

The SINGLE TAX

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF TAXING LAND VALUES.

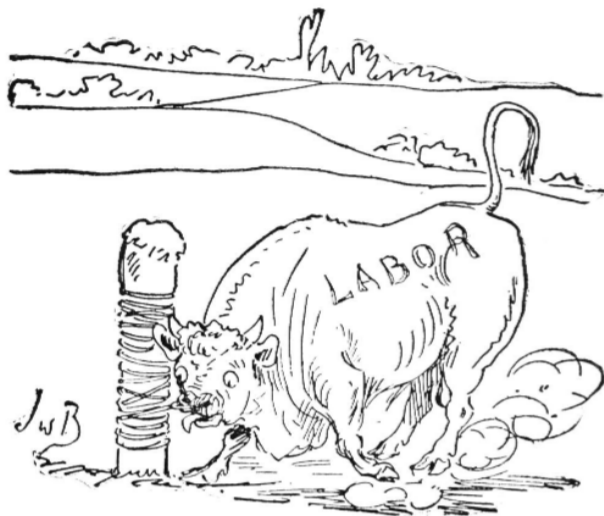
VOL. IV.—No. 38.

GLASGOW, JULY, 1897.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

A CLOSE PRISONER.

NEAR the window by which I write a great bull is tethered by a ring in his nose. Grazing round and round he has wound his rope about the stake until now he stands a close prisoner, tantalised by rich grass he cannot reach, unable even to toss his head to rid him of the flies that cluster on his shoulders. Now and again he struggles vainly, and then, after pitiful bellowings, relapses into silent misery. This bull—a very type of massive strength, who, because he has not wit enough to see how he might be free, suffers want in sight of plenty, and is



helplessly preyed upon by weaker creatures—seems to me no unfit emblem of the working classes. In all lands, men whose toil creates abounding wealth, are pinched with poverty. . . . Bitterly conscious of injustice, feeling in their inmost souls that they were made for more than so narrow a life, they, too, spasmodically struggle and cry out. But until they trace effect to cause, until they see how they are fettered and how they may be freed, their struggles and outcries are as vain as those of the bull.—Henry George.

Notes and Comments.

Conservatives for the "New Tax."

A Mr. C. H. Ball, chairman of a meeting of the Halton Conservative Association, in going over the programme of the Metropolitan Radical Federation, insisted that Conservatives as well as Radicals were in favour of the "Abolition of the Breakfast Table Duties." He also affirmed that "the Taxation of Land Values was not a party proposal. He strongly supported it. He certainly thought those who received large incomes from land should contribute to the rates of the town in which these grounds were situated. They saw in Hastings a good deal of this unpleasant state of things, of people receiving money without contributing to the cost of improving the town, which increased the value of their lands."

The Town Council of Hastings have also had a letter asking them to pass a resolution in favour of an Act of Parliament to impose the "new tax." The Council approved of the letter.

Mr. Laurier on Free Trade.

In the course of an interesting interview by the *London Chronicle*, Mr. Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada, thus expressed himself on our Free Trade policy:—

Free Trade has done much to make you what you are—the envy of the world and the pride of every British subject. Throw down that citadel and your position is lost. This talk of a Zollverein and the rest of it is well meant—it is patriotic no doubt, but it is Protection all the same, and Protection is the worst of all mistakes. We of the colonies, whatever our race or creed, love you as a child loves the parents who gave it birth and nurture and a wise liberty. Proud of you and anxious to share your greatness, we would not see you throw away one of the secrets of it all. Your example has kept your colonies from the worst excesses of Protection; it will yet lead them on to an Imperial unity, based upon the commercial freedom you yourselves enjoy.

We are not yet in the "citadel" of Free Trade, nor is our trade "based upon commercial freedom." We are on the way to Free Trade, but so long as land monopoly exists, our trade is based on that monopoly. Every extension of trade raises the value of land, and produces speculation in land where land is most needed.

A Brand of Toryism.

This from the *St. James's Gazette*:—

If the exhilarating sun of yesterday was followed by a few clouds in the early hours to-day, we know why. It was being announced that Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone had, on mature reflection, decided not to attend the Jubilee procession. The happiness of the nation was of course eclipsed, and Nature sympathised on this portentous occasion. But we, and Nature likewise, have soon rallied. A moment's reflection showed us that Mr. Gladstone, possessed as he is with a due sense of his own virtue, could hardly be expected to sanctify his presence the celebration of everything he has so long striven to destroy. For what will the procession typify? Unity, and the general joy of the whole nation in the common good—which cannot but be offensive to the would-be promoter of an explosion of hatred between mass and class."

Commenting on this, the *London Chronicle* says:—

We will charitably assume that the author of this paragraph is a gentleman and a man of good feeling, and that he really does not know who Mr. Gladstone is and what he has done for the British Empire. We can think of nothing more kindly to say of him.

£2,500 for an Extra Drink from Loch Katrine.

Glasgow took an extra supply of water last year from Loch Katrine and the Corporation had to pay £2,500 to the "Earl of Moray and others" for the privilege. The deluge of rain we have recently experienced has raised Loch Katrine four inches, but we haven't heard that the "Earl of Moray and others," or the Glasgow Corporation have been presented with any special rate from heaven for this extra supply. The water is the Lords which He generously bestows upon man, but that part of it that falls into Loch Katrine is, we are told, by act of Parliament the property of the landlord.

It is a very pretty arrangement for the owners of the land and the loch. But nature has no associations with such barefaced robbery, and she will be just as indifferent when the Taxation of Land Values is established by Parliament. The rain will come from the heavens just as regularly and generously, but these landed blackmailers who live on the privilege that nature freely gives to all will find their occupation gone. Their spokesmen may well show signs of uneasiness for the people are beginning to realise that the machinery of Parliament can right a wrong as well as create one, and that they have the making of Parliaments.

Where are the Land Value M.P.s?

Mr. John Dillon moved in the House of Commons on the 29th June to reduce the duty on tobacco to 1s. and 1s. 4d. per pound. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, opposing the reduction, said:—"This proposal, if adopted, would reduce the revenue from tobacco from eleven to four millions, and that he was not prepared to find the seven millions by adding 3d. to the income tax."

Where are all the Land Value Taxation members on such occasions? They know, at least they profess to know, that seven millions could be got readily enough by a small tax on Land Values. Surely they are not afraid to tell the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the House of Commons that it is about time the income tax was getting a rest and that Land Values should come in for a turn at meeting a deficit. We don't quite see why our friends in Parliament should devote all their Land Value Taxation aspirations to the platforms. There is room in St. Stephens for education on the question and suitable opportunities like this should not be overlooked.

How to get Rich without Working.

BOOM THE TOWN.

For every new industry that comes to town will help the landlord, who will kindly charge the merchant, the blacksmith, the butcher, the baker, and the daily toiler more rent; and for every additional thousand increase in population he will double the price of building lots, and thus, the larger we grow, the more we toil, the more we contribute to the wealth of the nation, the more he will kindly exact from us in rent and the more he will live in luxury and idleness.

WRITE ABOUT THE TOWN.

For the more one writes about it the more attention one will attract to the beauties of our place, and the more population will be drawn to it, and the more value will thus be added to the land in use and not in use, and thus again will rents advance, and thus again will the landlord, thankful for our efforts, again raise the rent.

SPEAK WELL OF THE TOWN.

For it helps the landlord. It will discourage the grumblers and will tend to justify high rents.

OFFICE—56 GEORGE SQUARE, GLASGOW.

IMPROVE THE TOWN.

For every time you build a house, a church, a business block, a bridge, a sewer, a sidewalk, or a road, you add to the value of the vacant lot; and surely the landowner will appreciate your industry; for will he not be the richer, and thus will he not be the abler to solve the problem, "How to become rich without working?"

EDWARD HOMER BAILEY.

The "Beggars and Outcasts."

ONE SQUARE MEAL FOR 305,000.

The poor of London participated in the recent Jubilee rejoicings through the kindness of the Princess of Wales in the first instance, but really through the aid of Mr. T. J. Lipton. The Princess suggested the feast in a letter to the Lord Mayor of London in the following terms:—

There seems to be one class that has been overlooked, viz.—the poorest of the poor in the slums of London. Might I plead for these that they might also have some share in the festivities of that blessed day, and so remember to the end of their lives the great and good Queen whose glorious reign has, by the blessing of God, been prolonged for 60 years? Let us therefore provide these poor beggars and outcasts with a dinner or substantial meal during the week of the 22nd of June.

Mr. Lipton generously subscribed £25,000, and the poor "beggars and outcasts" got their "substantial dinner." The Lord Mayor of London, in an interview after the feast, said he did not believe a single person got in who ought properly to be excluded. They appeared to him to be the real hard working people, who always found it difficult, and often impossible, to get a good meal.

This is the other side of the progress we have made during this record reign. There are 305,000 British subjects in the metropolis whom the Princess of Wales can describe in no sweeter terms than "beggars and outcasts;" and we have the Lord Mayor's assurance that there was not a single imposter present. What can be said for this part of our social fabric, except what Tolstoi says—"The drones will do everything for the people except get off their backs." When the Single Tax gets a show there will be a square dinner every day for "the real hard working people." The "beggars and outcasts" then, if there be any, will be those who neither toil nor spin.

