closely connected with it certain persons of whose treachery we possess documentary evidence. Now, although efforts are still often made by I.L.P. men to break up our branches, the policy of the I.L.P. as a whole is far more clear and intelligible than it was. If this continues, and the members declare themselves frankly and avowedly Socialists, I have myself little doubt that a working arrangement will sooner or later be come to."

"It would be laughable if it were not lamentable, to see how many columns in Socialist and Labour journals are wasted on the most puerile jangling. The reasons probably are, that copy of that kind is cheap, and that the burning desire of many of the comparatively few subscribers to see their names in print must be studied by the unfortunate editors."—*The Weekly Times and Echo*.

"Advanced" politicians seem to be like unto "the auld wife that said there was only her and John, and she wasna' verra share o' John."

Mr. W. Mitchell, Vice-Chairman of the Glasgow School Board assured the Sanitary Congress, held in Glasgow last month, "that there were thousands of children of the gipsy and tinker classes, who were growing up just as ignorant and uncared for as the cattle."

Hammersmith Socialist Society discussed the question recently whether Socialist political action should be on independent lines or through the Liberal party. Halliday Sparling was among the supporters of working with the Liberals.

THE NEW PARTY.—"What I propose is that we form a National Socialist party, under one name, with one executive, one fund, and one policy; that the said party be formed by the fusion of the I.L.P., the S.D.F., and the Fabians; and that the I.L.P., and the S.D.F., and all other bodies which join the party shall give up their own names and organizations."—*Nunquam*.

### DR. RUSSELL AT THE SANITARY CONGRESS.

#### PLAIN SPEAKING.

In his paper, read at the Sanitary Congress, referring to the inhabitants and owners of slum property, Dr. Russell said:—"There was also a sprinkling of undoubtedly decent people, the salt of the otherwise festering population, the ten men for whose sake, peradventure, they will not be destroyed. You might say, 'Why do they remain there?' Why did the natives of St. Kilda stay there? Why did the inhabitants of the Achill Islands stay there? The majority were the remnants of a previous generation of respectable tenants, all of whom had gone as the property deteriorated. With reference to the death-rate, there were three characteristics of these uninhabitable houses—(1) the deaths always exceeded the births; (2) the infantile death-rate was enormous; (3) the general death-rate was mediæval in its dimensions. The important question—who own these uninhabitable houses—might be very shortly answered. There were 41 proprietors involved, and only 21 of these were individuals. The remainder were either trustees or executors or joint beneficiaries. This had an obvious bearing on personal responsibility. It behoved every person in the position of a trustee to inquire into the character of the property which he administered; it behoved every beneficiary to ascertain whence the rents were derived. As for the individual proprietors, they lived in houses in the West-End, in villas in the suburbs, at the coast or in country. Probably no one would be more astonished than those persons themselves if they were told that they had been living on the proceeds of such property. But to plead ignorance was to plead guilty. If they did not know they ought to have known. Factors might represent them and so keep their name from publicity, which in the circumstances

they would richly deserve, but, nevertheless, on them and their ill-got rents, he was old enough fashioned to believe, a curse rested which would be sure to find them out. Just think of it. The rents were collected from week to week and month to month by their agents at the doors of those houses. It might be that the very coins which were the reward of iniquity were put into their hands. It was all the same as if they stood at the doors of those houses and held out their hands for the money. But no; they sent some one else to get it, and perhaps they gave a subscription to the Home Mission or the Social Union, or they discussed the great city of Babylon in their drawing rooms, and they stood afar off and lamented when they saw the smoke of her burning. The effect of disturbing these people as regarded the bad was like nothing so much as the driving away a swarm of flies from a raw place on an animal. They rose in a flight and settled down upon the nearest other raw place. The criminal and the drunkard looked out for the nearest property where they would be received, and that was sure to be but a little better than the place they left. For the compact between the landlord and the tenant of such property was an immoral compact. The necessity of finding house room made the vicious and criminal person accept any hovel; the consciousness that he had an unsound article to sell made the landlord accept the criminal and the vicious as tenants."

### From Over the Border.

The English Land Colonization Society state that experience and support now promised have justified them in attempting to form, next September, a special "object-lesson colony" of small holdings under thorough cultivation, in order to show the minimum area of land from which an experienced cultivator can raise what is required for the support of himself and family. They invite those who are interested in the problems of rural depopulation, and of general want of employment, to write to their Hon. Secretary, Mr. J. C. Kenworthy, 41 Bedford Row, London, W.C., for their report and for particulars of the suggested colony.

It may be taken as a proof of the success of the English Red Van men, that the Property Defence League have found it worth while to send a couple of their lecturers on the war-path in the wake of the Bedfordshire van. A Mr. O'Brien and another with a Liberty Platform tricycle put in an appearance the other evening at one of Mr. Ancketill's meetings. O'Brien claims to have been an active supporter of, and lecturer for, Henry George, when he ran for Secretary of State. It is perhaps unfortunate that Mr. Ancketill, who happened to be in the thick of the fight in New York during this period, has no recollection of this gentleman's activities. However, here he is in Bedfordshire, "defending private property in land," against the Red Vans. The pair first turned up at a Van meeting, but apparently did not enjoy themselves sufficiently well to warrant a repetition of the experiment of answering the lecturer to his face. They then seem to have fallen behind the Van, with a view to replying to the lecturer in each place after he had gone away.

