

LAND & LIBERTY

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Italy and Abyssinia

The attitude of the Italian Government is based upon an alleged right to expansion. Mr Mussolini, in effect, complains that the other great powers have appropriated vast colonial territories and now it is the turn of Italy. Our Foreign Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, virtually accepts this claim, although he shudders at the brutality with which it is expressed.

None of them pauses to think, least of all the recruits who respond to the Italian Dictator's appeal to patriotism, that if this adventure succeeded no benefit to Italy would result. As in all other cases hitherto, the conquered territory would belong not to the Italian people as a whole but to a small minority of landowners. It cannot be expected that nations which are not prepared to deal with land monopoly at home will introduce new principles in their colonies.

Who owns the Raw Materials?

Mr Lansbury in a recent speech (13th July) said:—

"The main causes of war are economic. To-day it is a scramble for raw material; for markets, which Sir Samuel Hoare called expansion. Japan, Germany, Italy all clamour for a place in the sun. We Socialists declare there is room for everybody, and our demand is that before it is too late our nation shall give the lead to the world.

"We must summon a new world economic conference for one purpose only—to discuss and organize plans for a sharing out of raw material, for filling up the wide open, uninhabited spaces of the world, and by co-operation to discover how best we can distribute the tremendous wealth which the world of man is able to produce."

The leader of the Labour Party also forgets that his Economic League of Nations will achieve nothing so long as the land is monopolized by a few. Those who own the land own the raw materials, and it is nonsense to imagine any kind of league of nations altering that fact. It is something which has to be changed by the internal legislation of individual nations.

The One Road to Peace

The financial pages of the newspapers were nothing but a record of an out-of-date speculative gamble in raw materials—pepper pools, tin pools and suchlike. If there was one road to world peace it was for the States of the world to internationalize raw materials and to allow every nation to have free access to them by purchase and not by conquest.—Mr Ernest Bevin at the Transport Workers' Conference, Douglas, I.O.M., 2nd July.

This is saying much the same as Mr Lansbury said. But Mr Bevin, like Mr Lansbury, ignores the fact that it is the monopoly ownership of natural resources in each country which causes the distress in that country. It is a rigmorole to talk of internationalizing raw materials and of allowing "nations" to have free access to them, for how could the coal deposits in Wales (say) or the waterfalls of Norway or the wheat lands of Canada or the cattle ranches of Argentina be inter-

nationalized? Only in one way, by absolute free trade in each other's products, it will be said. That is true, but there cannot be that free trade and the real sharing of nations' bounties if private monopolists continue to take tribute before the producer can exchange anything.

Mr Bevin is intellectually lazy. He runs away from considering the causes of poverty at home. Petty pepper and tin pools are nothing by comparison with the private traffic in land values which precedes and succeeds every single industrial or housing development throughout the country. When Labour leaders will take up this question, the exaction of rent for British natural resources by British landowners from British inhabitants, and ask a British Government to do something about it, their Conferences will be less like pleasant Sunday afternoon conventions praying for the moon. The one road to world peace is the better distribution of wealth and opportunity of all the people at home and in their homes, the peaceful mind secure from the terrors of unemployment, the certainty of a livelihood at a wage that gives a full living. In these conditions, peaceful industry will be the greatest adventure human kind ever undertook, and the war mind will at last be utterly destroyed.

To Co-operators

The Secretary of the National Guild of Co-operators, writing in the *Co-operative News* of 20th July, says:—

Take quotas, marketing boards, etc. All these are virtually Protection or Tariff Reform as we used to call it, and I thoroughly recommend to anyone who wants to take part in discussions on quotas, marketing schemes, protection, or tariff reform *versus* free trade, to read *Protection or Free Trade*, by Henry George. It is many years since Henry George wrote his *Progress and Poverty*, but the Henry George Foundation have issued a new and revised abridged edition, which is well printed and bound in paper covers, at 6d. Over two million copies of the book have been sold, but it would be well if this had been twenty millions if the people wish to free themselves from the entanglement of "Protection for the profit of the few." This book would make excellent reading for a branch, and be a fine method of developing speakers. Copies can be obtained from the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, Ltd., 94 Petty France, London, S.W.1.

Sharing Employment

During the past month the annual conferences of some of the most important trade unions have been held. The National Union of Railwaymen at Hastings on 2nd July passed a resolution declaring that the State should guarantee work or full maintenance for all its citizens and affirming its belief in a shorter working week without reduction of pay, adequate pensions at an earlier retiring age, and raising of the school leaving age.

On the previous day the president of the Transport and General Workers' Union in his address to the conference of that body made a similar demand.

There was no reason to deny a much better standard of maintenance for the unemployed, more rational

organization of the hours of labour, the development of a new conception of leisure, prevention of the exploitation of young people by raising the school-leaving age, and the giving of adequate security by means of pensions.

The president of the Miners' Federation at its annual meeting on 15th July suggested a three-point programme of measures to relieve the immediate situation. 1. A national scheme of pensions for the older men. 2. Raising of the age of entry into the pits and raising the school-leaving age. 3. A reduction in daily and weekly hours of work.

Mr Arthur Greenwood in moving a vote of censure on the Government for its failure to cope with the problem of unemployment on 9th July expressed the same view :—

"We had got to abolish poverty amidst plenty and translate unemployment into a new leisure for the people. That could be done only by reducing our mobilized labour army in strength and by shortening the working day and the working week.

"The school-leaving age should be raised, and it might be necessary to have a lower pension age."

Mr P. Malcolm Stewart in his first report as Commissioner for the Depressed (or, as they are officially known, Special) Areas says much the same. All boys and girls should be taken out of industry up to the age of 16, except boys who are under a definite indenture of apprenticeship and girls urgently needed at home. There should be an addition to the contributory pensions scheme to provide a pension payable at 65 of such a figure as would make retirement at that age possible without dependence on other resources. He did not consider shorter hours practicable in industry generally, but in suitable industries the Government should offer a tapering subsidy for three years to meet a portion of the cost of reducing hours without reducing wages.

Schoolchildren, Pensioners and the Workers

This is a remarkable volume of testimony in face of which it seems almost impertinent to ask: How can it be done? What would be the results?

One idea which evidently underlies these proposals is that if a sufficient number of young and old people can be taken out of industry there would be no unemployed labour and that the workers would then be able to demand and obtain higher wages. Another view which also found expression was that there was an undistributed surplus of wealth available for these purposes. The railwaymen's president, for instance, said that in his view there was too much production. The warehouses were full: nature in its bounty provided food in excess.

The latter view need not detain us although we do not agree that there is too much production, or that there is sufficient existing wealth to provide for the needs of the population on even a very modest basis. Even if there were a surplus, the fact remains that it is owned by some persons. The bottom question is, what determines the ownership of the wealth which is produced? why do some get much and others little?

If a sufficient number of persons are to be taken out of industry to enable all the unemployed to be absorbed, those who are taken out must be maintained. If they are maintained no better than the unemployed are now maintained, the problem is not solved. There is merely a change in the individuals who now receive what is distributed in unemployment benefit or poor relief. On the average no one is better off.

Endowed Leisure at Whose Cost?

Evidently it is contemplated that the persons taken out of industry shall be better off than the unemployed. The source from which their maintenance is to come must be some form of taxation. If that taxation is levied in ways which directly or indirectly add to prices as so much of our present taxation is levied, the mass of the working population will pay in a reduction of the purchasing power of their wages, and nothing will have been achieved.

It may be thought, however, that with the removal of a large number of people out of industry it will be easy for workers to secure higher wages. The first point to be noted here is that there is nothing in these proposals which will add to the total production of wealth. If more wealth is to be produced, more land must be used, but the situation with regard to land is left untouched.

A Vicious Circle and the Alternative

Moreover, the wages of labour are ultimately determined by the terms upon which labour can obtain access to land. Wages are determined by the earnings of the marginal producer. It may be said that the workers will force the capitalists to pay them higher wages, but an increase in wages under existing conditions is quite sufficient to force the marginal capitalist out of business and thereby unload on to the labour market a fresh body of unemployed men. The vicious circle will begin once more.

The plan which is proposed in the declarations we have referred to could only work if the maintenance of the people to be taken out of industry were obtained by a tax on land values, first because such a tax could not be shifted on to wages by a rise in prices, secondly because only in that way can land be forced into use and the conditions of the marginal producer (which determine wages) improved.

We commend this view to the earnest consideration of those who are anxious, as we are, to see wages raised and unemployment abolished.

The Real Cause of Low Wages

What strikes one in reading the discussions at which these declarations are made is that no attempt is made to explain the cause of low wages and unemployment. Sometimes it is alleged to be due to the "capitalist system," but this is one of those catch-phrases which explains nothing.

The remedies proposed indicate that their advocates are obsessed by a modern variant of the wage fund theory. Instead of postulating that there is a limited fund from which wages are to be drawn, they implicitly postulate that there is a limited amount of work available, and therefore the only thing to do is to redistribute it.