Selkirk Land at the rate of £29,040 an Acre.

"Souter" writes:—

In the columns of the Selkirk local paper quite recently Mr. Harry S. Murray contributed a number of papers upon the "Single Tax." Some of those who took the trouble to reply were deeply ignorant of the question. They have not had long to wait for more practical enlightenment, as from the *Southern Reporter* of June 17th the following paragraph is interesting:—

"A DEAD PIECE OF GROUND.

"From a recommendation of the Works Committee of the Police Commission read on Monday night, it appeared that an attempt had been made to improve Scott's Place by getting the wall and railing in front of the house occupied by Mr. McNeill removed. The terms of the proprietrix, Mrs. Nisbet, for their removal were a payment of £150 and an annual payment, to Mr. McNeill, of £5 for three years. Bailie Smith said he had carefully measured the ground, and calculated its price, and the sum asked for its removal amounted to the rate of £29,040 per acre. The Committee's recommendation, that the terms be not accepted, was unanimously adopted."

Would you allow me to suggest to the doubting "Souters" that Mrs. Nisbet having placed a value of £165 on a piece of land one yard wide and ten yards long, the Selkirk Police Commissioners should have the power to say that, having her own estimate of the "Land Value," they should at once proceed to assess Mrs. Nisbet for all local rates and purposes of the Burgh on the annual valuation of £8 5s.—being 5 per cent. on £165—and the effect of this would be that Mrs. Nisbet, of her own accord, would very speedily reduce the price from £29,040 an acre and allow the improvement which is absolutely necessary to be carried out for the good of the whole community. Please note that it is the whole community that has created this value of those ten square yards, and nothing that Mrs. Nisbet has done.

"Souter" has struck the nail on the head. We have noted that it is "the community that has created this value" and we hope he will stir up the natives to the full sense of the injustice of permitting this value to go into private pockets, and arouse them to action on the Taxation of Land Values. "Souter" could not commence better than by enlisting new subscribers from Selkirk to the *Single Tax*.

Facts for Speakers on the Land Question.

In connection with the recent gift by the Duke of Norfolk of twenty acres to the town of Sheffield for a public park, the *Star* points out that the ducal estates, which brought in £2,000 a year when Sheffield had a population of four thousand, are now worth more than that a week, and that the Sheffielders in 1880 paid the Duke a quarter of a million for his markets rights.

A piece of ground comprising 126 square yards, free from feu duty and ground annual, situated at the back of 213 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, was exposed for sale the other day at an upset price of £1,500. This is at the rate of £12 per square yard, or £48,960 per acre.

Sir William Hosier received the sum of £18,295 10s. from the Subway Coy. for 15,852 square yards of ground situated adjacent to Messrs. D. & W. Henderson & Co.'s Shipyard, Partick.

The London County Council agreed to purchase three hundred and thirty seven acres for an open space. It is named the Hackney Marsh, and the price is £75,000. It was rated at £300 a year, its agricultural value, but now it is sold for a sum which shows it is worth more than £3,000 a year.

The site for Cranston's new Tea Rooms in Buchanan Street, Glasgow, cost some £18,000, or close upon £80 per square yard.

In June last year a freehold ground rent of £1,100 per annum, secured upon No. 10 Cornhill, London, realised £42,500, or over thirty-eight years' purchase. As the plot of land only occupied 755 square feet, this gave a value of £2,452,023 per acre.

Not long ago the Liverpool Stock Exchange Committee, wishing to extend, had to pay for a strip of land adjoining their present building £227 per square yard, or at the rate of over a million sterling per acre.

Even in Ireland land occupation shows increasing values. The tenant-right of a farm at Castle Caulfield, County Tyrone, has in five years nearly doubled. The area of the farm is seventeen acres, let at a yearly rent of £12, and £300 was recently paid for the tenant-right, which five years ago only realised the sum of £170.

£165 has been asked for a piece of ground in Selkirk, one yard wide and ten yards long, wanted for a public improvement. This is at the rate of £29,040 per acre.

The Glasgow Town Council and the Taxation of Land Values.

At the Glasgow Town Council meeting held on the 3rd June, Mr. Ferguson proposed the following motion:—

That, as the existing law enables the ground owner of licensed houses to extort a rent above the value of the premises minus the license, and as this, in the City of Glasgow, as stated by an expert, amounts to over £100,000 per annum, this Town Council shall seek power from Parliament to appropriate to the use of the citizens the whole of this excess of ground value created by the license, at present going into the pocket of the landlord, who as such, in the opinion of the Council, has no legal, moral, or capitalistic right in or to the license.

Mr. George Mitchell seconded. Treasurer Colquhoun proposed that the motion should be remitted to the Committee for the Taxation of Land Values of which Mr. Ferguson was convener.

Mr. Ferguson replied that there was no such Committee of which he was convener. He had declined to accept a position where he was in danger of being snubbed. He wanted to go into the whole question of Taxing Land Values, but if they were asked to proceed step by step he asked them to take the step his motion proposed.

Bailie Chisholm moved the previous question. He agreed so thoroughly with the desire of Councillor Ferguson to see Land Values as a whole made the basis of taxation and the value which had been contributed by the community obtained by the community, that he could not support the amendment which was designed simply to throw difficulties in the way of the attainment of the object in view. At the same time it was utterly impossible for him to agree to the motion

which Mr. Ferguson had proposed. If Mr. Ferguson pointed out a way by which all the added values due to the action of the community could be got at, he was prepared to support Mr. Ferguson. But he was not prepared to agree that a section or trade should be alone amenable. The law should be applied all round.

Mr. Graham seconded, and after some discussion the previous question was carried by 44 votes to 14.

We stand for the Taxation of Land Values, and we are quite prepared to take the smallest instalment, but it must be an instalment that will apply to the values of all land. To begin by taxing the site values of public houses, is, as Bailie Chisholm points out, to select a section of the community for special treatment. It is a proposal to take land values piecemeal. But it has a serious economic weakness.

It proposes to tax land in use only, which not only does nothing to bring down the land speculator, but operates to his advantage by tending to make land more costly to use. A small tax on land values all round, which would include the value of vacant land, would tend to destroy land speculation. It would do this by throwing the owners of vacant sites into competition to have their land yielding a necessary return to pay the new tax. Mr. Ferguson's latest proposal thus makes for land monopoly, while the genuine tax makes for the destruction of land monopoly.

To tax the site value of public houses is to strive after a mere shadow that does not touch the fringe of the social wrongs born of land monopoly. The true method of imposing the tax on the values of land was indicated by Bailie Chisholm. It is so, because falling on the value of *all* land it has the economic effect, or tendency to bring vacant or partially used building sites into use.

The Town Council of Glasgow seem to be journeying through the wilderness on this question. But there is only one way out of the difficulty, and they will stay lost till they come that way.

The "Faithful Commons" Snubbed.

One of the most taking events at the aristocratic show in London, last month, called "the Diamond Jubilee," was the procession of the Members of Parliament to do homage at Buckingham Palace. It is quite a pathetic incident.

"They came through a broiling sun and were admitted, say the London correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald*, "to a long corridor, where there was not even a seat for the Speaker. Mr. Chamberlain had to drag a bench out from a corner to provide the hon. gentleman with a resting place. There was much overcrowding and squeezing, and when at last some official came and imperiously called, "Speaker, Speaker," the crowd of members tried to find their way up a flight of stairs to the hall of audience. The reception itself was so "rushed" that some members—and these not among the oldest or least active—found before they had got to the top of the stairs that the Speaker and the earlier part of the procession were already returning."

This treatment of the "Commons" by the Buckingham Palace officials is the natural outcome of things. When the press and the public foolishly identify the Monarchy with the progress of the Empire during the past sixty years, the flunkies of the Court feel warranted in despising a mere gang of M.P.'s. These gentlemen may be something in the country and at St. Stephen's, but when they presume to measure their importance with the parasites around the throne—why, then they must just hustle, and lay to heart that beatitude that saith, "Blessed are they that expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed."

No reform, no beneficial change can last, no real good can be effected, so long as a hereditary land caste is suffered to exist as such. You may do as you please, get the Charter, establish co-operation—what you will; but leave the aristocracy their land, their monopoly, and their privileges, and you have done nothing. You may inveigh against the tyranny of the factory-lord; so long as you allow the landlord to be the monopolist he now is, so long you will have factory-lords oppressing you. The factory gloom is but the shadow of the black demon, aristocracy, that broods above the State.—*Ernest Jones*.

Ask all Candidates for Municipal and Parliamentary Honours this Question—

Dreams are not Idle; Dreams have Saved the World.

By WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

The following is from an article in a recent edition of the *Philadelphia Bulletin*:—

"How can you buy the right to exclude at will every other creature made in God's image from sitting by this brook, treading on that carpet of flowers, or lying listening to the birds in the shade of these glorious trees—how can I sell it to you? is a mystery not understood by the Indian, and dark, I must say, to me."