The Pioneer Yellow Van has been working lately in the south-east of Lincolnshire and in parts of Norfolk and Cambridge. The route has been by Sleaford, Billingborough, Swineshead, Boston, Spalding, Holbeach, Swaffham, Wisbech, and Peterborough.

Theatrical circles have lately had an object-lesson in landlordism. The proprietors of Drury Lane Theatre have been for some time trying to get a renewal of their lease, or at any rate a short lease, from the Duke of Bedford, but all negotiations have fallen through; and, in the words of Mr. E. Chitty at a general assembly of the company, the proprietors, after putting £300,000 into the building, without receiving a farthing in return, were now to have their money confiscated by the law. The lease terminates next Christmas.

# The Single Tax.

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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, 44 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 Fountain-bridge, 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."

## PRESS PROPAGANDA FUND.

With the advent of the *Single Tax*, fresh financial responsibilities have been incurred. We have appealed to our members and sympathisers for assistance to enable us to cope with this extra work. A generous response has been the result, and the Treasurer begs to acknowledge the undenoted subscriptions. The Executive of the Union invite all friends of Land Restoration in Scotland to subscribe to this Press Propaganda, and so enable them the better to carry their gospel into the highways and byeways of political and social reform movements:—

H. S. Murray, Galashiels,	-	-	£5	0	0
John Wilson, M.P.,	-	-	1	0	0
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WM. M'LENNAN, Treas.

## SANITARIANS AND THE SLUMS.

THE Twentieth Annual Congress of the Sanitary Association of Scotland was held in Glasgow, 23rd August. During the period of its existence the Sanitary Association have done much by investigation and discussion to force the pace of local governments and municipalities to free their people from the grosser conditions of insanitation. The school master has been

abroad, too, during these twenty years. The coming of Henry George ten years ago with his indictment against land monopoly and its bad social effects awakened a public spirit on the part of reformers, that merits no small measure of praise in bringing this question of the social condition of the people out into the open. Other agencies, too numerous to mention, have also been at work. Dr. Russell, the Medical Officer of the city, the Glasgow Social Union, the Fresh-air Fortnight Society, and the social work of the Salvation Army, are among the most active agencies that have consciously and unconsciously shed the side lights of truth down the lanes and alleys that are peopled by the destitute, and where our modern huns and vandals most do congregate. The Congress after congratulating themselves on the victories they had accomplished in their struggle with the public cesspools, turned their attention to the work that lay before them, and Ex-Bailie Crawford, the Honorary President of the Congress, in his opening address tackled at once the viciousness of the Glasgow slums. He said, "The people were now demanding new conditions—higher, better, and more refined, . . . 100,298 of the citizens of Glasgow live in one roomed houses, and there are 31,032 such houses in the city. . . . He could not understand why, with the whole world to live in and build on, we crammed ourselves close together, and piled ourselves on top of each other in such a way as to deprive ourselves of the most elementary sources of joy and health—air, sun, and space. IF IT WAS CAUSED BY THE LANDOWNER GRIPPING HARD ON HIS LAND, AND ANXIOUS TO TAKE THE UTMOST SHILLING OUT OF THE LAST YARD OF SPACE, THEN HE WOULD FORBID THIS WITHOUT COMPUNCTION OR DELAY. BY FORCE OF LAW AND RIGHT, AND FOR THE GOOD OF THE COMMUNITY THOSE WHO POSSESSED LAND SHOULD BE COMPELLED SO TO USE IT OR TO DISPOSE OF IT THAT MAN COULD NOT BE DESPOILED OF HIS INHERITANCE, HIS UNDOUBTED RIGHT TO ABUNDANCE OF SUNSHINE, LIGHT, AND AIR." Grappling with the wider soul problem he continued, "POVERTY—THE RESULT OF WRONG ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES OF SOCIETY MIGHT HAVE DONE ITS SHARE. ON THAT POINT THEY, AS SANITARIANS COULD NOT DOGMATISE. . . ." On one point they, at least, were clear that both poverty and drunkenness were the natural and necessary concomitants of degrading and unhealthy physical surroundings, and it was their duty to obtain for all citizens alike good sound physical conditions of living and working." Now, if "poverty and drunkenness are the natural and necessary concomitants of degrading and unhealthy physical surroundings," we must surely, if we desire a remedy, look back a step to discover the cause of these "degrading and unhealthy physical surroundings" and when the Honorary President talked about that other "poverty that was the result of wrong economic principles of society, upon which they, as sanitarians, must not dogmatise," he put his finger upon the bottom cause of all the trouble. There is a demand for one room houses on the part of thousands of wage-earners, not because they desire such a home, but because their earnings cannot afford them a better. And, on the other hand, "the landowners gripping hard and anxious to take the utmost shilling out of the last yard of space," and when he cannot obtain his price, keeping desirable building sites out of use, forces the people "to pile themselves on top of each other" instead of spreading themselves, in healthy homes, over the tens of thousands of idle acres that are the natural boundaries of the city on every hand. If these acres of God's earth could speak, they would surely