There is certainly no limit to men's desires, and the means of producing wealth are being improved day by day. The real limitation is that of access to the land, from which only wealth can be produced.

The maldistribution of wealth is due to the same cause. The toll which has to be paid by the many to the few for leave to make use of the earth is the primary cause why most are impoverished and a small minority inordinately rich. If those who held the natural resources of the country had to pay a rent to the community for them, the main cause of unequal distribution of wealth would disappear and with it the obstacle which debar men from employment.

Rent and Nutrition in Wales

A study of the physical condition of children between the ages of 3 and 5 in schools in Cardiff and Rhondda by Dr A. G. Watkins appeared in the *British Medical Journal* of 22nd June. The investigation showed that in Cardiff 16·8 per cent and in Rhondda 8·3 per cent of the children examined were in poor physical condition. The result is at first sight surprising, as Rhondda is classed as a depressed area and a much larger proportion of the children belonged to unemployed families.

The particulars of the economic conditions, however, disclose that, after deducting rent and rates, the income per person per week among employed families was nearly equal in Rhondda and in Cardiff and that among the unemployed families the amount left after paying rent and rates was markedly higher in the "distressed area." Dr Watkins also remarks that during the whole of the pre-school period the Rhondda authorities grant free milk through their clinics, whereas in Cardiff this ceases after one year of age. He also observes that Rhondda is hilly and bracing while Cardiff is flat and enervating.

In Manchester

Another investigation of the effect of high rents is contained in the report of the Hulme (Manchester) Clearance Advisory Committee (*Manchester Evening News*, 16th July). The Committee state that 798 families have been removed from the clearance area to municipal housing estates. The report says that owing to higher rents and cost of travelling some families have been reduced to a bare subsistence standard. The level of comfort, apart from the better housing, is distinctly lower than when people lived in Hulme.

"Several families complain of the heavy expense of living on the new estate. We were struck by the poverty-stricken and bare appearance of the majority of the houses. Most of the people do not seem to wish to return to Hulme.

"The Corporation has probably succeeded in a unique degree in transplanting a large proportion of the inhabitants of a clearance area and apparently inducing them to settle down. If, however, it is going to condemn them to a lower standard of living the value of this accomplishment is very doubtful. . . .

"The only satisfactory form of compulsory removal is one in which rents are not merely as low as those previously paid, but actually sufficiently lower to compensate for increased cost of travelling."

This Manchester inquiry is in line with the results of similar inquiries carried out by Dr McGonigle, the Medical Officer of Stockton-on-Tees, and Dr E. K. Macdonald, the Medical Officer of Stockport (see *Land & Liberty*, May-June, 1933, p. 216, and November, 1933, p. 306).

The Land Boom

One of the biggest booms in the history of the property market, says the *Daily Herald* (17th July), has been created by the mounting total of idle money which cannot find employment in industry.

Messrs John D. Wood and Co., the London surveyors and estate agents, publicly advertised yesterday that they were seeking suitable property for the investment of £9,000,000 of clients' funds—a sum believed to be greater than has ever before been offered by one firm.

A few months ago another London estate agency, Messrs Knight, Frank and Rutley, similarly advertised that it had more than £2,500,000 available for investment, while other London firms are searching for properties in which millions can be utilised either as mortgages or for outright purchase.

In addition, during the first half of this year 662

property companies, with a capital of £8,470,531, have been registered at Somerset House.

During the last few weeks four estate and development companies alone have issued new shares amounting to more than £2,250,000.

Agricultural Land also

Attention has also been called to this in the *Manchester Guardian* (Commercial Supplement, 5th July), which says:—

Trusts and public companies are very busy just now buying up real property, both at auction and by private contract. This, of course, hampers the small investor and speculator, but it does not mean any cessation of their activities, as they never know when something enticing will come within their grasp at an auction sale. But what is of more importance to the nation as a whole is the increased demand for agricultural land. Farms have been selling readily at anything from £20 to £40 an acre, and in one instance an offer of £11,400 for a farm of 227 acres was refused! Since agricultural land is more likely to rise in value than to fall, there is no big risk involved in acquiring it, providing the price is reasonable. And it is well to remember that in these days of rapidly changing customs and ideas a hundred acres or so may be required any time at short notice for an aerodrome or aircraft factory.

HENRY GEORGE COMMEMORATION DINNER

London, 17th September

Preliminary Announcement. Arrangements are being made for the ninety-sixth anniversary of the birth of Henry George (born on 2nd September, 1839) to be celebrated by a Commemoration Dinner in the St. Ermin's Restaurant, Westminster, on Tuesday, the 17th September, organized by the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade. Mr Charles E. Crompton, Chairman of the Executive of the Union, will preside and it is expected that a number of guests from overseas will be present, including Mr F. Folke from Denmark.

Dinner tickets 5s. each. Further particulars will be given in our next issue. Meanwhile a cordial invitation is extended to all, and readers of *Land & Liberty* resident in London or who can be in London on that date are asked to join in securing success for the event.

The books published by the Henry George Foundation have been praised for their print, binding and other tests of good production, irrespective of the reading matter they contain. We are assured it would be difficult to find anything in the book trade of equal excellence at the prices. When ordering (especially if you are making an acceptable present) bear in mind the following "gift book" editions:

PROGRESS AND POVERTY in red rexine, 2s.; in superior green rexine, 3s.; both with gilt top and ribbon book-marker. SOCIAL PROBLEMS in red rexine, 2s. THE CONDITION OF LABOUR in red rexine, 2s. THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY in green rexine, 4s. GEMS FROM HENRY GEORGE in superior cloth, 1s.

In red cloth, the first three of these books at 1s. each; THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, 2s. 6d.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE, cloth 1s.; paper covers 6d. GEMS FROM HENRY GEORGE, paper covers, 6d. All prices post free.

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MR LLOYD GEORGE AND OTHERS

It is not from the produce of the past that rent is drawn; it is from the produce of the present. It is a toll levied upon labour constantly and continuously. Every blow of the hammer, every stroke of the pick, every thrust of the shuttle, every throb of the steam engine, pay it tribute.—HENRY GEORGE.

The final version of Mr Lloyd George's "New Deal," now published* adds little to what was made known in his speeches last winter. There are a few lines in which the problem is very well stated. "We are faced with a situation in which, if it is allowed to continue unchanged, we shall always have 16 per cent, or, say, one in six, of the available workers of the country standing idle. On the other hand, we have a country whose resources and opportunities are not wholly utilized and developed."

Mr Lloyd George rightly says: "That is the core of the problem." But the consequences are not consistently worked out, nor are the causes even stated much less examined. The cardinal error will be found in the following passage: "The basic principle of our present system is that the yearly income of the nation passes to its citizens as payments earned by them through their labour or through the services rendered by their capital." There is no mention here of that very large portion of the national production which passes to the owners of land, not in exchange for any service rendered by them, but in return for permission to make use of the natural resources. Why is it that those resources "are not wholly utilized and developed?" No explanation is vouchsafed.

Mr Lloyd George quotes with approval the statement by Mr Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, that "the great bulk of national production must find its outlet in the home market—in other words, must be bought by the people of the country, the great majority of whom are wage and salary earners." If these persons are to be purchasers, they must also be producers of articles which they can exchange for what they desire to purchase. So we come back once more to the problem of idle natural resources of which no explanation is anywhere to be found in this document.

In the section dealing with housing and regional planning the memorandum says that although the financial responsibility would be large "the advantages due to increased efficiency and improved conditions, both for living and working, would be commensurately great." Mr Lloyd George goes on to say that these advantages cannot be traced to and recovered from each person who benefits by the saving of time and exhaustion, and that this justifies the bearing of some

part of the cost by the public. Nevertheless, the landlords will soon discover and competition will assess in higher rents and land values the advantages of public improvements.

The report continues: "But this cost might be recouped if steps were taken to secure for the public a fair share of the betterment values which such developments would create. It is well known that immense new values are created when new transport facilities open up an area for housing development. Round Golders Green and Edgware vast fortunes were made for landowners and land speculators by the advent of the Tube—fortunes which paid no tribute at all towards the cost of the transport services which gave rise to them. It has been estimated by competent authority that the increased land values created by the construction of the Watford By-pass Road were sufficient to pay the cost of its construction twenty times over. Had these enormous values accrued to the public, transport facilities might have been extended and cheapened, and there would have been a handsome surplus available for the provision of open spaces and other improvements."

Then follows the only recommendation in the book relating to land values. "Without entering into controversy as to the precise methods to be adopted, it may be laid down as axiomatic that steps should be taken, either by land purchase, by taxation, by betterment levies or otherwise, to secure from the increased land values created by development schemes a fund which, as has already been pointed out in the Golders Green case, would not only suffice to recoup the original outlay and furnish compensation in respect to the sterilization of land for open spaces and other amenity purposes, but to improve and cheapen transport."