Thus wrote N. P. Willis more than fifty years ago, to the unknown purchaser of his beautiful estate of Glenmary, then offered for sale. Appreciating what bounties of nature land includes, he adds:—

"Lord of the Soil is a title which conveys your privileges but poorly. You are master of waters flowing at this moment, perhaps, in a river of Judea, or floating in clouds over some spicy island of the tropics, bound hither after many changes. There are lilies and violets ordered for you in millions, acres of sunshine in daily instalments, and dew nightly in proportion. There are throats to be tuned with song, and wings to be painted with red and gold, blue and yellow; thousands of them, and all tributaries to you. Your corn is ordered to be sheathed in silk, and lifted high in the sun. Your grain is to be duly bearded and stemmed. There is perfume to be distilled for your cloves, and juices for your grasses and fruits. Ice will be here for your wine, shade for your refreshment at noon, breezes and showers and snowflakes; all in their season, and all 'deeded to you for forty dollars the acre.' Gods! what a copyhold of property for a fallen world."

He reflects that he sells not only the present blessings to fall upon that bright spot of earth, but all that shall fall thereafter, confessing, "I know not whether to wonder more at the omnipotence of money, or at my own impudent audacity toward Nature."

This doubt of Willis regarding the right of private ownership of land was not a new one. Through the ages its echoes come down to us.

"The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine," says the Jewish Jehovah, and the books of the Brahmins affirm:—"To whomever the soil at any time belongs, to him belongs the fruit of it. White parasols and elephants mad with pride are the flowers of a grant of land."

Thomas Jefferson takes up the protest:—"The earth belongs in usufruct to the living; the dead have no right or power over it," and the Indian Black Hawk joins in:—"The Great Spirit has told me that land is not to be made property like other property. The earth is our mother."

What, sell land? Why not sell the air, the sea, and the sky?" said Red Jacket.

The great Pope Gregory affirms that "the earth is the common property of all men."

"There is no foundation in nature or in natural law why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land," wrote Sir William Blackstone. And the chorus swells as we near our own day.

"I feel called upon in behalf of rational nature, which I represent," says Emerson, "to declare to you my opinion, that, if the earth is yours, so also is it mine. . . . It is God's world and mine; yours as much as you want, mine as much as I want."

Carlyle is equally clear on the subject:—"Properly speaking, the land belongs to these two—to Almighty God and to all the children of men that have ever worked well on it, or that shall ever work well on it."

"No man made the land," says John Stuart Mill. "It is the original inheritance of the whole species."

"Abolish slavery to-morrow and the land monopoly would pave the way for its re-establishment," was the striking prophecy of Gerritt Smith, himself a great land owner.

"Equity does not permit property in land," said Herbert Spencer.

"He who has no clear, inherent right to live somewhere has no right to live at all," was the conviction of Horace Greeley.

"Landlordism is the cause of poverty," says Dr. Colthurst, and the Right Rev. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, insists that "the land of every country is the common property of the people of that country."

John Bright and Richard Cobden, although they paused at the abolition of the Corn laws, were yet near enough to the land question to feel the explosive possibilities wrapped within it. "The landowners have unlimited sway in Parliament and in the provinces," said Bright in 1845. "In the great contests in which we have been engaged we have found that this ruling class have taken all the honours, while the people have taken all the scars."

Cobden earnestly warned landowners "against forcing upon the attention of the middle and industrial classes the subject of taxation. For, great as I believe the grievance of the protective system, mighty as I consider the fraud and injustice of the Corn laws, I verily believe . . . you will find as black a record against the landowners as even the Corn law itself. I warn them against ripping up the subject of taxation."

And he adds: "If they want another league at the death of this one—if they want another organisation and a motive—then let them force the middle and industrial classes to understand how they have been cheated, robbed, and bamboozled."

All these premonitory symptoms preceded the advent of the Single Tax agitation. It was impossible for this seed of the centuries not to germinate in the fullness of time.

"The gems of mighty thought
Must have their silent undergrowth,
Must underground be wrought."

The land question has reached the burning stage. Declarations against land monopoly that excited no notice in the centuries gone by are now incendiary. Words which were innocuous in the mouths of the great men whom I have quoted are freighted with danger when used by Henry George. Why? For the same reason that made Lundy's scheme of gradual emancipation harmless, and Garrison's demand for immediate and unconditional emancipation as vital as an earthquake. Because the hour is ripe and the champion has appeared who sounds the bugle blast for the unconditional surrender of the fortress. Therefore, the siege is on.

The simple statement of the Single Tax is this: If all have an equal right to the use of the earth, it is wrong for a few to claim its ownership and demand a price of others for its use. Monopoly for exclusive use is therefore a privilege, and as such should justly be paid for. But to whom? Logically to whom it belongs. As it belongs to all, the payment must be made to all. Is that possible? Nothing easier.

Where there are no people there are no land values, and no government. When people arrive and increase, land values spring up and grow. Land heretofore worth nothing acquires a rental value, a preferential price, which users would rather pay than occupy other land without price. Land or rental values are therefore made by the community collectively, not by the individual. They then belong to the community.

With society, government becomes necessary. A revenue is essential to support it. Where should government look for its revenue? Naturally, to the fund which belongs equally to all the people, the rental value of the land. It is now taken by landlords who have no defensible right to appropriate it. When the government takes it it is simply the people taking it themselves for their own use, for it is spent as they direct for the benefit of all.

What a blessed exchange for the present plan of supporting the government, which wrings from individuals their earnings for public use, and allows individuals to take the property of this community for private use. The annual rental value of land is sufficient to support government without taxation. Nature plants the nettle and the plantain side by side; where one stings the other heals. Governments cannot live where there are no land values. To take the latter to pay the expenses of the former is as natural as the arrangement of the plants.

Out of this conformation to nature and justice shall come not only good government, but happy social conditions and a distribution of earning according to deserts, such as no artificial devices can effect. The golden age may be a dream, but Single Taxers hold to its possibility when justice lessens the necessity for greed. "Dreams are not idle; dreams have saved the world."

An Answer to the Duke of Bedford.

The *Glasgow Herald* reviewed last month the book recently issued by the Duke of Bedford to shew that "landowning was a losing concern," and as a reply to those who "dream of a regenerated society by means of the Single Tax." The *G.H.* gives us evidence occasionally that it has heard of the Single Tax. But it has evidently yet to learn that the Single Taxer does not propose to levy taxation on land, but on the value of land, and where there is land without a value there will be no tax.

Meantime we take the liberty of publishing the following from a criticism of the Duke's "revelation" by Mr. Joseph Hyder, in *Land and Labour*:—

"The Duke informs the world that during the past 80 years his family have received £5,897,981 for his Thorney and Woburn estates, and have spent £4,230,539 out of it in taxation, repairs and maintenance, management and charitable allowances. This leaves an average net income of about £21,000 a year, which is amply sufficient to furnish its possessor with all the necessaries and most of the luxuries of life. Certainly, the difference between the net income and the gross income is exceptionally large. There must be very few cases in which so large a part of the rent is spent on estate improvements and management. And I question whether even the Dukes of Bedford would spend so much upon their agricultural estates, if they were not possessed of valuable London properties. Therefore, I regard the Duke's figures as misleading. He gives us but a part of the truth. In reality it is the rich ground rents and leasehold reversions of London which have enabled him to be so lavish with improvements on his country estates.

"Let him publish the figures of *all* his landed possessions, and not a part of them only. If this were to be done a very different state of affairs would be revealed. But I strongly suspect that he will not let the world into the secrets of his income and expenditure on his Covent Garden estate. It would be too damaging. But apart from this—and even taking his partial and misleading presentment of the case—he has clearly proved that landlordism is an excellent system—for the landlords. But why does he start with the year 1816?"

How Land came to the Bedford Family.

The estates he names have been dominated by the Russells for the past 350 years. Like most of the great estates, they were spoils of the Church. In 1540, John Russell, the founder of the family, secured a grant of the lands of Tavistock Abbey, including 26 Manors in Devonshire and Cornwall, and the town and hundred of Tavistock.

"In the same year he obtained the manor of Aston Abbots and other lands in Bucks, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire. In the first year of the reign of Edward VI., a boy of 10 who died at 16, John Russell secured the lands of Woburn Abbey. Two years after, he got Melchburn Priory, Bedfordshire, and Thorney Abbey in Northamptonshire; and two years after that, the Covent Garden and other lands of the Monks of Westminster fell into his possession. Not any of these lands (86,000 acres) were obtained by purchase, but by the corrupt and grasping use of his power as a member of the Privy Council and a Court favourite. Well might Edmund Burke say, 'The grants to the House of Bedford were so enormous, as not only to outrage economy, but to stagger credibility.'

"Let the Duke of Bedford give us the whole truth, if he can and if he dare, of the income and expenditure upon all these properties for the past 350 years. The nation will then see how much the House of Bedford stands its debtor."

"Are you in favour of Taxing Land Values?"

The Single Tax.

Published at the beginning of each Month.
PRICE ONE PENNY. Post Free, 1/6 per annum,
payable in advance.
All Communications to be addressed to the EDITOR,
Single Tax, 4 GEORGE SQUARE, GLASGOW.

With Correspondents who send us Newspapers please
pencil-mark the matter they wish us to notice.

A Political Programme.