invite us to leave these unwholesome dens and permit them to bear their natural and legitimate share in sustaining the glory and prestige of this city, that "flourishes by the preaching of the word." Nature cries out against this misuse of her opportunities to material and moral progress. We desire to advance always, and nature has made ample provision for our needs in this regard. But society has established these "economic principles" which have made these opportunities—the land—the private property of the few, and confounding their ownership with things that are the result of human exertion, and respecting the rights of private property, we have bamboozled ourselves out of our "common inheritance." As the city grows we must stand still and fester or distribute ourselves over the land. And every time we propose to move forward we are met by the landowners' claims. And just as it is that we should have the use of land just so urgent does the price we have to pay rise. And these are the "economic principles of society upon which the sanitarians must not dogmatise." Well, it is foolish at all times to dogmatise, but why not discuss these bottom "economic principles" upon which society rests and has its being? If the stream is being polluted at its source what is the use of trying to purify it on its way? Nature yields wealth to man in obedience to his labour; and if they who work hardest and longest are poorest it cannot be because of the decrees of nature; and if not, the strange phenomenon can only be the outcome of these "economic principles of society" which we are called upon to revere so much. The bottom economic principles of society are the conditions upon which the people are permitted to use land, and these are—that the economic rent of land must be handed over to the landowners by the non-landowners, and that the non-landowners cannot have the use of land save on the landowners' terms. The landowners have exclusive ownerships of land. As Glasgow has grown public improvements have been made. These have been paid for out of the rates. The expenditure of the rates just now, amounting to some £600,000 per annum, goes largely to pay for and maintain public improvements. The nett economic result of which is that the land values of Glasgow amount to £2,000,000 per annum. These are taken by the landowners for their own behoof, and fancy monopoly prices rest on nearly every vacant building site throughout the city. There is only one way of destroying slum property, and that is by creating a demand on the part of the occupiers for superior houses. The demand exists even now to some extent. But land monopoly stands in the way. The Single Tax remedy, or as the City Council have been discussing it, the taxation of land values, by compelling owners of vacant land to pay their quota of taxation on the selling value of such land, would force them to loosen their iron grip, and either put it to use themselves or find someone who could use it. And thus acres of vacant land, now held out of use in anticipation of a higher increased price being got, would come into the market at their true competitive value. The immediate effect of this would be that the building trade would boom in erecting decent house accommodation at rents to suit even the poorest; and the revenues of land taken in this way for public uses would enable us to abolish all other forms of taxation. The purchasing power of the taxpayers would rise to that extent, which would mean in other words, a rise of wages all round. A rise of wages at the expense of economic rent—land values—and the land freed from the grip of the monopolist is the only remedy calculated to disturb the present pro-

prietary "economic principles of society," and to replace them by principles based on that equality of natural opportunity among men necessary to work out the social salvation of the people. What is the use of discussing these questions from a mere academic point of view. Justice and expediency demand that action be taken. "The deaths always exceeded the births in the uninhabitable house districts," said Dr. Russell at the Congress, and straight-way he began to lecture the owners of these properties on their duties, and proposed "to shut up their uninhabitable houses until they were made habitable." "There were many schemes," he said in his peroration, "for social restitution at present. The oldest was to be found in the Bible, and was based upon righteousness—not righteousness in the air or in the earth, but in the individual." Well the Bible has been appealing to men down through the ages to act justly, and "Do unto others as ye would that they would do unto you," is the newer Gospel that has overshadowed the christian world these nineteen hundred years. But in vain. The people have been despoiled of their "natural inheritance," and there can be no "righteousness in the individual," nor peace, nor health, nor rest to society, until the people have the freedom to use this God-given inheritance of theirs to work out their social salvation.

HERBERT SPENCER'S  
RECANTATION.

THE "PERPLEXED PHILOSOPHER"  
AND THE  
ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION  
LEAGUE.

In 1851 Mr. Herbert Spencer produced his "Social Statics," in which he questioned the equity of private property in land. Henry George in "Progress and Poverty" quoted from this work one or two of the more telling arguments in favour of common land ownerships, and Spencer at once sprung into fame as a land restorer. His aristocratic friends thereupon asked him to explain. He did so, and the explanation is one of the saddest and most humiliating things in English literature. Henry George replied to this in his book, "A Perplexed Philosopher." The answer has yet to come, though rumour says it is coming. Meantime the subject has been opened up once more in a letter by Mr. Spencer to a Mr. D. O'Brien, which appeared in the *St. James Gazette*, 20th August. Ten years ago the English Land Restoration League, like Mr. George, taking Mr. Spencer to be in earnest, and thinking to enlist him an advocate in the cause of land restoration, published in leaflet form one of the chapters in "Social Statics"—"The Right to the Use of the Earth." Mr. O'Brien has forwarded a copy of the leaflet to Mr. Spencer, and in reply he, Mr. S., charges the League with "deliberately suppressing" the passage in which he says—"Most of our present landowners are men who have either mediately or immediately—either by their own acts, or by the acts of their ancestors—given for their estates equivalents of honestly earned wealth, believing that they were investing their savings in a legitimate manner. To justly estimate and liquidate the claims of such is one of the most intricate problems society will one day have to solve." "The leaflet, too," he complains, "implies that I at present advocate direct ownerships of the land by the community, whereas, it is perfectly well known that I have in a considerable measure changed my opinion."