This statement suffers from two defects. First, it indicates that the only problem is to take increased land values in order to pay part or all of the cost of public improvements. It contains no recognition of the handicap which all enterprises, private and public, suffer in the exorbitant prices which are asked for land before they can have a chance of *beginning*. The price is already loaded against the land user before the work begins. The landowner does not wait for a higher price until the improvement is effected.

Second, the remedies proposed are both inadequate and inconsistent. Betterment, though attractive at first glance, is unworkable in practice. Land purchase is not a means of recouping the public, but a means of safeguarding the landlord. As already remarked, the price which is asked for land usually anticipates future advantages for a long way ahead. If the landlord is bought out, he is made certain of his gain immediately instead of having to wait and possibly realize it piecemeal. The only workable means of recouping the public is by taxation, provided that such taxation is applied to all land values and not merely to increments. The experience of Mr Lloyd George's own legislation in 1909 proves how ineffective and cumbersome increment taxation is. Moreover, the whole value of land is an increment, and the value of land reflects the future rents which may be drawn from it. Increment taxation is bound to start from a datum line which has already discounted future increments. Most important of all, it is only by the steady pressure of rates and taxes levied upon the full value of land that we can be certain of forcing unused land into use.

It is interesting to observe that almost at the same time as Mr Lloyd George's scheme was published there appeared a similar but more elaborate statement under the auspices of a large number of persons prominent

* *Organizing Prosperity*. Ivor Nicholson & Watson, Ltd., 6d.

in various walks of life.* The proposals in the two documents are in many ways similar. In particular reference is made to the increases in land value due to the building of roads and other public works. It is proposed that the Road Fund should be largely financed by "a tax imposed on property values enhanced by public action" (p. 48). And at a later point, discussing the sources from which should come the revenues necessary to carry out the many schemes which they envisage, the authors say: "One obvious source . . . is the increment in land values which accrues to the owner, entirely unearned, through public policy in developing a district, building roads or railways, or in other ways. We recommend that measures should be taken, whether by means of previous purchase or by taxation, to secure for the public revenue such increments of value as are due to public action" (p. 207).

This, if anything, brings out the inherent weakness of such proposals still more clearly. Who is going to determine what part of the increment of land values is due to public action, in the sense of action by the State, and what part is due to the action of the community apart from the State. Land value is not all due to State action; it is in a very large measure due to the very presence of population. Whichever of these inextricably mixed sources is responsible, land value is rightfully due to the community, and not merely the increment after any given date but the whole.

As for securing increments of land values by land purchase, both of these schemes involve proposals for public works and other activities covering a very large part of the country, and any attempt to purchase all the land likely to benefit would involve purchasing the major portion and the most valuable portion of the British Isles.

Space will not permit us to follow the controversy between Mr Lloyd George and the Government. We will only refer to the criticism that his agricultural proposals would involve a great artificially created increase in the price of food. It is a curious reproach to come from an administration whose policy is based upon doing that very thing, but it is a criticism to which Mr Lloyd George has laid himself open both because of his assumption that tariffs have come to stay and by his refusal to recognize that what is required for the salvation of agriculture, as of other industries, is reduction of rent.

It is here that both parties are at one. They refuse to see the toll which day after day is being taken from the producers in rent. They refuse to see that the high prices asked for land are preventing the use of land and holding men out of employment.

Let us suppose that all the schemes for spending public money which are adumbrated in these two books were carried out during the next five years. Let us assume that during their progress there was a considerable spurt in employment (an assumption which is open to grave question, for they might merely involve the displacement of resources from one purpose to another), what would be the position in this country a few years later? Would the problem of unemployment have been permanently solved, or would our one in six of unemployed again be present?

Is it not true that the only way in which all our people can be kept permanently employed is in making the food, clothes, furniture, houses and other articles which they require for their day-to-day use? Neither of these programmes sheds any real light upon this problem, and they cannot throw any light upon it because they assume that private monopoly of land must

remain for ever part of our economic system, and that the most that can be done is occasionally to skim off a little of the enhanced land values to pay for some scheme of public works. Such proposals are more than a generation out of date. Valuable time is being lost. Unemployment and poverty are crying out for a remedy, and that remedy is not to be had without a thorough-going recognition of the basic importance of man's relations to the earth.

F. C. R. D.

LANDLORD RELIEF

By "de-rating" is meant the remission in whole or in part of taxation levied by local authorities. It means that you take rates off something or other, but as revenue is still needed to pay the cost of public services, this rate-relief must be offset by higher rates or taxes levied on something else.

A wise measure of de-rating would be to take rates off houses and other buildings and improvements, the local revenues being obtained instead by rates levied on the value of the land alone. This would be to put no tax on any person's industry while it would devote to public uses a public value which to-day is going wrongly into private pockets. Besides, the economic effect would be to encourage the better use of land, since the land value rate would be payable whether the land was used or not, and houses and other improvements would be cheapened by being rate-free.

An iniquitous measure of de-rating would be the remission of rates on land and the imposition of heavier taxation on trade or industry to make good the missing revenue. That would enable landowners to get higher rents and prices, and consumers generally would be subject to new exactions in two ways—more rent and higher taxes adding to the cost of living.

The Conservative Government in 1929 chose to inflict on the community the latter kind of "de-rating," with which they combined a first-class racket in favour of the owners of agricultural land and of land occupied by buildings used for industrial (factory) purposes. Rates on agricultural land in England and Wales were abolished and in Scotland are now payable on only one-eighth of the annual value, while industrial properties in both countries were relieved by being rated on a quarter of the annual value. The revenue thus lost to the local authorities was made good by a petrol tax. In effect the Government "shifted" £35,000,000 a year from real estate and placed it upon transport. It was like making a capital gift of £700,000,000 to the land owners of the country and certainly to an incalculable degree it has hardened Pharaoh's heart whenever land is wanted for industrial, farming or housing purposes.

It is one of the reasons why we are living in the "difficult times" of which Mr Baldwin spoke the other day. No equal infamy has been perpetrated in British history since Charles II was obliged to surrender Crown rights to the military tenures in exchange for customs and excise. But when things like that are the achievements of the Parliamentary system of which Mr Baldwin boasted, the torch he would have us hold high is as likely as not to produce another Reichstag fire and burn to ashes not only the Parliamentary system but also the civilization it is supposed to safeguard.

A. W. M.

FORM OF BEQUEST

I bequeath (free of duty) to the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, Limited, the sum of £.....

* *The Next Five Years*. Macmillan & Co. 5s.

TOM L. JOHNSON'S GREAT FEAT

How 1,200,000 copies of "Protection or Free Trade" were circulated

"Peterborough," who writes the column "London Day by Day" in the *Daily Telegraph*, referred on the 15th June to Huey Long's reading of the Bible to fill up his 15½ hours obstructionist speech in the U.S.A. Senate, and remarked how in the House of Representatives it is possible to "read" a whole book into a speech which can afterwards be circulated freely to the speaker's constituents. "Peterborough" said that a notable example of this use of a propagandist device was when Henry George's book *Progress and Poverty* was thus distributed free by the "One Taxers," as he called them.

A letter was sent from 94 Petty France and was published putting "Peterborough" right. The book so circulated was not *Progress and Poverty* but *Protection or Free Trade*. The "debate" took place on 11th and 31st March and 6th and 8th April, 1892, and the incident is thus described in the *Life of Henry George* :—

"Under a 'leave to print' rule, members of the House of Representatives had long been accustomed to publish speeches that limited time for debate prevented them from delivering, or to publish extensive supplementary printed matter to their delivered 'remarks.' But as the issue of the 'Congressional Record' was necessarily limited, members invariably reprinted matter from the 'Record' to send to their constituents or whoever else in the United States they chose. This printing they themselves had to pay for; but they had the privilege of sending out such matter free through the mails, under the 'franking privilege.' It was a time-honoured custom for members in this way to send a great quantity of reprinted 'Congressional Record' matter into their districts, especially preceding Congressional or Presidential elections."

"Acting upon this 'leave to print' privilege, Tom L. Johnson, with Mr George's hearty approval, divided *Protection or Free Trade* between himself and five other Congressmen, namely, William J. Stone of Kentucky, Joseph E. Washington of Tennessee, John W. Fithian of Illinois, Thomas Bowman of Iowa and Jerry Simpson of Kansas. Each man on a separate day introduced his section of the book as a 'part of his remarks' in the tariff debate. The Republican minority beheld this performance with astonishment. . . . The Republican press all over the country took up and increased the outcries of the Republican Congressmen, with the misrepresentation, perhaps unintentional, that the work was being printed at the public expense. . . . the entire country was for the time turned into debating clubs with *Protection or Free Trade* as the subject-matter. Nothing could have better suited Mr Johnson's

purpose. He had the book printed compactly in large quantities at the rate of five-eighths of a cent a copy. . . . Many Congressmen sent large quantities of the book into their districts and Mr Johnson himself sent two hundred thousand copies into the State of Ohio. . . . In all more than one million two hundred thousand copies of this edition were printed and distributed and perhaps as much as two hundred thousand of a better, two cent edition; so that of this single book by Henry George almost two million copies were printed within less than eight years after being written—something never approached by any other work in economic literature save by the incomparable *Progress and Poverty* which with its many translations may have exceeded that number of copies."