The question of formulating a programme is being discussed just now in Liberal circles both in England and Scotland. There is a section of the party who argue that no programme is necessary, but that what we have to do is to return the Liberal party to Parliament with a large majority, when the desired reforms will be forthcoming. This is a sweet seeming way of sailing round an awkward corner; but it is unsafe and unreliable. The rank and file of the party are not likely to grow enthusiastic over a promise to pay, and they will very likely ask for the leader or leaders who are to receive this blank cheque. The militant part of the organisation will demand to know what reforms they may expect, and in what order. If the constituencies are to be won for the reform party, they will want to know something of the reforms to be carried.

There is every reason, therefore, for some definite pronouncement as to the future policy of the Liberal party. It is the duty of the Liberal Associations to come to some agreement on the matter, and it is their right to expect that the leaders of the party will lend their assistance in the discussion. We have pleasure in commending to those Liberals who see the necessity for a definite statement of policy the programme of the Metropolitan Radical Federation which has just been decided upon. It is as follows:—

- I. For the first Liberal Budget—
 - PAYMENT OF MEMBERS AND ELECTION EXPENSES.
 - ABOLITION OF THE BREAKFAST TABLE DUTIES.
 - OLD AGE PENSIONS.
 - TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.
- II. As soon after as may be—
 - HOME RULE ALL ROUND.
 - UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.
 - REGISTRATION REFORM.
 - SECOND BALLOT.

The Metropolitan Radical Federation, as will be noticed in another column, do not admit that the Lords can interfere with the first four reforms, as they are of a financial character.

Every progressive Liberal (there is no use wasting time with those so-called Liberals who are not progressive) will admit that this is a clear-cut programme of reforms that are within the scope of immediate realisation, and that there is nothing cumbersome about it. We constantly hear that the *Payment of Members* is essential if the people are to have true representation in Parliament. Even those who stand for sweeping changes in the reform of the liquor traffic, and in the matter of religious equality, must admit that these changes will come more readily with a representative Parliament such as the payment of Members will secure; and the *Second Ballot*, which the English organised Liberals are at present considering, guarantees that the constituencies would be saved from minority representation.

The *Abolition of the Breakfast Table Duties* is a reform that has Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT'S hearty approval. He has pledged himself to abolish these obnoxious duties; and quite

recently in the House of Commons, he stated he "would welcome any proposal in the direction of remitting indirect taxation."

Registration Reform is another simple proposal to remove a grievance that is a standing disgrace. It is matter of common knowledge that hundreds of votes are lost, at every election, to the reform party, through the present system of non-qualification, that alternately excites our indignation and amusement. It is an arrangement that seems to have been invented to prevent as many as possible of the working classes from voting, and to make it as difficult and costly as possible for the political agents to discover in the interests of their party those who have no right to vote.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE may not be so near, but it is certainly a question that must be faced. It is the only rational way to true political enfranchisement. Home Rule all round is the sensible plan of autonomy; and Old Age Pensions, which even the Tories approve, brings us to the question of financial reform. Where is the money to come from to meet the cost of payment of members and election expenses, the deficit consequent on the abolition of the breakfast table duties, and to provide for a scheme of old age pensions? Any extension of the present system of indirect taxation is out of the question. All indirect taxation presses heavily on the poor, and to propose to relieve the poor by making provision for them at their own expense, is as illogical as it is absurd.

In the fourth plank of the Metropolitan Radical Federation alone is to be found the true method of meeting these new charges, and one that is gaining in the public mind, and that is by the Taxation of Land Values. The people are beginning to recognise, apart altogether from these other proposals, that in the values of land we have a fund that is there because of their efforts. Their industry and commerce, and their public activity find a reflex in this untapped source of revenue. Why, then, they are beginning to ask, should this particular revenue escape taxation? Why should their property, and their incomes, and their food be assessed, while this land value, which is constantly increasing through their collective efforts, is handed over, free of rate or tax, to a special class who do nothing, as such, to create it.

If a programme is to be put before the electors by the Liberal party, they will be ill advised if they do not give prominence to the Taxation of Land Values. There is every reason why they should bring this question to the front. It will bring a new revenue to the exchequer that will enable Parliament to successfully carry out those other reforms that involve new expenditure of public money; and it will bring a great measure of prosperity by opening up the land for use at real and not speculation prices.

In making such a pronouncement the Liberals have an opportunity to come into line with the Radical thought of the country. The Scottish Liberals have already taken this step, but the leaders of the party are "marking time" on the question. If they expect to win and maintain the confidence of their supporters by this conduct, then they are deluding themselves. For this "new tax" has secured a place in public sentiment of Scotland, outside of party organisation. As a writer on the subject in the *London Echo* says—"It is being realised more and more that the land question is at the root of social evils, and that the Taxation of Land Values is the cure."

Here and There.

Mr. John M. Robertson says, in the *Progressive Review*—"It is not fallacy or misapprehension that stands between us and Republicanism; it is the mass of degraded instincts which the mere habit of Monarchism breeds." And he asks—"How can we rationally look for anything but the most limited constructive activity from Liberal statesmen who on every possible occasion grovel with the rest of their class before the fetish?"

The propaganda banquets of the Boston Single Taxers have been highly successful. The Labour Unions of the city have passed resolutions in favour of taxing land values. They took this action after hearing a speech by Dr. M'Glynn.

The Washington (U.S.A.) Legislature has just passed a bill granting local option in taxation. Communities throughout the State will now be free to apply the "New Tax" and not be disturbed by the courts.

We commend our readers to "Our American Letter" in this issue, by James Malcolm of the *National Single Taxer*. "American Single Taxers," Mr. Malcolm says, "are watching the progress of events in Glasgow with increasing interest."

Mr. Joseph Hyder has ably exposed the Duke of Bedford's misleading figures as to landlordism being a losing concern. The duke gives a part of the truth—Mr. Hyder extends the enquiry from Thorney and Woburn estates to the duke's rich ground rents and leasehold reversions of London.

That versatile and "amoosin" exponent of London politics, the London correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald*, says it is asserted in well informed Radical circles that the new Radical trump card for the Premiership is Mr. Asquith; and that Lord Rosebery would be quite willing to serve as a Foreign Minister in an Asquith Cabinet.

It is also affirmed that Lord Rosebery has been placed on the "possible list" of candidates in the Progressive interest at the London County Council Elections next March.

A Sheffield correspondent writes:—

The Merthyr Tydvil Town Council have forwarded a request to the Sheffield City Council that it will pass a resolution in favour of taxing ground rents. The matter has been referred to the Parliamentary Committee for consideration. As this Committee consists of lawyers, professional men, and owners of land it is very much like sending the fate of the lamb to a jury of wolves for decision, and will probably meet with the same fate. The report will, however, furnish an opportunity to the faithful few to lay pertinent facts before the public and thus help on the cause.

Mr. Mervyn James Stewart, Vice-President of the National Single Tax League of New Zealand, writes that the *Single Tax* is improving every month. Mr. Stewart also says that the next step in land taxation in New Zealand will likely be to provide funds for old age pensions.

A Mrs. Hiller, of New York, has deposited her husband (so says the daily paper) in a coffin mounted in gold, and lined with silk at £8 per yard, and has prepared for herself a most ravishing shroud, at an outlay of £4,000.

It is estimated there are over four million unemployed at present throughout the United States.

The Glasgow Town Council have decided, by 31 to 22 votes, that the Magistrates and Council be called, in accordance with the Public Libraries' (Scotland) Act, 1894, to consider the question of adopting the Free Libraries' Act, 1887. In speaking to this, Bailie Gray said—

He objected to its being raised till a radical reform was made in the incidence of taxation, whereby the taxes would be placed on land values.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, told the House of Commons, the other night, that "All indirect taxation pressed heavily on the poor;" and Sir William Harcourt replied he "would welcome any proposal in the direction of reducing such taxes."

SERVE THE CAUSE BY HANDING THE PAPER TO A FRIEND.

The chief feature of the *London Echo* correspondence column during the past month has been a lively discussion on the taxation of land values plank of the Metropolitan Radical Federation programme. No opposition as yet. The Radical clubs of London seem to have realised to the full the true significance of this reform.

Mr. Michael Flürscheim says in his preface to "The Real History of Money Island" (the *Manchester Labour Press*, One Penny).

The distinctive feature of a "crank" is that he never modifies his views. I own to having once belonged to that honorary fraternity. I don't use the adjective "honorary" in any sarcastic sense, for I quite agree with Prince Bismark in preferring a man with one idea to the majority who have none at all. But this little book shows that I have left the cranks, for it gives the proof of my seriously transgressing the fundamental law of that fraternity—the law of believing in their own infallibility.

Mr. Flürscheim claims to have found in money, or our present monopoly currency, the father of interest, and the story of the Island explains how the old order passed away through attacking this and the land monopoly.

The Receipt of a copy of this paper from the office is an invitation to subscribe.

If the space below contains a Blue Pencil mark, please take it as an indication that your Subscription is due. In remitting, will you try to send us the name of a new Subscriber?



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. 2s. 6d. secures membership of the Union and a copy of the "Single Tax," post free, for a twelvemonth. 5s. secures membership, the "Single Tax" for twelve months, and an assortment of Single Tax Pamphlets and Leaflets, including those published during the year.

Money without Interest.