Mr. F. Verrinder, Secretary of the English Land Restoration League, has replied in the columns of the *London Daily Chronicle*, as follows:—

"The fact is, Mr. Spencer's own quotation from his own book is 'garbled.' Let me help him to a fuller statement of his own views:—

'But unfortunately, most of our present landowners are men who have, either mediately or immediately—either by their own acts or by

the acts of their ancestors—given for their estates equivalents of honestly-earned wealth, believing that they were investing their savings in a legitimate manner. To justly estimate and liquidate the claims of such is one of the most intricate problems society will one day have to solve. *But with this perplexity and our extrication from it abstract morality has no concern. Men having got themselves into the dilemma by disobedience to the law must get out of it as well as they can, and with as little injury to the landed class as may be.*

'*Meanwhile, we shall do well to recollect that there are others besides the landed class to be considered. In our tender regard for the vested interests of the few, let us remember that the rights of the many are in abeyance; and must remain so as long as the earth is monopolised by individuals. Let us remember, too, that the injustice thus inflicted on the mass of mankind is an injustice of the gravest nature. To deprive others of their rights to the use of the earth is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties.*

Now, it was precisely with the 'abstract morality' of land nationalization from the Individualist point of view as expounded by its eloquent apostle, and not with methods, that our leaflet had to do, and consequently the argument had, on Mr. Spencer's own showing, 'no concern' with the perplexities of his compensation scheme. Unfortunately for Mr. Spencer's present position, and for his friends in the Liberty and Property Defence League—'Sir John and his Grace'—with whom he now agrees that 'it would be better that the existing system' with all its iniquities 'should continue,' many thousands have been convinced by his arguments who cannot follow him in his repudiation of them. They still believe, as he once did, that 'either men have a right to make the soil private property or they have not.

If they have such a right, then there is truth in that tenet of the ultra-Tory school—represented by the Liberty and Property Defence League—that the landowners are the only legitimate rulers of a country; that the people at large remain in it only by the landowners' permission, and ought, consequently, to submit to the landowners' rule, and respect whatever institutions the landowners set up. *There is no escape from these inferences.*

In his recantation, Mr. Spencer further says, "nationalisation of the land effected after compensation, . . . amounting to the greater part of its value would entail in the shape of interest on the required purchase money, as great a sum as is now paid on rent. . . . Add to which there is no reason to think that the substituted form of administration would be better than the existing form of administration." Commenting on these pious opinions as a substitute for the arguments contained in "Social Statics," Henry George in his reply to Mr. Spencer's "A Perplexed Philosopher," compares them with one of his, Mr. Spencer's, favourite methods of illustration:—"I am told," said the respectable grandmother, with a big stick in her hand, "that you are the boy who broke down my fence and told the other boys that they were at liberty to go in to my orchard and take my apples." "It is not true," replied the trembling small boy, "I didn't do it. And when I did it I was only trying to mend your fence which I found was weak. And the reason I did it was to keep bad boys out. And I have always said you ought to be paid for your apples. And I won't do it again! And I am certain your apples would give boys the stomach-ache."

In a letter to a Glasgow correspondent which appeared in the *Herald* the other day, Mr. Spencer charges land restorers with perverting his views. Mr. Henry George charges Mr. Spencer, in "A Perplexed Philosopher," with misstating, in his recantation, what he had previously said in "Social Statics." A more serious charge, and, which if true must lead the enquirer into confusion. Let him answer Mr. George.

A labourer turns a desert into a garden, and then we increase his taxes. The speculator turns a garden into a desert, and then we diminish his taxes. Verily, we are a great people.

FIRST PRINCIPLES OF THE  
LAND QUESTION.

Mr. Louis F. Post, one of the foremost workers in the Single Tax movement in the United States, in an American magazine, the *Arena*, thus summarises what Single Taxmen regard as the first principles of the Land Question:—

First—Man produces all that man consumes.

Second in order of statement, though equal in importance and concurrent in time—To produce and consume man must have the use of appropriate natural objects external to himself, all of which objects are included in the term "land." Denied the use of all land, man cannot live even the life of an animal. Denied the use of land within the limits of civilization, he cannot live the life of a civilized man. And to the extent that he is denied the use of land, to that extent his ability to produce and consume is limited.

Third—Legal ownership of the land by some men interferes with its use by other men, and by enabling the former to derive an advantage from what by nature is common to all, makes men unequal in respect of their rights before the law. The one extreme of this inequality is the establishment of differences of income, due, not to different services, but to different legal rights as to the use of the earth. The other extreme is the enslavement by landowners of all other men.

Fourth—To restore equality of legal rights the value of land must be taken for public use, then the prosperity of men would be determined by the service they render to others, and no longer by the privilege they enjoy of appropriating the value of superior land.

Finally—This involves no formal revolution. To take land values for public use requires no greater change than the abolition of all taxes save the Single Tax upon landowners in proportion to the value of their land regardless of improvements. To adopt this simple remedy would be to apply to public use approximately the full value of land, to make the mere ownership of land unprofitable, to remove all incentive to hold it for any other purpose than its best use, and, while lowering rent, to increase wages, make hard times impossible, and banish poverty and the fear of poverty.

We earnestly advise all who have not thoroughly "grasped" this truth on the Land Question to study carefully this epitome of first principles as presented by Mr. Post.

Single Tax Items.