It may interest some of our readers to see a specimen of the edition that was so widely distributed under the "leave to print." We have a small stock available and copies may be obtained price 3d. each on application to our offices.

WHERE IS SUTTON COMMON?

Writing in the *Daily Herald* (15th July) on the growth of Greater London in the neighbourhood of Sutton and Epsom Mr Hannen Swaffer says :—

Large fortunes have been made by all this land development.

Councillor Walkden, who sits for Labour on the Sutton and Cheam Council, told me how, seven years ago, their population was just 40,000. Now it is 78,000!

Walkden has little liking, apparently, for the business methods of the Church of England.

He lives at Sutton Common.

"I wanted to find out where Sutton Common really was," he said, "because it's all houses everywhere now."

"Sutton Council had no map that showed it. The oldest one it had was dated 1815. That showed Thomas Hatch as the possessor of large parcels of land round about where I live. There was no Sutton Common, even in 1815!"

So Walkden had a search made at Somerset House, and there it was discovered that between 1808 and 1815 the common land "disappeared."

Thomas Hatch, the "owner" of it, represented the Church of England.

"We must assume that was 'enclosed' by the Church!" said Walkden.

"Now, recently, in Sutton, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have been selling part of this land at as much as £1,500 an acre!"

Walkden, who was a great friend of Stephen Walsh, added how Walsh delighted to quote at meetings the old lines :—

They prosecute the man or woman who steals the goose from off the common,

But let the greater felon loose who steals the common from the goose.

If you are bringing forward motions in the Reichstag there is one which should not be forgotten. The State lands are mostly let out to big farmers; the smallest portion of them is sold to peasants, whose holdings are, however, so small that the new peasants have to resort to working as day labourers on the big farms. The demand should be made that *the great demesnes which are not yet broken up should be let out to co-operative societies of agricultural labourers for joint farming.*—Letter of Friederich Engels to August Bebel, 1884 (*The Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, p. 434).

POVERTY AND PLENTY

The Pros and Cons of Social Credit

By W. R. Lester, M.A.

"Simply a Question of Tickets"—The A plus B Theorem—Where are the Surplus Goods?—Saving and Investment—What is Purchasing Power?—Creating and Withdrawing Bank Loans—The Just Price—The National Dividend—Unearned Increment—Distribution of Wealth—Cultural Heritage and Advance of Rent—Purchasing Power and Economic Freedom.

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THE POPULATION QUESTION

Dr Vere Pearson's new book* deals exhaustively with the causes that underlie the growth and erratic distribution of human population on the surface of the Globe. The introductory and the succeeding chapter seem to have been written around the idea that is central to the doctrine of Professor J. S. Haldane, that an organism and its environment are one, and cannot properly be thought of separately; that their action and re-action upon each other are constant and intimate; that, in short, they mutually "condition" each other. In searching out the influences that have determined the migrations and local settlements of population Dr Pearson brings to bear considerations of geographical contours, climate, fertility of soil, water supply, means of transport, primitive and modern systems of land tenure, and finally Man himself, his mind, his primitive impulses, his reflective faculty, his moral and æsthetic senses, his gift of reason—all that part of him indeed that is covered by the word Psychology. Thus, out of the large store of information offered to us we can see Man having his character shaped and moulded by Circumstance, and in return gradually remoulding his environment "nearer to his heart's desire."

It is assuredly from no under-estimate of the value of Dr Pearson's voluminous statistics and comparisons, taken from the public records of many countries, that we are constrained to admit that our chief interest in this book centres upon the obvious fact of his whole-hearted devotion to the Gospel of Henry George. In the course of a richly-informative survey of "developments in Agriculture" and social conditions prevailing in India, Africa, and the Far East, and occupying many chapters, the author's belief is evident that the movements of population have not been what they ought to have been or would have been had not a malign influence been at work deflecting these movements from their proper direction. That influence he finds everywhere the same—the tendency of men in all ages and at all degrees of intellectual culture to fence in portions of the earth, and on the plea of ownership obstructing the healthy and natural movements of the people. Persons of a Theological cast of mind may perhaps trace this tendency back to that ubiquitous poisoner of the wells of Truth—the Devil; for there seems no limit to what cunning may achieve under existing conditions in laying hold of mankind's common heritage Economic Rent, as is shown later in the chapter on "Town and Country Planning."

In the chapter headed "Rural Depopulation" and in many of the foregoing pages the author sets forth with great lucidity the case for a sane system of land tenure, and exhibits the evils that still result, as in the days of the Hebrew Prophets, from the "laying of field to field so that the people have no room." Among these evils we deplore with Dr Pearson the decay of artistic handicraft which inevitably follows from the compulsory trek of the villager to the city factory; but the faith persists in the minds of those who have discovered the root-cause of rural depopulation, that, given the light work, ample leisure and sense of security that will fall to each man's lot when the social heritage is rescued from the grip of monopoly, the artistic sense will revive, the creative impulse reassert itself, and at last we shall have "beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." But as a counterpoise to the tale of depopulated villages and distressful conditions in other countries like our own, it is cheering to read of Northern Nigeria, of which

it is said that its tranquillity and commercial prosperity are amazing. This fact, a very notable one in the troubled world of to-day, is due to the fact that for 25 years neither landlords nor speculators nor tax-collectors of the vulgar sort have disturbed the tranquillity or checked the prosperity. For why? The land of Northern Nigeria belongs to the people of Northern Nigeria, and the rent paid by its occupiers (revisable at intervals not exceeding seven years) is applied to the public services.

That the maldistribution of population results from the existing fiscal system Dr Pearson has amply demonstrated, but the title of the book includes a reference to the *Growth* of population and we are not clear whether he still fears that population will always tend to outrun the means of subsistence, notwithstanding altered conditions and the disappearance of poverty. Or (we ask ourselves) does Dr Pearson believe with Herbert Spencer that advancing civilization brings with it a self-acting principle which slows down the rate of increase in proportion as the civilizing forces become effective? This assumed automatic principle is expressed in the formula that "Individuation and fecundity vary inversely" and is illustrated by the fact that if we begin our observations with a shoal of herring where individuation is almost nil and fertility very high; and work upwards in the evolutionary scale, we find that with every advance in individuality in the animal creation there comes a decrease in the reproductive tendencies. Does this principle hold good of mankind in society? Does the development of individuality that comes with education, culture, leisure and economic freedom, tend towards a natural, unconscious and effortless reduction in the number of offspring? If so, it surely brings a lively hope that with the advent of equal opportunity and the spread of culture with the development of personality that will certainly follow, the ghost of Malthus will at last be laid.

The chapter on "Birth, Death and Marriage Rates" will interest all who have a sense for statistics and averages. For the ordinary man the interest will lie chiefly with what Dr Pearson calls "the differential birth rate" as between the poor and the well-to-do. It is, and ought to be, distressing to be assured by the figures given, that the *majority* of the next generation (if existing conditions remain) will be born in slums, denied the civilizing influences of education and culture, and exposed to the demoralizing tendencies of the worst environment it is possible to imagine. Dr Pearson, however, believes that the sensitiveness of human nature to the impact of favourable conditions is as keen as its reaction to the unfavourable and will over-ride inherited tendencies. He, therefore, entertains a generous belief in "the unbounded possibilities of improvement if equality of opportunity were opened up for all classes."

The section which deals with sex-love and its corollaries opens the door upon a region into which even angels may fear to tread. On one point, however, we are again in complete agreement with Dr Pearson—that economic factors are the chief causes of these "difficulties," and that economic ills cannot be cured by other than economic methods.

Limits of space forbid more than a reference to the excellent chapters that follow, on Garden cities, Town and country planning, Ground values and property appraisals, etc. In all the instances given of the efforts of public authorities and private bodies to beautify towns or preserve country amenities, to facilitate transport or to house the poorer classes, the sinister

* *The Growth and Distribution of Population.* By S. Vere Pearson, M.D., M.A. George Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.

influence of unrestricted landownership is shown and illustrated by figures. The land-reform movement is indebted to Dr Pearson for having given this book to the world, and *Land & Liberty* will gratefully acknowledge its value.