In a very interesting letter to the Glasgow daily papers, Councillor Ferguson pleads for Corporation improvements to be carried by issuing Corporation notes, and not by the present system of borrowing money; the security being the rateable property of the Corporation. Mr. Ferguson states the case plainly, and asks—

Why should Glasgow go on for ever paying principal and interest over and over again? When the city took over the gas companies in 1865, it paid £415,000, most of which was to carry a perpetual interest of nine per cent. Since then capital and labour have paid in interest £870,000, and the original capital sum of £415,000 remains! The city in 1855 took over the water companies' monopolies at a cost of £525,000. Since then the interest paid amounts to £1,100,000, and the original debt remains. Of course it is intended the people shall go on paying the perpetual interest—about £68,000 per year on the gas debt, and £30,000 on the water debt—till eternity's bell shall ring.

It does seem an injustice, in the light of the figures Mr. Ferguson gives, that the citizens should be compelled to continue to pay this £98,000. But it by no means follows that the ratepayers would have had £98,000 per annum less to pay if the Corporation had issued notes instead of borrowing the original sums. It only means that while they paid so much less in interest they would pay so much more in rent. The Corporation may issue its own notes, but the people will not obtain the intended relief—rent will advance. It will be easy for some to see the economy of the new arrangement, just as the reduction in the fares of the popular Corporation tramways was appreciated. But the other tendency, the tendency of rent to advance and take away any advantage, while not so readily seen, is at work all the time, and is only accelerated by every public economy.

The public debt of Glasgow we are told is £7,500,000, and that the interest upon this is £300,000, which means that nearly a half of the entire rates of the city go to pay interest.

Because of this we are asked to institute a method by which this enormous sum could be saved as interest. But why save it as interest to pay it out in rent? The enemy of the people is not the capitalist. Mr. Ferguson himself never fails to drive this home even in Socialist circles, where the "bloated capitalist" is as a red rag to a bull. That some capitalists thrive well out of the present one-sided social arrangement is true; but that is because they are monopolists, and to strike at their gains, or to prevent them even securing half the rates as interest, is a mere waste of time so long as land monopoly remains in undisturbed possession of the citadel.

To agitate for this so-called reform is to strive after nothing but a bettering of the power of the landowners to fleece the ratepayers, and to further encourage them to keep land idle in expectation of other economies in the same direction. It is like attempting to purify a river that is being constantly polluted at its source.

We shall be told no doubt this is a step that will bring us nearer the end of the reign of monopoly, and that Single Taxers are uncompromising and impracticable politicians. But we reply that there is only one way out of the wood. There is only one way to bring any betterment even to ratepayers, and that way is by the Taxation of Land Values. It is not because Single Taxers say so that this is true. It is in the nature of things that the rent of land will advance on every improvement, and those who stand for these small questions have no quarrel with us. They are in antagonism to the truth as manifested in economic law. Their intentions are good, but nature cares nothing for their intentions—it is their actions she will judge. The economic history of Glasgow is that the improvements that have brought her world-wide name and fame as a municipality have resulted in higher land values and a speculation in partially used or vacant sites that is a scandal and a disgrace to any civilised community.

It figures large this £300,000 paid as interest. It is a trifle short of the £2,000,000 of land values that hangs around the industry of the city. Stop the payment of the sum for interest and it will but merge into the sum paid for the use of land; and, as the *Keighley Labour Journal* would say, "Land monopoly will remain the same, only more so."

But if we tax land values every other economy, by the very fact that it will contribute to swell this untapped source of revenue, will benefit the ratepayers, and bring them a more desirable possession in the use of the land, free from the fancy price of the land speculator.

Two New Political Programmes.

By F. V.

The following articles by F. V. appeared last month in the *London Echo*.

I.—The National Agricultural Union.

Bloodshed—on a sufficiently large scale, and at a sufficiently safe distance—is so much more interesting to the "average sensual man" than domestic politics, that it is hardly surprising that the new Parliamentary programme of the National Agricultural Union has failed to attract the attention it undoubtedly deserves.

The N.A.U. is an interesting performance. It was "invented and produced" and is "run" by that exceedingly energetic nobleman, Lord Winchelsea, who has devoted great ability, untiring effort, and no small amount of money to its management. It claims to represent English agriculture, and boasts of having called into existence an "Agricultural Party" in Parliament. The Party is said—on the strength of pious opinions expressed on the eve of the poll by candidates, many of whom obviously did not know what they were pledging themselves to—to consist of 234 members. Mr. Arthur Balfour and Mr. Sam Woods, Mr. Henry Chaplin and Mr. William Allan, Mr. James Lowther and Mr. F. S. Stevenson are all members of this curious "Party," concerning which one of Lord Winchelsea's vice-chairmen assured us that it named a leader, and that he accepted office, but that "he had done no work and taken no action."

THE COUNCIL OF THE N.A.U.

has accordingly called upon its Party to unite and organise, and "to force the Government to pay more attention to agricultural matters." And with a view to placing beyond doubt the sort of attention which they demand, the Council has agreed upon a new Parliamentary programme for the (alleged) Agricultural Parliamentary Party. Some of the Members whose names figure in the Party list represent miners, labourers, town workmen, and suburban shopkeepers, and are usually credited with being Radicals. There should be some fun at the next General Election when these Members are heckled by their constituents about their adherence to Lord Winchelsea's programme.

It is significant of the temper of the N.A.U. that it was only by the closest shave that it escaped being formally and officially committed to Protection. The

FIRST CLAUSE IN THE DRAFT PROGRAMME submitted to the Central Council called for "the establishment of a Customs Union between Great Britain and the Colonies, and the levying of duties on competing imports from foreign countries which decline to admit British goods duty free." The policy of Protection, or, as some prefer to call it, Reciprocity—which might be more clearly explained as a proposal to cut off our own nose to spite somebody else's face—has always had strong advocates in the N.A.U. The Council is said to be representative of the "three classes interested in agriculture." Each branch chooses one landlord, one farmer (under the thumb of the landlord), and one labourer (under the thumbs of both) to represent it on the Council. (It is true that the agents of the Union sometimes report that the labourers are "suspicious," that the farmers "prefer billiards to business," and that "of the three classes, the owners were the most ready to help," and that even the bribe of an excellently got-up penny paper every week in return for a subscription of one shilling a year does not suffice to retain the loyalty of the labourers to those who sweat them).

A COUNCIL THUS CONSTITUTED

naturally speaks "with one voice," and that voice is the voice of the landlord. As a matter of fact, strong as is the prejudice, born of bitter memories of the dear loaf, among the English labourers against Protection, the "labourers representatives" on the Council of the N.A.U. only failed by one vote to give the proposal the necessary two-thirds majority. The landlords and the farmers on the Council showed no hesitation about the matter. It is due to the failure of one labourer to follow his leaders that Mr. Sam Woods and other Radical members of Lord Winchelsea's Party are not being paraded as supporters of Mr. Chaplin's policy of Protection. But notice has already been given of a new attempt, at the next Council meeting, to include Protection in the programme.

THE TAME LABOURERS ON THE COUNCIL

appear to have exhausted their powers of resistance over the first clause. There was only one dissident, and he apparently not a labourer, when the Council committed itself and its "Party" to Bimetallism.

Another item in the Programme may be commended to the special attention of the Radical Members of the Agricultural Party, some of whom certainly voted against the Landlord Relief Act of last Session. It runs thus:—

"To relieve agricultural land from the unfair share which it bears of the local burdens of the country, by placing upon the whole national income charges which like the *poor rate*, the *highway rate*, the *education rate*, and *Scots for the maintenance of sea defences*, correspond with national duties and requirements."

THE COOL IMPUDENCE OF THIS

proposed raid on the taxpayer almost takes one's breath away. The towns are already paying nearly two millions a year to relieve the country landlords of half their local rates. It is now proposed to make the nation at large keep up the highways by which the farms are made accessible, and, in certain cases, the walls by which they are protected from the encroachments of the sea, while the landlord still pockets the rent. The labourer is to be entirely educated at the expense of the national exchequer until he is old enough to be sweated by the farmer for the benefit of the landlord,

READ THE APPEAL TO LAND REFORMERS.

and, when he is too old to be sweated any longer, he is to be kept in the workhouse at the national expense. The electors of Walthamstow sent Mr. Woods to Parliament as a protest against the Agricultural Rating Act and the Education Bill. Lord Winchilsea's paper claims Mr. Woods as a member of the Party which proposes this amazing extension of the measures against which Walthamstow protested.

Space does not permit of

A DETAILED EXAMINATION

of the other items of this Programme. Working men are promised "old-age pensions, State aided or otherwise." The "otherwise" was an after-thought, the landlords' first idea is always that the "State" should pay, out of funds towards which he should be excused from contributing. "An improved parcel post" and fairer railway rates are almost the only respectable items in the round dozen; the proposed strengthening of the laws against adulteration being weighted with a suggestion of the marking of foreign beefsteaks. A Select Committee to inquire into the effect on prices of gambling in fictitious produce should at least produce an interesting Blue Book. "A Tithe Redemption Act" may result in handing over to the landlord, who, as such, does nothing, that part of the rent which now goes to the parson, who has at least a certain minimum of public duty to perform. "Reform of the Beer Duties" is too vague to discuss.