THEN AND NOW.—Said Lord Salisbury in the debate on the Evicted Tenant's Bill—"The landlord used to be regarded as a human being, but he was now assuming the position of the Jew of the middle ages."

From a contemporary we learn that the Duchess of Devonshire recently ordered the Secretary of the Eastbourne Golf Club that she desired the clubhouse opened on a particular Sunday for a ducal party to disport themselves with the caddies. The Secretary at once informed her that the premises were closed on Sundays, but the Duchess preemptory replied that the Golf Ground was the Duke's property and only by favour lent the club. Needless to say the fifth commandment kicked the beam and the Golf Club was opened. And "these be your gods, oh, Israel."

The cost of draining the Zuyder Zee and reclaiming 450,000 acres is estimated to be not less than £25,200,000, including measures of defence and compensation to the Zee fishermen. But the value of the land reclaimed is put up at £26,100,000.

The Highland Railway Company have agreed to purchase the estate of Millburn for extensions at Inverness Station. The price, it is believed, is £13,000.

The Exchange Telegraph Company states that the London County Council propose to accept the offer of the Duchy of Lancaster to sell land for the purpose of widening the Strand and Wellington Street, at a cost of £32,000.

The Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the whole subject of Feus and Building Leases in Scotland have reported *inter alia*, "That in the case of lands suitable for building purposes in towns or villages, the superiors of which will not feu, or will grant only on prohibitive terms, to give local authorities compulsory powers of acquisition."

In a leader inspired by the *Single Tax*, *Reynold's Newspaper*, says, "By the inexorable laws of rent and of wages, which are generalization from actual social conditions, it is clear as daylight that must go to those who enjoy a monopoly of the raw material of the globe. Until we divert rent from the pockets of individuals to the treasury of the community, we shall not be able appreciably to diminish the size of these ragged regiments of pauperism. That is, therefore, the real question to be attacked, the real problem to be solved. Let us stop plunder, and put the rewards of our own labour into our own pockets, instead of foolishly handing them over to the monopolist to be used against the best general interests of the community."

**THE MOST VALUABLE LAND.**—More than £30 10s. an inch, or a thousand guineas a yard frontage, was paid for the land between King William's Statue and Trinity Square, London, E.C. But—with one exception—no other land in the world compares with the ground around Lombard Street, which is estimated to be worth not less than £2,000,000 an acre. £1,250,000 was asked from the South-Eastern Railway Company for a small piece of ground in Bermondsey. This piece of land was 16 ft. in depth, and contained an area of 4,134 superficial feet, so that the price asked was at the rate of £13,000,000 an acre. One can scarcely wonder that the railway company refused to purchase. Land in Pall Mall, London, has been sold at the rate of £500,000 an acre; and in Canon Street, in 1880, land sold at the rate of £330,000 an acre; but in Gracechurch Street the same year sites were sold at the rate of £820,000 an acre. Six years later the price advanced to the rate of £1,260,000 an acre. In Liverpool the rental of the Corporation land in 1672 was £13; in 1892 it was valued at £12,500,000. In Glasgow plots of land sold at £76 15s. per square yard. In the City of Chicago a plot of land was purchased for £120, and, after being held for twenty years, sold for £8,000, whilst the same land is now valued at £3,600,000. The houses of London are calculated to be worth £212,000,000.

**THE QUESTION AT GALASHIELS.**—At a meeting of the Galashiels Corporation on Monday, July 9, the Public Health Committee reports that Mr. Scott of Gala would only sell the nine acre field adjoining Eastlands Cemetery at a slump sum of £3311 1s. 7d. on certain conditions, or an average sum of £348 per acre. The total local rate is 5s. 8½d., and a correspondent desires to know how much Mr. Scott of Gala pays on these 9½ acres he values at £3311.

The Crown or the people of this country are the owners of 69,627 acres of land which is used for agricultural purposes, and yields a rental of £80,218. It is mostly let in large farms.

**THE LAND RESTORATION DRAMA.**—"When Sir Mark Stewart, M.P., a few weeks ago took a pessimistic view of the future of landlordism, he was well within the probabilities of the coming time, for I find in my wanderings a little bill gummed up on the door and gate posts of every landowner in the locality, with their doom writ thereon! 'Taxation and the Land Question' is the title of the warning, and from the first question, 'Who made the land?' to the final statement of 'the landowners of Glasgow receiving two million pounds yearly in rent,' we have a brief supply of facts that will let those who run and read know that the prelude to the great drama—'The Land Restoration,' is about finished, and the curtain will shortly rise on the play proper."—*Stewartry Observer and Wigtonshire News*.

Where the town of Bootle is built, the land was bought by an ancestor of the Earl of Derby for £10,000. A quarter of a century ago it

brought in £10,000 a year. To-day it is worth £100,000 a year. Moreover, when the people wanted to build docks, they had to pay the noble landlord £250,000 for a bit of the foreshore, with the result as might have been anticipated. The very construction of the docks led to a rise of Bootle rents, when the Earl of Derby found his property near the docks worth £100,000 more than before the docks were in existence.

According to a Parliamentary return nearly 300,000 acres of cultivable or cultivated land has been thrown into Deer Forests in the Highlands during the past ten years.