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

* * *

In his foreword Dr Pearson acknowledges the assistance of the Rev. Mervyn Stewart, whose word after reading the published book we also have and we quote from his commendation:—

"For many years the Georgist movement has been under increasing obligation to Dr Vere Pearson, but only his closest friends could have foreseen the result of his meditation in a work as deep and broad as its title. How humanity has or has not increased, why folk have moved or not moved to attractive locations—this is surely to state the Social Problem.

"A vast number of admitted authorities are cited. The first quarter, say six chapters, is a study of population groups from early conditions, with special chapters on Asia and Africa which draw out the results of varying systems of land tenure. The duty of the Government of every country is repeatedly stressed—to collect all the land value and expend it for common good with beneficial effects on public health and prosperity. The causes of the rises and falls in vital statistics, births, marriages and deaths, are dealt with.

"Special consideration is given to Town Planning and Garden Cities and the last part discusses ground values and property appraisals, traffic troubles, housing, and emigration, with the physiocratic ideal of co-operation in liberty for the future most powerfully expressed.

"It is not easy for one who has contributed some pebbles which a craftsman has cut into jewels to assess this work. Dr Pearson has given us a book indispensable to our workers and breaking new ground."

PROPERTY

In his *Public and Private Property** Mr John Z. White deals with a subject which is a frequent source of confusion to writers on economics. He points out that "property is a legal term." The fact that the law recognizes something as property is no proof that the law is a good or a desirable one, any more than the existence of any other law proves that it is beyond amendment.

The law recognizes "two kinds of property, wholly different in nature and origin—products of industry and products of law." The products of man's labour are instinctively recognized as property, but "legal privileges also are property, such as a right of way, a copyright, a patent, an estate in land, or other grant of power or authority from the State." Every institutional writer on law recognizes that there is a distinction, but the distinction is soon obscured. Arguments founded upon the right of the producer to what he has produced are applied to what has not been produced.

In addition, as Mr White points out, contracts are confused with grants of privileges, and arguments in favour of freedom of contract are used in favour of the private beneficiaries of the sovereign power.

The errors which arise from these confusions are illustrated by an examination of a number of leading cases decided by the United States Supreme Court. It is a clear and brilliant piece of analysis which will appeal both to the lawyer and to the layman.

The confusions which afflict the lawyers are also shared by the economists. Every text-book of economics

which opposes land value taxation does so on the vested rights theory—that land is property and that the State should not discriminate between one form of property and another. Yet these same writers condone the confiscation of produced and self-earned private property. Some of them indeed condone or advocate policies which result in the creation of private monopolies.

Our laws are still dominated by wrong thinking on this subject. As Mr White points out, the framers of the constitution of the United States regarded property as being as important as liberty, but there is no indication that they saw any distinction between property in labour products and property in legal privileges, or that there is and must be a constant warfare between the two kinds of property.

This is a valuable and stimulating book and we wish it a wide circulation.

F. C. E. D.

FRANK STEPHENS

Eloquent tributes to the work and memory of Frank Stephens, who died on 16th June, have appeared in Delaware, Pennsylvania and other American newspapers and journals. He has been honoured as a great citizen and a great social reformer. He had the deepest and widest interest in all that concerns the advancement of human liberty, economically, politically and socially. But among the adherents of the Henry George teaching his loss will be felt most greatly, who in and far beyond the centre of his immediate activities in his later years held him in the highest esteem. His friends speak of his simple and lovable character, his courage, the appeal he could make to the minds and hearts of all with whom he came in contact. The impression he made upon the Oxford International Conference in 1923 which he attended with a large contingent of American Single Taxers will be fresh in the memory of all who were present at that impressive gathering. Philosopher and lover of art, an artist himself, he captured his audience and one felt, as he spoke, that victory for the cause could not be long delayed. He spoke like a prophet inspired, and it was the vision of the civilization that is possible that led him along in what he tried to achieve. With the late Will Price and Joseph Fels he founded the "Single Tax Enclave" at Arden in Delaware, which was started in 1900 on a farm of 162 acres and in 1922 the sister town of Ardentown was founded, both together having a normal population of 300, but during the summer months the population at least doubles. Besides his many other activities as protagonist of the Henry George movement, on the platform and with his pen, he was a member of the Robert Shalkenbach Foundation and was associated with practically every Single Tax activity in America. Annual Conference and Conventions always found him in place to add his strength and counsel and there he will now sadly be missed.

Frank Stephens was born in Rahway, New Jersey, on 28th December, 1859. To Mrs Stephens and to his two sons Donald and Roger we offer our sincere condolences in their bereavement.

A. W. M.

MR ANDREW MACLAREN IN DURHAM.—The Secretary of the Houghton-le-Spring (Sunderland) Divisional Labour Party writes to *Land & Liberty*: "We had a very good meeting which was held in the Welfare Hall, Herrington, on Thursday, 18th July, and addressed by Mr A. MacLaren, who kept the audience interested for about one and a half hours dealing with taxation of land values, rating, and its effect upon the people. At the conclusion of the meeting a wish was expressed for a return visit from Mr MacLaren. About 250 people were present."

*The Beaver Press, Greenville, Pennsylvania. Price \$2.

PAPER MONEY AND LAND SPECULATION

To the Editor of "LAND & LIBERTY"

Since the war the belief in freedom has been replaced in Continental Europe by the belief in coercion. Democracy has been replaced by dictatorship, free speech by censorship, the remnants of free trade by protection and the gold money of the past by the paper money of to-day. One can truly say that the paper money is the thin end of the wedge of dictatorship. The issue of gold money was based on the idea that the State had to respect the liberty of the citizen to demand in exchange for his work or property the commodity most stable in value and most easily exchangeable. This liberty of demanding a commodity of real value is taken away from the citizen, he is forced instead to take a sign of value issued by the State and he is forced to take it not at his own estimation but at a value dictated by the State. Paper money is, therefore, everywhere the money of dictatorship. It was always introduced in times of war when the liberties of the citizens were sacrificed to the real or pretended necessities of the State. It is to-day as indispensable to war as guns and battleships. To abolish paper-money would mean to make war in our times well-nigh impossible.

The change from gold money to paper money does not spring from a mere change of policy but from a change of mind. This evidently is the reason why in so many countries since the war the idea of land reform has been replaced by a movement for money reform. This has also been the case in Switzerland where our money reformers (Freigeldler) at first pretended also to be land reformers but have utterly lost sight of the land question and are now working exclusively for a pretended currency reform which would take away from the citizen the faculty of exacting interest for borrowed money. Interest is declared to be the great enemy of labour and by forcing the citizen to use only a money constantly diminishing in value our money reformers believe it possible to abolish interest altogether. Of course this idea cannot be realized without doing away altogether with the rest of liberty of the citizen in the handling of money, for if the citizen was left the choice to use gold or foreign money the plan would certainly fail. And it is like an irony of fate that this movement which aims at making the citizens a serf or slave of the State bank calls itself the "free money movement" (Freigeld-Bewegung). But also in this the movement is falling in line with dictatorship, for all the dictators constantly promise freedom and liberty.

Practically the movement works out as a help of the speculators in land. There has been an enormous increase in land values since the war in Switzerland and most people were of the opinion that it always must be possible to sell a house and a piece of land at a higher price than it was bought for. Protection for agriculture has run mad and has forced upon the consumer the highest possible prices which he can pay. But even these prices are not sufficient to cover the interest on the still higher prices of land, and those land speculators who have over-burdened themselves with debt are now in a sad plight. The crisis is frustrating their hopes of a further increase in land values and in order to avoid bankruptcy they are demanding to-day that Switzerland shall abandon the gold standard. They think or hope that the decreasing of the value of money will mean decreasing their debts and will make it possible to sell their land or houses at still higher prices. Our money reformers are supporting

this class of speculators through thick and thin, are accusing interest as shameful usury, are shedding tears for the poor debtors and are decrying their creditors as exploiters of labour. That there is also another side to their story of the poor debtor and the heartless creditor never comes into their mind. They want to abolish the gold standard at any cost and are prophesying that all evils will come to an end if we abandon the gold standard.

It is practically only the debtor class which is in sympathy with the abandoning of the gold standard, but the political influence of the debtors is always greater than the influence of the creditors and thus it comes that the Swiss Government is now proposing a law which in reality has no other aim than to pay the debts of the peasants out of the public purse. The Swiss consumer is paying the highest prices in Europe for the agricultural products of his country, he is also paying the highest rents for houses in order to maintain the high prices of the land and he will now pay additional taxes in order to save the land gamblers who have ventured themselves too far on the ice and who are in danger of bankruptcy. And this system of robbery is supported by our money reformers and socialists through thick and thin. For Socialism has in our country lost sight of the land question altogether. It has converted itself to protection and to the policy of artificially enhanced prices and can, therefore, not oppose a measure that is the logical outcome and end of protection.

At present the outlook in Swiss politics is dark and it seems at present the only hope that the present state of mind will be corrected by hard experiences. Such experiences may then easily lead to a revolution also in our conservative country, for the Swiss democracy is to-day not built on a rock but rather on shifting sand and it is doubtful if it will live still another decade.