Finally, there are sops for

THE LANDLORDS' OBEDIENT SERVANTS,

the tenant farmers. Security to the tenant for his improvements is an urgently needed instalment of justice; we shall be equally surprised and gratified if the N.A.U. makes a really vigorous fight for it. It is far more likely that the enthusiasm of the Union will be expended on the last two items in the programme, embodying a scheme for creating a number of small landlords, as a bulwark between land nationalisation and the large proprietors, for whose benefit one more raid upon the Exchequer is proposed, in the form of Government loans, "on moderate terms as to interest and repayment."

II.—The Metropolitan Radical Federation.

It is a far cry, politically, from the National Agricultural Union to the Metropolitan Radical Federation, described in *The Echo* on the 19th inst. The one consists of agriculturists led by landlords. The other finds its constituency in the London working men's clubs. The former—in the absence of Lord Winchilsea, regretfully enough through illness brought on by overwork—postpones the election of a vice-chairman, "as probably Lord Winchilsea would like to choose a peer to fill this office." The Federation is as democratic in its methods of government as it should be, if principles count for anything at all. And while, as we have shown, the policy of the N.A.U. is mainly a policy of landlords for landlords, the men who foregather month by month round the council table of the M.R.F. have been too long under the iron heel of the urban landlord to feel any tenderness for the class whom they look upon as the foes and oppressors of labour.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that

THE NEW POLITICAL PROGRAMME

to which the sturdy Radicals of the M.R.F. have just committed themselves, differs so completely from that of Lord Winchilsea's Union, that it might almost appear to be a direct answer to it. Here it is; and the Liberal leaders would do well to take note of it, for it will be heard of a good many times before the next general election:—

I.—FOR THE FIRST LIBERAL BUDGET.

- (a) Payment of Members and Election Expenses;
- (b) Abolition of the Breakfast Table Duties;
- (c) Old Age Pensions.
- (d) Taxation of Land Values;

II.—AS SOON AFTER AS MAY BE—

- (e) Home Rule *all round*;
- (f) Universal Suffrage;
- (g) Registration Reform;
- (h) Second Ballot.

III.—IF THE LORDS REJECT THESE MEASURES (e h)—

(i) Agitation against the House of Lords.

There is something blunt and direct about this suggestion which the London Radical workman offers to his "leaders." It has at least this advantage over

THE FAMOUS "NEWCASTLE PROGRAMME,"

that it is shorter and more consistent; it does not mix up contradictory items like "leasehold enfranchisement" and "Taxation of Land Values" as part of one and the same policy. It does not postpone every urgent reform to a gratuitous onslaught on the House of Lords. For the four sweeping reforms which the M.R.F. puts in the forefront of its programme can be carried in spite of the Hereditary Chamber. They can all be included in the one measure which *must* be passed every year—the Finance Bill—and the Lords cannot constitutionally prevent their passage. For, as the House of Commons declared by resolution on July 3rd, 1678:—

"All aids and supplies, and aids to His Majesty in Parliament, are the sole gifts of the Commons, and all Bills for the granting of any aids and supplies ought to begin with the Commons, and that it is the undoubted right of the Commons to direct, limit, and appoint in such Bills the ends, purposes, considerations, and qualifications of such grants, which ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords."

So jealously have the Commons resented Lordly interference with Money Bills that, in 1781, when Bishop Porteus drafted his measure for the suppression of Sunday debates, it was held to be impossible to introduce it in the House in which he himself sat, because it operated by way of fine, and was, therefore, considered to be a Money Bill; and this although the fines were to go, not into the national exchequer, but into the pocket of the common informer.

WHAT THE LONDON RADICALS DEMAND,

therefore, is, that certain pressing reforms of a financial character should be put into the *first* Budget after the return of the Liberals to power. "Payment of Members and of election expenses" is a first step towards a really Democratic House of Commons. "The abolition of the Breakfast Table Duties" is a long overdue instalment of Free Trade, and it is about time that it became something more tangible than a mere "pious opinion" for electoral use only. "Old Age Pensions"—which figure in the Winchilsea programme also—would lift the hated shadow of the poor-house from the declining years of the worn-out labourer. But—and herein lies the fundamental difference between the proposals of the country landlord and those of the town workman—these things are to be "paid for" by diverting to the public use at least a portion of that fund—economic rent, or "land values"—which the community creates, but which at present the landlord appropriates.

For the rest,

THE NEW RADICAL PROGRAMME

may be left to tell its own story. Home Rule of the sort which broke up the Liberal Party in 1886 has now no friends. "Home Rule all round"—with the necessary simplification and extension of local government in country, district, and parish—is quite another matter. To the other reforms of electoral machinery, the Federation have, of set purpose, added the "second ballot," which will offer fair play to all Socialist, Independent, and sectional candidatures, while avoiding the risk, so abhorrent to the Radical elector, of sending the nominee of a Tory minority to "represent" an industrial constituency in the House of Commons.

The Press has been almost entirely silent about all this programme-making. The general election is probably a long way off, and to some it may seem a waste of time to begin thus early to sketch out plans of campaign. But, even so, these programmes, so sharply contrasted both as to their authorship and as to their contents, have a real interest to the political observer who looks a little ahead. For between these lines we read more than a hint that the next great struggle will be, not so much between Tory and Liberal, as between landlordism and labour.

Notes on Progress.

BY ARTHUR WITHY, S.T.

It is well at times to report progress and take stock, as it were, of our position abroad as well as at home. While the progress the Cause is making in the Mother Country is full of encouragement, it is no less satisfactory if we take a wider survey.

IN THE UNITED STATES,

though the Delaware campaign resulted in partial failure, this has been more than counterbalanced by glorious success elsewhere. No less than seven avowed Single Taxers have been returned to Congress, including Judge Maguire, who before the election was the only one in Congress. In Delaware, Texas, California, and Colorado, seats have been captured in the State Legislatures; and in Washington twenty members of the State Legislature are thorough Single Taxers, while to the following offices Single Taxers were elected:—Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, State Auditor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Commissioner of Public Lands, one superior judge, county auditor, assessor, sheriff, and two constables. In California, Colorado, and Iowa agitations are in full swing for a constitutional amendment that will allow the adoption of the Single Tax principle for State and local purposes; and in California a number of legislators have already pledged themselves to support the movement.

IN CANADA

some progress has also been made towards the Single Tax. The legislature of the north-west territories passed a Bill two years ago which permitted municipalities to levy local rates exclusively on land values. Under a similar law applying to school districts, more than a hundred school districts have adopted the Single Tax for raising their school revenues, and, says a local correspondent, they are all delighted with it. British Columbia taxes personal property less than real estate, and it tries to encourage improvement and discourage speculation by taxing wild land much higher than improved land. A Special Act, passed as long ago as 1886, permitted the city of Vancouver to raise its local taxes as it might choose. The city made the moderate experiment of taxing buildings and improvements at 75 per cent. of their estimated value, while taxing land at its full value. Any municipality is permitted to abolish the taxation of improvements, and several have done so. There seems to be no taxation of personal property for local purposes in British Columbia. The system has worked so advantageously in New Westminster that the ratepayers would not listen to a proposal to return to the old plan of taxing land and improvements alike.

IN ALL THE AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES

but Western Australia, the first step towards the Single Tax would already have been taken but for the opposition of the Second Chamber—there, as here, "Houses of Landlords."

IN NEW ZEALAND

a tax of 1d. in the £, capital value, equal to 1s. 8d. in the £ on the rental value, was passed in 1892, heavily graduated against large estates. This was doing a good deal to kill off land speculation, and force vacant land into the market; but the buying up of large estates by the Government to create small settlements has done much to harden land values again. I shall be very much surprised, however, if the life of the present Parliament does not see at least another 1d. in the £ imposed on land values. The Liberal party favours the taxation of land values, and if hard put to it to make both ends meet, as is extremely probable, they will naturally look to the land tax, especially as even the *N. Z. Herald*, which is bitterly opposed to us, admits that that is the one source from which the Colonial Treasurer can hope to get further revenue, all other sources being already drawn upon to the utmost.

Last year the Rating on Unimproved Values Bill (the Single Tax Local Option Bill), thrice rejected by the "Lords," became law, and by last mail I heard that Palmerston North—a prosperous, go-ahead township—had adopted the Act by 402 votes to 12, 34 votes more than the number required by the Act being polled. Other local bodies are sure to follow suit, for when the farmer on one side of a district boundary finds that he is paying 12s. in rates,

Our Natural Storehouse, the Land, is Locked.

whereas his neighbour on the other side is paying, for a similar property, 2s. only, and that the difference is made up by the city speculators and absentees, who now practically pay nothing, it will not take him long to appreciate the benefits of the Single Tax principle as applied to local rating.

IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

a tax of 2d. in the £ was imposed some 11 or 12 years ago, but attempts to increase it have been baulked by the Upper House. A strong agitation, however, is afoot for a Single Tax Local Option Bill, and another step forward may be looked for in the near future. In Queensland a tax of 2d. in the £, capital value, has since 1893 sufficed for all local purposes, but nothing can be hoped for from the present Government.

NEW SOUTH WALES

has followed New Zealand's example as regards the land tax of 1d. in the £, and since the large measure of free trade introduced by the Hon. G. H. Reid the trade of the Colony has undergone a great revival.