The House of Commons have accepted, by a majority of 30, the lords' rejection of Mr. Seymour Keay's motion in the Scotch Local Government Bill, conferring powers on the Parish Councils to acquire land compulsorily for the erection of workmen's dwellings. Sir George Trevelyan, on behalf of the Government, has promised special Legislation on the subject.

### SCOTTISH LAND RESTORATION UNION'S OPEN-AIR CAMPAIGN.

During August Open-Air Meetings have been held at Maryhill, Carlisle, Partick, Port Glasgow, and Clydebank. The speakers warmly welcomed and pressed to return soon, with their land restoration gospel. The *Single Tax* and other literature on the land question were widely circulated.

There are a number of excellent pamphlets on hand at the Office, 45 Montrose Street, which we shall be glad to forward at special rates for sale or distribution. Friends who desire to be informed on the land question, or to assist others to that end, could not do better than invest in an assorted number of the pamphlets published by the Union. For sample copies and terms apply to the Secretary.

To Secretaries of Political and Social Reform Organisations the Scottish Land Restoration Union Lecturers are open for engagements for indoor meetings during the coming winter months. Address—The Secretary, Scottish Land Restoration Union, 45 Montrose St., Glasgow.

### Highland Notes.

The Annual Conference of the Highland Land League is to be held at Bonar Bridge, on the 12th and 13th inst. Radical M.P.'s, and prominent Land Reformers are to be present and speak.

Malcolm Macdonald of Achnacroish, on the Lismore portion of the Duke of Argyll's estate, has been trying to pay for some years a rent of £19 10s. He went into arrears to the extent of £43 5s. As a result of appealing to the Crofters' Commission, the rent has been reduced to £15 and the arrears to £20. Dugald Carmichael of Killean, has also been trying to pay a rent of £17 10s., this has been reduced to £10, and arrears of £30 19s. 6d. have been reduced to £15.

Some remarkable evidence was given before the Deer Forests Commissioners in Tobermory the other day. One witness, a native of the district, mentioned no fewer than nineteen townships which had been cleared within his own recollection. Practically the whole territory embraced was now "waste and uninhabited." Another witness said that within his memory 300 tenants had been evicted from townships with which he was familiar. "From Ulva 75 tenants were cleared as fast as the laird could send them across the ferry, and here to-day there was only a landlord, a minister, a ferryman, and an innkeeper, and a shepherd or two!" We have often been told that Highlanders were the backbone of the army. This same witness, a pensioner, said four other soldiers from his district stood by his side when scaling the heights of Alma, and two from the same quarter accompanied him at the capture of Lucknow, besides some who were engaged in the navy and transport service. "To-day," he added, "he did not know two men from all Mull who were engaged in the army or navy."

**MORE DEER FORESTS.**—It is rumoured that deer foresting on a large scale is shortly to take place in the Highlands. Sir Charles Ross is to turn the large sheep farm of Benmore into a deer forest, and the sheep are said to have been disposed of at the last Inverness Wool Market. The flocks on the farms of Achmore and Ardvar, on the Sutherland Estate, have also been sold. Altogether, there will be about 60,000 acres cleared. The extensive sheep stock on the farm of Invershiel, Kintail, is also about to be cleared out, and it is stated that the farm is to be converted into a deer forest. The grazings extend from Loch Duich to Clunie, a distance of about fourteen miles, and carry a stock of 9000 sheep, which are to be sold off at Inverness within the next two months. The proprietor is Sir Alan Mackenzie. Conversion of this farm into a deer forest, which it really has been for some years, will place nearly the whole country from Beaulieu to Kintail under deer.

### Foreign News.

At a recent Labour Demonstration in Melbourne, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That this meeting declares the equal rights of all adult persons to the natural opportunities of wealth; that it recognises land monopoly as the main cause of existing social injustice, misery, vice, and crime; and it therefore demands the gradual nationalization of the land by means of a tax on its rental value, all improvements being exempted."

The Australian "single tax men" have paid the English Land Restoration League the compliment of imitating its methods. The *Melbourne Beacon*, just to hand, gives a picture of "Single Tax Propaganda Van No. 1," which started about the end of June for a year's tour in the country districts. On the side of the Van is painted in large white letters the inscription—"FREE TRADE. FREE LAND. FREE MEN."

In Japan the question of taxation is now to the fore, and the tendency is towards some kind of a land tax. Mr. Taguchi, the highest authority in Japan on economics, says that personally he is near the Single Tax.

They have started taxing the *dead* landlord in England. The *live* one's turn will come shortly.—*Melbourne Beacon*.

### Dives and Lazarus.

In the first seven months of the present year four wills have been reported, each disposing of more than £1,000,000, those, namely, of Algernon Peckover, aged 90, Wisbech, banker, £1,163,287; Henry Page, 81, Ware, maltster, £1,078,481; Sir Archibald Orr-Ewing, Bart., 75, Ballinrain, turkey red dyer, £1,077,235; and Sir Gilbert Greenall, Bart., 88, Walton Hall, brewer, £1,018,375, making a total of £4,337,378. Nine wills with personalty between £500,000 and £1,000,000 have also been reported for a total of £6,067,097, making in all £10,404,475.

The soup kitchen in connection with the St. Rollox Mission has now been open for one week, and during that period no fewer than 4,062 meals, consisting of a generous supply of broth and bread, have been issued. Donations of vegetables, butcher meat, bread, fish, and several articles of furniture have been received.