Zurich.

GUSTAV BÜSCHER.

FATHER HUNTINGTON

The New York correspondent of the *Church Times* (19th July, 1935) reports the death, after a short illness, of the Rev. James O. S. Huntington, at the age of 81. Fifty years ago this Anglo-Catholic priest, son of a bishop of Central New York, founded the Order of the Holy Cross and became its first superior. As the *Church Times* truly says: "Father Huntington was ardently interested all his life in the social and political implications of the Catholic religion. He was a great personal friend of Henry George, the single-tax advocate, and was frequently denounced in earlier days as a Communist." Older members of the English League will remember the great picnic in Epping Forest in 1890, photographs of which show Henry George (just returned from an Australian missionary journey) sitting in the midst of a large group of members and friends of the League, with Father Huntington at his side. Huntington publicly supported Henry George in his candidature for the Mayoralty of New York in 1886, and officiated at the marriage of Jennie George to Will Atkinson in 1895, the Roman Catholic ceremony being afterwards performed by the famous Father McGlynn. On his rare visits to England Father Huntington never failed to call at the office of the English League, with which he kept in touch till the last. R.I.P.

F. V.

A Free Copy of "Land & Liberty" is an invitation to become a Subscriber. 2d. Monthly: by Post 2s. 6d. a Year.

LABOUR PARTY AND RATING

The Agenda for the Annual Conference of the Labour Party at Brighton, 30th September to 4th October, contains notice of the following resolutions:—

(a) This Conference is of the opinion that after the passing of the General Enabling Act, referred to on page 7 of the Policy Report on Land and National Planning of Agriculture, the principle of the Rating of Land Values should immediately be applied in urban areas; and that in view of the importance of this question suitable prominence could only be given to it by the issue of a Party Policy Report on the subject of Urban Land. **STREATHAM D.L.P.**

(b) This Conference instructs the National Executive Committee to include in the Labour Party Policy the rating of all empty property on the basis of 25 per cent of the rates chargeable on such property, and that further, Local Authorities shall assess for rating purposes all unused or undeveloped lands and that 25 per cent of such rates chargeable shall be levied against such unused or undeveloped lands, the assessing of such lands to have regard to the "site value" thereof. **MANCHESTER B.L.P.**

These resolutions call for remark. The one from Manchester is so faultily worded that the operation of the rate levy proposed on vacant land is not clear. What may be said is that the framers see it would be an anomaly to charge rates on vacant houses while allowing valuable vacant land to remain exempted. And it is a good sign that the Manchester Labour people are turning their attention to the question of land values, even tentatively, because they have lately been so wedded to the policy of a local income tax.

As for the Streatham motion, it reads that nothing is to be done about land value rating until the Act has been passed for buying out the owners of agricultural land. Before such a Bill could be carried, with all it embodies in the way of organizing and controlling agriculture under boards and committees, the cost of the land acquisition being burdened upon taxpayers generally, Parliament might spend many sessions. Then, and only in urban areas, land value rating is to be adopted or rather, legislation for the purpose is to be introduced. The framers of these policies can be left with their problems: how to draw the line between agricultural land and urban land and why land value right of the line should be gifted to the owner, while left of the line it should be taxed out of his hands and into the public exchequer.

"In view of the importance of this question," it is well said that, "suitable prominence could only be given to it by the issue of a Party Policy Report on the subject of Urban Land." Contribution to such statement of policy, officially endorsed, is already available in the Party's *Notes for Speakers* which the United Committee have reprinted as a pamphlet with the title *The Challenge of the Rates*. It seems that opportunity should be taken to have this pamphlet in the hands of all the delegates at the Conference.

Other resolutions, from Cathcart and Kingston-on-Thames bearing upon land value taxation, have not been placed on the agenda, apparently in view of the standing order that "when the Annual Party Conference has by resolution made a declaration of a general policy or principle no resolution or motion concerning such policy or principle shall appear on the Agenda for a period of three years from the time such declaration was made. . . ." The principle of land value taxation was endorsed at the Hastings Conference, 1933.

DENBIGHSHIRE SLUMS: AND THE CAUSE THEREOF

By A. Williams Price

The recent inquiry in Wrexham relating to the housing conditions (slums), in Broughton, Gwersyllt, Rhos, Ponciau, Cefn Mawr, Cefn Bychan, etc., may well give rise to the following questions:—

1. Why were houses built in such utterly undesirable sites; on steep hill-sides, on water-logged soil, etc., when admirable sites existed within easy distance?
2. Why were houses crammed and jammed together while acres upon acres were, and are, lying idle or producing little?
3. Were the builders crazy, or were they possessed by devils vile as the legion responsible for the untimely end of the Gadarene swine?

In 1688, when James II had to fly for his life from Britain, and the Dutchman, William III, was proclaimed king by the vested interests of that day, nine-tenths of Denbighshire was Crown property, held by farmers and peasants, etc., who had fair security of tenure so long as the Crown Tax or rent was paid; hence it is certain that the change in Landholding, and the production of Slums, occurred after that date.

Crown lands were used by William as bribes, to buy the support of patriots who were open to support the side (any side) offering the greatest bribes; his first great gift of Crown lands (in Denbighshire) caused an uproar among the hungry patriots, he was accused of undue favouritism, etc., but gradually the land of the people was filched: one parcel, of nearly 5,000 acres, was sold to a local magnate for the sum of £208. The small farmers and peasants became landless men, seeking work, wage labour.

With the Industrial Revolution (1750 to 1850), land containing coal, iron, clay, etc., became very valuable and was "enclosed": this served two purposes, it provided wealth for the person "enclosing" the land, and it also supplied abundant cheap labour to face the horrors of early mines and factories. There are two ways, two methods of converting a man into a slave: (a) by fastening chains on his limbs (chains are expensive, and they also hamper his work), the other method (b) is to enclose the land; this is effective and cheap. The workers had to live near their work, houses were built on the scraps and odd bits of land that were not "enclosed," thus the Denbighshire Slums originated.

Bad as conditions may be now, reference to the Government Report, "State of Education in Wales, 1847," reveals something worse, and it must be borne in mind that the evils were deliberately brought about, not by Huns, Germans, or any other dwellers in foreign lands, but by our native rulers. The builders of the houses were compelled by economic taskmasters, just as the Israelites were compelled to produce bricks without straw. They (the builders) were not crazy, and if any of the parties concerned in the production of the Denbighshire Slums were possessed by evil spirits it does not appear to have been the builders!

The only constitutional way to abolish the twin evils of Slums and Unemployment is to Tax and Rate Land Values.

To Teachers of our Economic Classes "WHAT'S WRONG WITH TAXATION?" is recommended as a sessional text-book. Paper covers. Price 1s. post free. Special terms: 9s. per dozen, post free.

THE TRANSPORT PROBLEM

By Alwyn Valentine

(The following is part of an article which appeared in the *Australian Motorist* of 1st March. The author was for 30 years in the service of the Victorian Railways, which are owned by the State, but the principles enunciated are capable of a wider application. We omit the details which Mr Valentine gives of the financial position of this railway system, but one of the points he makes is that no provision was made for a sinking fund, and that the amount allowed for depreciation has never been adequate.)

The railways have been the main factor in the development of the State, and, notwithstanding modern expansion of road-motor transport, still are the dominant agency in that regard. They have created and maintained a fund, in increased land value, more than sufficient to meet construction costs. This fund has not yet been drawn upon.

As a rule private railway companies have obtained more than the cost of construction from this source, by securing beforehand, by free grant or at low price, the land to be benefited, and afterwards selling it at enhanced prices. The land granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway is reported to have realized £4,000 per mile of line, and that granted to and secured by the Midland Railway Co., Western Australia, must have proved very profitable eventually. During the past few years the London Metropolitan Railways of London have been selling, at £5 to £10 per foot frontage, outer suburban land originally bought at cow-pasture prices.

That method of reimbursement is not open to the Victorian Government now, but a plan is available by which the same result may be achieved equitably, and also by which stability and order may displace instability and disorder in the Railway finances.

THE REMEDY

The plan is: Relieve the Railways Account of the debit represented by the interest charges on the Capital Expenditure on permanent way construction and equipment and future extensions and defray such interest charges and amortization charges involved from the proceeds of a special rate on the unimproved value of land levied throughout the State, without exemptions and graduations, to an amount yearly sufficient for the purpose.

Adoption of this plan would enable the charges to railway users being based on the cost of services rendered. Except for the provisions of a reasonable reserve to meet traffic shortage in poor seasons, railway freights and fares would, or should, be computed so as to allow railway earnings to cover no more than working expenses, including maintenance, and interest on and depreciation and amortization of the capital invested in rolling stock, machinery and plant, workshops, general offices, etc.