In 1894 the Victorian House of Representatives passed a land tax of 1d. in the £ on the New Zealand model, but it was rejected by the "Lords;" and in Tasmania that year a Bill, taxing land up to £500 in value at 1/4d. in the £, and land above that value at 1d. in the £, met with the same fate. The Tasmanian Premier is pledged to re-introduce the Bill, and it is more than likely that the stern logic of events will force the Victorian Premier to do the same, for unless something of the sort is done, coupled with a large measure of free trade, Sydney will quickly run off with all the trade of Melbourne.

THAT NEW SOUTH WALES, VICTORIA, AND TASMANIA

should so quickly have followed the example of New Zealand—the blocking of measures by the non-representative chambers in no way impugns the popular verdict—shows that the benefits of such legislation are open and palpable; and the introduction of the reform in the mother colony cannot but be followed by the most far-reaching results. On the whole, I think, considering the tremendous odds that we have to fight and the smallness of our funds, we have great reason to be proud of and encouraged by the results of our stock-taking. Right is on our side, the very stars in their courses fight for us, our enemies help us only less than our friends, and in the long run—and not a very long run, I believe—we are bound to win.

Republicanism.

There are many more people ready for republicanism to-day than there were twenty-five years ago. And to create a worthy movement it only needs that the case should be stated neither on personal criticism of any member of the reigning house, nor on the mere financial grievances against it. The employment of such pleas is a surrender of the true republican position, and should be left to those who lack the courage for that, and who, demoralised by the monarchic environment, yet allow themselves the appropriate solace of occasionally reviling their fetish—as did these Conservative newspapers which a few years ago scolded the Prince of Wales for playing baccarat with £5 points. The only concern that republicans should have with the personality of the Royal Family, is to insist that the position must be unwholesome to those adulated, as to those who adulate; and that no qualities of character or gifts of mind, under sane conditions, earn the gross homage which royalists pay to mere title, mere position, mere descent. To single out any member of the stock as unworthy of the sacred status, is to admit that another might possibly be more worthy of it, which would reduce republicanism from an ideal to a mere makeshift.—*John M. Robertson in the "Progressive Review."*

To Advertisers.

We have NO WASTE COPIES WHATEVER, all our Returns being distributed at Political, Literary, Social Reform, and other Public Meetings.

The "Single Tax" finds a place in the Public Libraries and Reading Rooms, and in Social and Reform circles in the Cities and Towns throughout Britain, in all British Colonies, and in the United States of America.

Our American Letter.

The Single Tax cause is moving forward with rapid strides in the United States; so rapidly, indeed, that veterans in the fight are not able to keep posted on the numerous and widespread evidences of progress. It is true we have had no victories like yours in Glasgow last November where the distinct issue of raising all revenue from ground rent won an election, but the political tendencies in many of our States are decidedly toward that end.

Washington State, the most north-westerly commonwealth in the Union and one of the richest in natural resources, is probably farther advanced toward the Single Tax than any other part of the country. At the last session of the Legislature two important laws were enacted, both of which warrant this assumption. One of these measures exempts 500 dollars in personal property and 500 dollars in improvements from State taxation, which of course adds that much more to land values. This law is now being enforced throughout the State, although the wealthy landowners are already fighting it in the courts and may yet succeed in having it declared unconstitutional. The other law passed by the Legislature was one to permit the people next year to vote on an amendment to the State Constitution granting local option in taxation. When this has been passed upon favourably by the electorate, as it undoubtedly will, the constitutional barrier will be removed and any community will be free to establish the Single Tax and not be disturbed by the courts. Meanwhile the question of taxation is being well discussed in Washington, which, together with the enforcement of the new exemption law, is educating the people to the feasibility and justice of the Tax on Land Values.

Dr. B. F. Longstreet, one of the ablest orators in the movement, is now on his way to the State to devote his entire time to making speeches and distributing literature there. His expenses are nearly all borne by the local Single Taxers. There is a strong Single Tax contingent in the Washington State Legislature, and many of the State and county officers are avowed advocates of the reform.

A decisive victory in Washington would mean much for the cause, on account of the great natural wealth of the State, and which would at once be liberated from monopoly. Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane are large and wealthy cities, and the effect of the Single Tax upon their business, as well as upon the farmers, would be magical, for it is speculation in natural resources, there as elsewhere, that has created millionaires within a decade and caused the commercial panic.

But Washington State is not the only one showing signs of progress toward the Single Tax. California, Colorado, and Massachusetts each gives unmistakable evidence of the same growth. In both California and Colorado Home Rule Bills, originating with and pushed by Single Taxers, passed the Lower House of the Legislature and were beaten in the Senate by only small majorities. In Minnesota a bill providing for the exemption of all improvements and increase of taxes on land values was supported by all the influential newspapers in the State of both political parties. Having been introduced late in the session it was not brought regularly before the House, but from published interviews had with the legislators it was shewn to have strong endorsement. Predictions are made by prominent public men that such a law will pass at the next session.

The Massachusetts Single Tax League last winter inaugurated a new plan of propaganda which has been very effective thus far. Banquets costing a dollar a plate were given monthly to a number of representative men in a particular calling at which a prominent speaker was invited to deliver an address on the Single Tax, he taking care to explain its application to the occupation of the guests of the evening. As is customary at all Single Tax gatherings, a season of questions and answers followed the speech to elaborate the points made by the speaker. Leading farmers of the State were invited to one dinner which was addressed by Thomas G. Shearman; he also spoke to one given for the benefit of assessors. Dr. M'Glynn was the one chosen to make the appeal to trade unionists, and he did it eloquently and with great effect.

As a result of these banquets and diligent distribution of literature, many encouraging things have happened, among them being the friendly tone of the conservative dailies of the State. The *Boston Advertiser*, noted for its cautiousness, has recently commended the work of Single Taxers in several editorials. The labour unions of Boston last week passed resolutions endorsing the principle of taxation which aims to levy on advantages conferred by the community instead of upon ability. It is clear that the Single Taxers of Massachusetts have captured not only the trade unions but the great mass of business men who have hitherto stood aloof from the movement. Massachusetts, it will be remembered, was the first State to adopt the Australian or secret ballot system in this country, and some predict that she will be the first to get the Single Tax.

Disappointing as were the election returns in Delaware last fall from our standpoint, it is certain that the hard fought campaign there has made a lasting impression. There is to be a Municipal Election in Wilmington, Del., this month, when Single Tax candidates will be voted for. The local men are making an earnest and systematic campaign, and whatever may be the result in votes it cannot fail to annoy pestiferous enemies and advance the cause of honesty in government.

In addition to these political tendencies in the various States there are other cheering signs of progress. Municipalities, in a number of instances, are making a partial application of the Single Tax. Quincy, Illinois, a city of perhaps 30,000, has just decided to construct a 17,000 dollar storm sewer, every cent of which amount will be raised from land values, the cost to be apportioned according to benefits conferred by the sewer.

Last week Judge William Gayanor, one of the members of the New York State Supreme Court, advocated the Single Tax in a speech before an audience of his own kind.

We are to have a higher tariff in this country under a law which will be passed during the summer. It is freely admitted, even by the friends of the bill, that the Protectionists will be swept from power at the next Congressional Elections, which will take place in the fall of 1898.

Single Taxers, however, are not taking as much interest in the tariff question as they did some years ago, on account of the inclination of the Democratic party to compromise and dilly-dally with the subject. At present we are trying to do more on the line of obtaining Home Rule in taxation and getting our reform started in States and municipalities. Just now this seems the line of least resistance.

The movement in Canada is in about the same stage of advancement as in the United States. British Columbia, where there appears to be a few Single Taxers in public offices, seems to be the most promising field.

American Single Taxers are watching the progress of events in Glasgow with increasing interest. Your experience with municipal ownership of street cars and other natural monopolies has been the subject of wide and favourable newspaper comment, and should you succeed in rooting out the greatest of all monopolies—landlordism—reformers all over the world will point to Glasgow as the model city, and as the beacon on the hill for municipal land reformers the world over.

JAMES MALCOLM.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., U.S.A., JUNE 1.

To convince by reason a majority of the people that this legal right is wrong morally, and that the law should be changed, is the peaceful and constitutional method by which Single Taxers would bring about their reformation. They remember in what bloodshed and loss of treasure the nation was involved by a denial of the negro's rights. They would avoid a similar catastrophe by persuading men that the right way always is the safe way, and that safety can exist only with justice.—*Wm. Lloyd Garrison.*

NOTICE.—"Single Tax" readers are respectfully recommended to patronise the advertisers. Mention the paper, where possible, when making purchases.

The Single Tax is the Key to Open it.

By a Temperance Woman.

THE SINGLE TAX VIEWED FROM THE STAND-POINT OF ONE WHO HAS BEEN ACTIVE AGAINST THE SALOON.

At a recent meeting of the Women's Single Tax Club of Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., Mrs. Mary Thomas delivered an address on "The Single Tax and the Liquor Traffic." *The National Single Taxer* gives a good report, from which we quote:—

"One of the strongest and worthiest movements of the day is that in the cause of temperance. The blighting misery resulting directly from intemperance certainly stamps the saloon as a great American curse, and as my subject would indicate I propose to offer a few remarks on this evil as viewed by an individual Single Taxer, and point out the manner in which I believe the liquor question is covered by the Single Tax. I use the term 'individual' for the reason that while Single Taxers are a unit on broad basic principles, yet they are frequently divided on matters of detail and expediency, and differ somewhat as to the extent and effect of their system on this question.