It is stated that William Astor's income is £4,719 daily; John D. Rockefeller, the Standard Oil "King," is credited with £3,743 per day; and Cornelius Vanderbilt, the Railway "King," is supposed to have £3,000 at his disposal per diem; while Jay Gould could sign cheques to the extent of £1,490 every day of his life, and yet not be "hard up."

Down the back streets of the American metropolis there are thousands of men, women, and children living on one dollar a day, some on a cent a day, and some on their expectations. Hundreds of these people are employed by these millionaires, and help to produce their wealth. What is the cause of the great gulf that is fixed betwixt these two classes?

On the showing of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, £46,000 has already been spent on the Labour Commission whose elegant but useless reports we have recently been favoured with; and the total expenditure upon the Commission will exceed £47,000, a sum greater than has ever been spent on a Commission before.

On Tuesday last a man named Smith committed suicide. He had sold the last piece of furniture to buy bread. Starvation stared the family in the face, and the wife had gone to seek relief for the five children at the hands of the parish.

The tomb of the Duke of Hamilton, says *Answers*, is the finest in Great Britain, and cost over two hundred thousand pounds.

Charles Cotiers, brass-finisher, used for the purposes of his business cyanide of potassium, a deadly poison. Worn out with seeking for work, and being told, he was too old, he drank the poison, and ended his earthly sufferings.

The Duke of Norfolk, it is said, receives yearly in rents from his estates in London and elsewhere over £169,000.

1s. 10d. per cwt. is paid the Bradley Heath Chain Makers, and, work as they will, 4 cwt. per week per man is all that can be turned out. The result is the wife has to buckle to to make ends meet.

### Current Literature.

#### MINING ROYALTIES; AND HOW THE LITTLE TOWNSHIP OF NEWBATTLE LOST ITS PAPER MAKING BUSINESS.

Let us take now another industry and see in still clearer and more concrete fashion how this iniquity of reducing the land to private property affects the trade and commerce of the country. Some years ago a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the subject of mining rents and royalties. The evidence taken by this Commission is interesting and instructive. It discloses a system of working under which the individuals who supply the labour and capital necessary to extract wealth from the bowels of the earth are taxed to the last farthing for the sole benefit of an idle monopolist who never did anything to produce that wealth, nor risked any capital in the bringing of that wealth to the surface.

Ownership of the land carries with it the ownership of that which is underneath, and this ownership being admitted the power to levy tribute for the privilege of producing wealth remains with the owner. The various names under which this tribute is known to commerce are, dead-rents, royalties, and way-leaves. All these are simply forms of rent. Each owner has a separate lease when dealing with an individual or a company who propose to work the mineral, and the vexatious stipulations sometimes brought into these leases are somewhat startling. The lessee incurs all possible risks, the tenant-right cannot be sold; the landlord does nothing, lays out no capital and incurs no risks, he simply stands by and profits by the skill and industry of others. First of all there is the surface rent to pay for the land used. This is generally much greater than what is known as agricultural value. Time is allowed for the sinking of the shaft; then the dead-rent comes into play. This is a rent that must be paid whether the coal is found or not. The shaft being sunk and the coal found, royalty comes to be paid. There is no fixed or customary rate; every landlord gets what he can. It is generally calculated as so much on every ton of mineral brought to the surface. On every ton of iron-ore brought to the surface a royalty of 2s. 6d. is paid, on every ton of coal 9d. These sums vary in different localities, the figures quoted are about the average. To yield one ton of pig-iron two tons of ore are required, and two tons of coals are used in the process. Two tons of iron-ore at 2s. 6d. per ton is 5s., two tons of coal at 9d. per ton is 1s. 6d. Limestone also is used and a special kind of brick. These also pay royalty. Take in what are called way-leaves and we find that when one ton of pig-iron

is produced the landowner has pocketed about 7s. in the shape of royalty. To turn this pig-iron into steel rails other two tons of coal are required. This means another 1s. 6d. for coal. And as it takes more than a ton of pig-iron to make a ton of steel rails, and as in this latter process other materials such as limestone, fire-brick, and ganister are employed, these also paying royalty, we will find if we add the whole together that the total royalty or tribute paid to the landlord on one ton of steel rails comes to about 10s.

Take coal now for example. The average royalty on coal in this country is 9d. a ton. If we take this sum and multiply it by the number of tons produced in the country we get the total amount paid in royalty on coal. The coal produced in the year 1889 for example was 176,916,724 tons. Multiply this by 9d. and we get £6,634,377 odds. Anyone who wants to know what proportion of this sum he contributes has only to make a calculation similar to the one made above, namely, multiply 9d. by the number of tons he uses. The amount of pig-iron produced in 1889 was 8,322,824 tons. Multiply this by 7s., which is the royalty per ton on pig-iron, and it comes to £2,912,988.

When the mineral has been brought to the surface it has not yet quit paying rent to the owner. Roads are necessary to transport it. These also must be specially paid for. The tribute enacted in this fashion is called a way-leave. It amounts to about a 1½d. per ton on the average. It will be seen from the foregoing that no avenue or corner is left unguarded by the land monopolist, no possible loophole left open by which the mining company can escape paying this impost to the full. All these various exactions are simply forms of rent.