A "DAMNOSA HEREDITAS"

Under the present policy railway freights and fares are designed to cover, in addition to working expenses and interest on the capital cost of rolling stock, etc., the interest and expenses on capital cost of almost every mile of line built since the establishment of the Government Railway system. If road transport suffered a similar "damnosa hereditas," if its freight and fare charges had to provide for the interest on road expenditure on the first bush track axed to the last highway bitumened, it would not be within the field of competition with the railways. A readjustment of the

interest charges on the lines suggested would bring the railways nearer to level with roadway competitors.

FINDING OF RAILWAY STANDING COMMITTEE

The effect of railway construction on land value is strikingly indicated in the following extract from the first general report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Railways, signed by the late Sir Thomas Bent, as chairman, and other members: "Abundant evidence has been obtained that in some instances the value of country lands would be doubled by the construction of a railway, while, in every case, they would be enhanced in value from 25 to 50 per cent, according to their distances from stations. . . . On analyzing the evidence received in various parts of the colony it was ascertained that five proposed lines, having a total length of 118 miles and estimated to cost £840,902, would increase the capital value of the properties served by them by over £1,000,000."

But, significant as the quoted statement is, it reveals less than half the truth. The lines enhance not only the value of the land through which they pass, they enhance to a much larger extent the land values of the cities and towns on which they converge—especially of the City of Melbourne, to which all the lines act as feeders.

CYRIL F. JAMES

We have learnt with deep regret of the death of Cyril F. James of Bendigo, Victoria, reported to us by his daughter on a recent hurried visit to our office. The sad news had come to her by cable while she was travelling to this country. Cyril James was one of the outstanding figures in the agitation for Free Trade in Australia and the Free Trade he preached was the whole doctrine of the freedom of production with freedom of exchange. In other words his platform was that of Henry George, whose principle and policy inspired a public life of hard endeavour and lofty ideals. Among his most intimate friends was the late Louis P. Jacobs who encouraged him to come to this country and spend a year in association with British co-workers. That was in 1920-21 and many were the meetings that Cyril James addressed besides attending several notable conferences of the land values movement as well as the International Conference (as an Australian representative) convened in London, November, 1920 by the Cobden Club. He was a deeply religious man, a sweet and strong character, a charming companion and on the platform a most persuasive speaker with his quiet effective manner, ever urging the great moral purpose of the cause he upheld. Close and intimate also was his friendship with John Paul, these two from first acquaintance always anxious to make the most of the days they could have together in converse and consultation. At the meeting in our Tothill Street rooms to wish "God speed" to Mr and Mrs James on their return to Australia, Louis Jacobs expressed for all present and for the British movement their appreciation of a visit among them that would be long remembered; and it is so.

Cyril James was one of the trustees of the Australian Henry George Foundation. Among his colleagues there, as among the people of Bendigo, his home town, his name will be enshrined as that of a loyal and true servant of his fellow beings. To Mrs James and to her son and daughter, bereaved, we offer our sincere sympathies.

A. W. M.

Your support is invited for the
"Land & Liberty" Sustentation Fund.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

THE INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR LAND VALUE TAXATION AND FREE TRADE, 94 Petty France, London, S.W.1. President: Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy. Treasurer: Ashley Mitchell. Secretariat: A. W. Madsen and F. C. R. Douglas.

The Objects of the Union are: To stimulate in all countries a public opinion favourable to permanent peace and prosperity for all peoples through the progressive removal of the basic economic causes of poverty and war, as these causes are demonstrated in the writings of Henry George. Specifically, towards the realization of these objects, the Union favours the raising of public revenues by taxes and rates upon the value of land apart from improvements in order to secure the economic rent for the community and the abolition of taxes, tariffs, or imposts of every sort that interfere with the free production and exchange of wealth.

A large correspondence has resulted from the sending out of the Volume of the Edinburgh Conference papers. Letters have come not only from Great Britain and Ireland, but also the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, India, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, France, Germany, Spain, Austria, Hungary, Malta, Roumania, Argentina, China and other parts of the world. A number of suggestions have been made as to the place and time for the next International Conference, with earnest hopes that it shall be held not later than 1936. The matter will be considered at a meeting of the Executive on 16th September. An outstanding feature of the letters received is the welcome given to the "Edinburgh Volume" for the very valuable information it contains. Besides, in many cases the writer has had his own report to give on the course of the movement in his country or district or the office is called upon for advice or help in the way of literature, etc. A few of these letters are quoted:—

T. P. W., Malay States: I cannot express adequately how pleased I have been to read the publications (sent), which have opened to me many fresh aspects of the case. . . . It is a gratification to me to learn that you have published so much literature, for which you are entitled to the highest praise.

R. G. V., New Zealand: One only needs to see the fine large buildings in cities like Wellington where the rates are levied on the land value and not on the buildings. Of course accommodation is cheaper and better and the holding of valuable land idle is less tempting to speculators in the land business, if such it can be called. . . . It is good to read the various papers sent to me from time to time in which the land question is being placed before the public. Donation enclosed and subscriptions for four *Land & Liberty* readers.

H. A. Y., British Guiana: Acknowledging receipt of *Progress and Poverty* and other books, including the Edinburgh Conference papers, sends additional subscription for *Land & Liberty*, much appreciating all this reading.

From Burma: As a society called the Burmah Book Society is asking offers from those who desire to translate books in English into Burmese, I propose to include your book *Progress and Poverty*. (Letter by Air Mail asking immediate reply by Air Mail as to copyright and as to royalty on translation. There is no copyright now of the book, but translator can fix his own royalty.)

L. T., Australia: Can you supply me with a French translation of *Progress and Poverty*, and I would like to know if there is a Japanese translation? (French translation sent and with it the new French translation of *The Condition of Labour*. *Progress and Poverty* is available in Chinese but not in Japanese.)

D. M., Alaska: Please renew my subscription to your valiant paper and also send copies of *Social Problems*, *Gems from Henry George*, *The Story of My Dictatorship*, the book of the Edinburgh Conference and anything further to make up the amount of the enclosed payment.

UNITED STATES

The Tenth Annual Henry George Congress, convened like the previous congresses under the auspices of the Henry George Foundation of America, will be held in New York City on 26th to 28th September. Attending this Congress from overseas will be Mr F. Folke from Denmark and Mr A. W. Madsen from Great Britain.

Land & Freedom of New York, making preliminary announcement of the Congress in its May-June issue, said: The programme this year will be distinctly different in type from those of recent years and much of the time will be devoted to informal conferences and round-table discussions. In view of the remarkable growth of the Henry George School of Social Science and its extension branches in various parts of the country, it is expected that there will be a large representation this year of the younger element and special provision will be made for featuring reports and discussions dealing with this important new development in educational work. . . . As it is now several years since the East has had a Henry George Congress, a large and representative gathering is anticipated and no effort will be spared to make this year's convention of profit to all attending.

ARGENTINA

M. J. S. writes:—

Tribuna Georgista, July issue, reports that the City of Rosario has decided to increase the local land value tax from 2 per mille to 5 per mille, which is equivalent to 1½d. in the £ of capital land value. *La Vanguardia*, the official organ of the "non-bureaucratic Socialists" who vote with the Council majority, argues for the revenue from this source being used to reduce the onerous taxes now imposed on trade and industry that the city imposes.

One article draws attention to the appalling prospects before the demobilized troops of Paraguay and Bolivia on their return and landless and workless surplus units to their landlord-ridden villages. Interesting evidence is given of the growing realization among Argentine Socialists that Marx (in respect of the land question) had finally arrived at conclusions very similar to Henry George's. Dr Felix Vitale is mentioned as engaged in vigorous propaganda work at Monte Caseros, his home. Not long ago *Land & Liberty* published a notable contribution from Dr Vitale's pen.

SOUTH AFRICA

The May issue of the monthly journal *The Industries of South Africa*, published in Durban, contains a complete reprint of Henry George's *The Crime of Poverty*. An editorial note said "the arguments propounded by the Prophet of San Francisco are arguments that apply even more forcibly to present-day world conditions. Those of our readers who will read deeply and study carefully what Henry George has to say will find to their amazement that what he says is so right—so utterly and simply right—that the fundamental facts seem to have escaped more recent reformers of our social and economic systems in their seeking after complicated methods to right complicated wrongs." Congratulations are due to Mr Mather Smith for securing this publication.

R. F., Vienna: Bestir yourselves now in the International Union to restore Austria to health by Land Value Taxation. The opportunity here at the moment is favourable, for the Government and the people are both without advice.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT

THE UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, LTD., 94 Petty France, London, S.W.1. A. W. Madsen, Secretary; F. C. R. Douglas, Assistant Secretary; W. R. Lester and C. E. Crompton, Hon. Treasurers. (Telephone: Whitehall 6003. Telegrams: "Eulav, Sowest, London.")