"Certainly, however, no one who but looks about him can fail to see the misery following swift in the steps of drunkenness. We all know that rum is a tyrant who rules but to destroy; that rum inflames mere temptation into acts of wickedness and crime; that it fills the jails and almshouses, and supplies victims for the scaffold; that it invades the holy family circle, kills the love of husband for wife, sets father against son, brother against brother, and bequeaths a legacy of wretchedness to generations yet unborn; that no temple is so sacred that its presence there will not contaminate, and none are so strong that its potent power cannot crush; that it blinds passion, violates purity, mocks the sanctity of the marriage relation, scorns the virtue of woman, and makes of man a brute; that it wastes the wages of labour, takes food from the hungry, withholds attention from the sick, and ruthlessly sends to their cold graves little children, naked and starved; that it sows the seeds of vice and misery, and reaps the harvest of remorse and suicide.

"HIGH LICENSE AND PROHIBITION.

"These things are as plain to us as to those whose single purpose is war on intemperance. Nor is our aim any the less intended to destroy the monster. But let us review briefly the two well-known and long-considered remedies proposed, first, the 'high license,' and, second, 'prohibition.' We claim that the high license or tax will not do, because it simply makes the habit more expensive; encourages adulteration, and causes greater danger. It is a well-known fact that in those countries where the tax is very low, and beverages are easily had and freely used, there is not nearly so much drunkenness as in those countries where the drinking habit is taxed into a luxury. Concerning the effect of the liquor tax, Adam Smith, the great economist, says:—'If we consult experience, the cheapness of wine seems to be the cause, not of drunkenness, but of sobriety.'

"Neither will prohibition do, although it has much to commend it. Without considering this proposition as a violation of any principle of equity or as an infringement of personal liberty, I believe that prohibition extended over the entire country would greatly reduce the liquor evil; it would abolish the pernicious 'treat' habit so much indulged in by young men who childishly imagine it reflects upon them a glow of manliness to 'set 'em up' and 'get a jag on.' And it would do away with much of the drunkenness that occurs for the sake of sociability and excitement.

"THE CAUSE OF INTEMPERANCE.

"Where tried, prohibition has certainly proved a partial success as far as drinking was concerned; it has not greatly reduced crime and poverty. And why? This is the point which I wish specially to impress upon you by this paper. Here is the reason:—Prohibition simply removes a temptation, but does not destroy the cause of intemperance. For we hold that intemperance and its attendant evils, generally speaking, are the results of poverty and despair. The Creator did not give man a natural appetite for over-indulgence, but the

inhumanities of unnatural social conditions have forced man, in his weakness, to seek relief in the unavailing cup.

"By inhumanities of social conditions is meant that condition of society which binds industry and forces willing hands to remain idle, making poverty unavoidable. Poverty in the first place is the cause of intemperance, and not intemperance the first cause of poverty. Therefore, to effect a permanent cure it is necessary to remove the cause of hopeless poverty. And here is where the prohibitionist and Single Taxer disagree. The former proposes to cure by closing the saloon and denying the right of purchase or sale. As indicated before, this remedy is in a measure good, but it is incomplete, and does not go far enough nor deep enough; for even were it possible to fully abolish liquor drinking by this means, unhappy man would use some other equally bad means to allay pain and bury sorrow. The opium and morphine habits would alarmingly increase, and were these successfully abolished, other habits would take their place, and so fast as prohibited new ones would appear.

"Again, while we realise the great harm growing out of the saloon, it is a mistake to suppose that a greater amount of crime is the product of the rumshops than any other source.

"OPINION OF A CHIEF OF POLICE.

"In speaking of this phase of the question one day last week, Chief of Police Lloyd, of Oakland, Cal., said: '*I am of the opinion that the great majority of dangerous criminals requiring large police forces, are the direct outgrowth of our unnatural social and economic conditions that breed poverty, want, and distress in the human heart; that men out of employment and unable to secure the necessaries of life in this land of plenty is the first cause of a much larger percentage of criminality than is the liquor evil; that it is man's inhumanity to man and our government's partnership in that inhumanity, rather than man's insobriety that demands a large police force in every city. This is the opinion of your humble servant, and I have never been accused of being friendly to rum.*' As want and misery are greater progenitors of crime than liquor, it must be plain to all that a reform abolishing the cause of want includes a settlement of the liquor question, and, therefore, it is the way to reach it. Prohibition does not affect the cause but simply works on the result.

"The Single Taxer would remove the unnatural condition that causes intemperance. The brevity of this paper precludes a discussion of the Single Tax system with a view to showing conclusively that its adoption would abolish poverty, but I may say that as this system would free natural resources from monopoly, open opportunities to enterprise and industry, remove restrictions now placed upon production and trade by unjust appropriation and taxation, and give every man a chance who would rather work than beg, such a condition as enforced idleness and poverty would be a thing of the past, and the great inducement to intemperance would be gone. The real cure can only be effected by the remedy that will make poverty and sorrow unnecessary. In a word, we say to our prohibition friends: 'Abolish the liquor habit by destroying its cause; its cause is want; therefore, destroy want. The Single Tax will do it.'

"However we may disagree as to remedy, we shall not quarrel about the cure when that is gained. For we all look hopefully forward to that morning when the glories of a rising sun shall disperse the gloom and care of weary night, and in the clear light of peace and plenty the nightmare of poverty and drunkenness shall have no place."

The Single Tax and its Advocates

BY JOSEPH LEGGETT.

Single Taxers are merely co-workers with the developmental forces at work in the orderly evolution of society. They are not engaged in any bootless effort to make water run uphill, but rather resemble the intelligent irrigator who, with hoe in hand, directs the course of the running water by here removing a clod and there filling up a gopher hole, and permitting the needed moisture to reach the roots of the trees, vines, or plants whose development he

desires to insure. We are oftentimes gravely informed by the wise in their own conceit that we cannot change human nature. We have set ourselves no such futile and unnecessary task. We see no necessity for changing human nature. And even if we thought we perceived such a necessity we are too practical not to know how utterly impossible such an attempt must prove. The evils from which human society is suffering and which threaten its destruction, are not due to any inherent defects in human nature. If they were due to such defects the attempt to remedy them would be vain and would necessarily end in failure. The evils that

OPPRESS AND THREATEN SOCIETY

arise wholly from the restrictions and obstructions created by man-made laws which have blocked the progress of the race. When men become wise enough to perceive this fact, and courageous enough to act on their knowledge by resolutely removing these obstructions, neither human nature nor the normal laws that determine its action will be found to need any changing. The Author of Nature, including human nature, made no mistake in making it as He did, and Single Taxers, at least, will never be guilty of the blasphemy of charging upon Him responsibility for the woes which man's ignorance and selfishness have brought upon himself.

Some narrow, irrational, and spiteful opponents of the Single Tax, who imagine that their selfish interests are going to be injured by its adoption, have allowed their minds to be worked up to a state of exasperation and bitterness towards Single Taxers. This is very illogical and absurd. Dr. Jordan in a recent lecture in this city is reported, in speaking of what the coming man must be, to have said:—"Don't blame me because I say this is to be the condition of things. It must be so. I am not responsible for it." Single Taxers may with propriety adopt this statement of the able savant. And

THE SPECULATORS IN VACANT LOTS

are mistaken if they imagine that the Single Tax is coming just because there are Single Taxers. It is quite the other way. There are a good many Single Taxers now because the Single Tax is at hand. If every present adherent of the cause should now renounce it, the defection could neither prevent nor greatly retard its advent. Before the end of summer the snows that now crown the Sierras will have mingled with the waters of the Pacific without much reference to what men may do to retard or accelerate the consummation. The Single Tax will arrive in its appointed time, no matter what its adherents do or refrain from doing. But it affords true Single Taxers deep gratification to do all that lies in their power to hasten its coming, because they know the suffering and misery that the race must endure while its coming is delayed. As other hopes fade and wither theirs grow stronger and brighter. The waning faith in palliatives and sham reforms is the sure precursor of the great fundamental reform. It is nigh, even at the doors.

Every man has probably perused in his youth those thrilling tales of the sea into which a shipwreck is introduced and the poor sailors, adrift for days, are driven to the alternative of casting lots as to the unfortunate among them who shall be killed and eaten. Well, about a week ago a party of sailors were on trial in Italy, charged with having devoured a comrade during a shipwreck, but the men were acquitted. This was due to the testimony of Lombroso, the expert in criminology. He gave it as his opinion that the pangs of hunger render a man irresponsible in satisfying what is at least a morbid craving. If this be so, what shall be said of rioters who are reduced to frenzy for want of food? The unemployed are nearly always in agony for want of something to eat, and if they create disturbance they are not to be held responsible. It behoves society to contrive a system according to which men shall not be reduced by hunger to savagery in the midst of plenty.—*Twentieth Century.*

LONDON AGENT—

W. REEVE, 185 Fleet St., London, E.C.

Published for the Proprietors by JOHN PAUL, 56 George Square, Glasgow, and printed by MURRAY & DONNELLY, 74 Argyle Street, Glasgow, JULY, 1897.

THE "SINGLE TAX" FINDS ITS WAY INTO ALL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORM CIRCLES THROUGHOUT SCOTLAND.