Let us follow this thing just a little further, if only for the recreation it will afford, and the glimpse it will give of the power of a monopoly to lay its grasp upon the throat of commerce and stifle the forces of production. Take, for example, one of those famous greyhounds of the Atlantic. She is built mostly of iron, every ton of which must pay royalty. Other things enter into her construction which in their various ways will also contribute to swell the income of the landowner. But take her after she is built. On the "City of Paris," for example, there are fifty-four furnaces in nine boilers. To generate the necessary steam power in these the stokers require to shovel in fifteen tons of coal every hour, or 360 tons per day. The time taken to cross the Atlantic is six days. This gives for the voyage across the total of 2,160 tons. Taking the royalty on coal at 9d. per ton and this is a moderate estimate when we consider the dead-rents and way-leaves over and above the royalty. 2,120 tons at 9d. a ton gives £82. Picture to yourselves a facetious bookkeeper in the Company's Offices making the above calculation and writing in his cash-book this item. Paid to loafer for permission to go over the Atlantic, £82.

I want now briefly to bring under your notice an actual concrete instance of how this monopoly of land works its evil effects. This is an actual instance of what took place on an estate situated in the County of Edinburgh. It happened two years ago, in the little community of Newbattle on the estate of the Marquis of Lothian. Nearly eighty years ago a Mr. Craig founded a paper-making business on the banks of the Esk, near Newbattle. He built a mill there, put up machinery, and started to manufacture paper. The land on which the mill was built was held on lease from the family of the Marquis of Lothian. By dint of energy and enterprise a respectable industry was created and population gathered round the district finding occupation in the paper-mills. The development of the industry and the increase of population brought with it the inevitable rise in the value of the land and the consequent increase of rent. This continuous rise of rent the Messrs. Craig found rather inconvenient and they resorted to various expedients to lessen the burden imposed upon them. In this they were unsuccessful, and towards the end of April, 1890, a notice was posted at the gates of Robert Craig & Sons from which the following is extracted:—"To the employees at Newbattle Paper Mills. The firm regret to intimate to their employees that, after repeated negotiations extending over a period of ten years they have failed to arrange with the Marquis of Lothian for equitable terms

on which to continue working at Newbattle, and they are now under the necessity of intimating that their mills which they have worked for three-quarters of a century will be finally shut down on Friday first at 6 p.m." The notice proceeded to say that the houses in which the employees lived and which were of course the property of the Marquis, must be vacated by a certain day and detailed arrangements by which as many of the employees as possible would be transferred to the new Mills which the firm were then erecting in Airdrie. Now if the Marquis had had to pay rent to the state for the land he held, according to its value, he could not thus have had the power to strangle an industry and depopulate a country-side. But this land being held as his private property gave him the power to anticipate a rise of rent, for, in the example just detailed, the Marquis of Lothian, knowing or thinking that a further rise of rent would take place, tried to get a greater rent from the Messrs. Craig than the value of the land would warrant at the time, and they, being unwilling to run the risk of loss in paying a rent which the land did not at that time produce, shut down the Mills. And so by virtue of an old-time charter it comes to pass that though industry develop and grow apace and invention be added to invention, yet the fruits will not be to him that labours, if the land be the property of another.

It is unnecessary to multiply instances. I think it will be admitted that the system under which such things as I have detailed are made possible is inherently evil and ought to be abolished, root and branch. Consider the landlords, are they not something after the style of "the lilies of the field," for "they toil not neither do they spin, and yet I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." Consider this tribute which he appropriates from the earnings of industry and for which he renders no equivalent. "It is a toll levied upon labour constantly and continuously," I quote again from Mr. George: "Every blow of the hammer, every stroke of the pick, every thrust of the shuttle, every throb of the steam-engine pay it tribute. It levies upon the earnings of men, who, deep under ground risk their lives, and of those who over white surges hang to reeling masts. It claims the just reward of the capitalist, and the fruits of the inventor's patient effort; it takes little children from play and from school, and compels them to work before their bones are hard or their muscles are firm; it robs the shivering of warmth; the hungry of food; the sick of medicine; the anxious of peace. It debases and embrothers and embitters. It crowds families of eight and ten into a single squalid room; it herds like swine agricultural gangs of boys and girls, it fills the gin-palace and the groggery with those who have no comfort in their homes; it makes lads who might be useful men candidates for prisons and penitentiaries; it fills brothels with girls who might have known the pure joys of motherhood; it sends greed and all evil passions prowling through society as a hard winter drives the wolves to the abodes of men; it darkens faith in the human soul and across the reflection of a just and merciful Creator draws the veil of a hard, and blind, and cruel fate."—From "The Land Question," by "Appollonius," Published by the Scottish Land Restoration Union—Chap. VI.

#### A SONG AGAINST POVERTY.

O poverty, by thee the soul is wrapped  
With hate, with envy, dolefulness and  
doubt.  
Even so be thou cast out,  
And even so he that speaks thee otherwise.  
I name thee now, because my mood is apt  
To curse thee, bride of every lost estate,  
Through whom are desolate  
On earth all honourable things and wise.  
Within thy power each blest condition dies;  
By thee men's minds with sore distrust  
are made.  
Fantastic and afraid.  
Thou hated worse than Death, by just accord,  
And with the loathing of all hearts abhorred.

—Rossetti's "Dante and His Circle."