Mr Frederick Verinder's new book, already announced in our columns, will be entitled *Land and Freedom*, and will be published, price 2s. 6d. net, by the Hogarth Press, the publishing date being 26th September. The book is included in the autumn list of the publishers and with the following brief description:—

"A comprehensive and up-to-date discussion of certain basic economic problems in relation to systems of landholding and taxation. Attention may be directed to the chapters dealing with the formation of monopolies and the dependence of 'capitalism' on 'landlordism,' in which references are made to writings of Marx which are frequently overlooked. The effects of present methods of taxation and local rating in worsening the distribution of wealth are thoroughly examined as well as the arguments in favour of transferring taxation on to economic rent. A special chapter deals with the vexed question whether land-value taxation is applicable to agricultural land. Other topics dealt with are unemployment, housing and land nationalization. A valuable appendix contains a survey of the actual operation throughout the world of the principle of land-value taxation."

The book will be well bound in green cloth and makes altogether 208 pages. We will gladly take orders in advance, and already have a number of requests on file. The appendix referred to is by Mr Madsen.

At a meeting of the Executive of the Committee held on 24th July the cordial invitation from America for representation at the forthcoming (end of September) Henry George Congress in New York City was accepted. It was decided that Mr Madsen should attend, the Committee welcoming this opportunity to have a spokesman from the British movement and bind closer the associations with our many colleagues and co-workers in America. As is reported elsewhere Mr F. Folke, the President of the Danish Henry George League, is also proceeding to the Congress, representing the Danish movement.

On the last page of this issue is reproduced (somewhat smaller in size) an advertisement which appeared recently in the *Co-operative News*. The advertisement was reprinted in leaflet form and sent with a specimen of Henry George's *Protection or Free Trade?* and a covering circular to about 1,800 Co-operative Societies and Guilds. The editorial columns of that journal have given the book a strong commendation and the daily post is bringing numerous orders to our office.

Among the reviews of Mr Lester's *Poverty and Plenty* (1s., published by the Hogarth Press) that have come through the press-cutting agency are those in the Northern Despatch, Nottingham Journal, Scottish Farmer, Church Times, Irish News, East Anglian Times, Yorkshire Observer, Eastern Daily Press, Express and Star, Town and Country Planning, and the Bristol Labour Weekly. Many of the notices are extensive, and the pamphlet is having a very good press. The Northern Despatch says, for example: "*Poverty and Plenty* is a good shillingsworth, well worth adding to the library of modern works on social and economic problems."

The demand for the pamphlet *Cities Held to Ransom* has occasioned a further reprint, making altogether 30,000 published since October last. Price 1d. from our offices. It has been widely circulated by post to thousands of addresses of local councillors and to correspondents interested in promoting the land value rating agitation in municipal circles.

Readers are asked to send us names and addresses (where such appear at the end of letters) of people writing to the press on social or economic questions, so that we can make contact by sending *Land & Liberty* and suitable literature on the subjects they discuss. This is one of the regular duties of the office, and during last month a host of people were communicated with in this way.

A co-worker in Liverpool writes: "With regard to your request for suggestions, I submit that in every place where you have a correspondent you persuade him to start a reading circle for the study of one of George's works. These reading circles might be established generally and maintained as a permanent feature and they would provide opportunities for the sale of books and pamphlets and for *Land & Liberty*, as well as for the growth of the movement. Even though a circle at first consisted of only three or four members its influence would be felt and out of such circles new local Leagues could grow."

This is an excellent suggestion and we pass it on to every one of our many correspondents who, at a distance from any of the established centres of the Leagues, are working away more or less in isolation. Over and over again we have the inquiry,

"What can I do?" and the reply is the self-same proposal—to get together even a few for thorough study, so to equip each other as writers or speakers for the advancement of the Henry George teaching. We offer all assistance in our power, as by acquainting local correspondents with one another, by the provision of the books on special terms, advice as to a suitable syllabus for a class, office facilities in the way of circularizing, etc. This is not to say that many reading circles are not already in existence but to emphasize the importance of multiplying such groups all over the country which with good resolve and persistence should not be difficult to achieve.

Recent overseas visitors to the office have included Miss Lambrick from Melbourne, Mr C. R. Swan of Sydney (member of the Australian Henry George Foundation), bearing special greetings from their colleagues; and the daughter of Mr Cyril F. James, of Bendigo, Victoria, who brought the sad word that she had just heard by cable of the death of her father.

The Scottish Edition of the *Daily Express*, 16th July, reports: "Scottish local authorities are being urged to hold regional conferences to plan reforms in the rating system. Members of local authorities have been circularized by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values. The present system of rating is blamed for causing 'dear houses, overcrowding, and slums'."

VARIOUS MEETINGS.—Among meetings addressed and arranged Mr John S. T. Stevens paid a return visit on 28th July to the Newfoundpool (Leicester) Adult School, and on the same date Mr W. E. Bland addressed the Winchmore Hill Adult School. There was a good distribution and sale of literature at these meetings. Mr W. R. Lester has been invited to speak again at the Union Church Institute in Brighton, this being his fifth engagement with them within the last year. Mr Madsen at the Chesham (Bucks) Liberal Association on 18th August.

ENGLISH LEAGUE: Frederick Verinder, General Secretary, 7 St Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2. (Phone: Temple Bar 7830.)

The following meetings have been addressed during July:—

By Andrew MacLaren: 3rd, Wimbledon Park Women's Co-operative Guild; 10th, Earlsfield Women's Co-operative Guild; 14th, Felling-on-Tyne; 15th, Jarrow; 16th, Throckley, Newburn-on-Tyne; 17th, Consett, Co. Durham; 18th, Houghton-le-Spring, Co. Durham; 19th, Crook, Co. Durham; 20th, Fishburn, near Sedgfield, Co. Durham; 21st, Darlington.

By A. C. Blackburn: 4th, League of Youth (Dulwich Labour Party); 8th, 15th, 22nd, 29th, East Fulham Labour Party; 17th, Westminster (St George's) Labour Party; 19th, Toc H., Seven Kings, Essex.

By Fredk. Verinder: 23rd, South Hackney Labour Party (Women's Section).

Nearly all these meetings have been held in the open air, and have been largely attended. An account of Andrew MacLaren's successful campaign will be given in the September issue of the League's *Bulletin*. Local helpers have sent to the General Secretary very enthusiastic accounts of the speeches delivered and of the interest aroused. They all express the hope that Mr MacLaren will pay these "depressed areas" another visit.

Members of the League who belong to local societies can help its educational work by suggesting that the League be asked to send a speaker to one of the meetings now being arranged for the coming autumn and winter. Invitations will be welcomed not only from local political organizations, but also from Rotary Clubs, Co-operative Guilds (Men's and Women's), Ratepayers' Associations, Debating Societies, Toc H. Branches, Brotherhoods, Youth Organizations, and so on.

The Economic Class, which meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m., will be discontinued during August. A new Session of the Class will be opened on Tuesday, 3rd September. New students will be heartily welcomed.

SCOTTISH LEAGUE: William Reid, Secretary, 9 Woodside Crescent, Glasgow, G.3. (Telephone: Douglas 5599.)

July being holiday month in Glasgow, there is not much to report as to activities locally. Odd letters based on the "New Deal," "Disarmament," and other current topics have appeared in local newspapers. Further afield one finds a letter signed "A. J. Mace" in *Reynolds's* of 7th July.

The Glasgow *Forward* gave special prominence to the pamphlet *Cities Held to Ransom*, quoting number of passages, including that on the cost of playing-fields and the incident of boys finding their way to jail after playing football in the streets.

It is announced that Capt A. R. McDougal, the Liberal candidate for Roxburgh and Selkirk, and well known to *Land & Liberty* readers for his advocacy of land value taxation, is to speak at the Cambridge Liberal Summer School on Mr Lloyd George's "New Deal" in its bearings on agriculture.

YORKS AND NORTHERN LEAGUE: F. Skirrow, Secretary, Compton Buildings, Bow Street, Keighley. (Phone: Keighley 3151.)

On 16th July our President (Ashley Mitchell) addressed a meeting of Leeds unemployed at the Trades Hall, taking as his subject "The Power of Parliament." The meeting was well attended and the address much appreciated.

The Secretary addressed an open-air meeting on Victoria Square, Leeds, on 11th July, and was supported by William Thomson, who has also addressed a Brotherhood meeting at Keighley.

Letters to the Press have been as follows: 29th June, the Secretary, Keighley News; 2nd July, William Thomson, Yorkshire Observer; 3rd July, A. W. Dakers, Newcastle Chronicle; 3rd July, the Secretary, Yorkshire Observer; 20th July, "Impot Unique" and the Secretary, Keighley News; 22nd July, the Secretary, Yorkshire Observer.

During the month 400 circulars and pamphlets, *Cities Held to Ransom*, have been sent to secretaries of political and social reform bodies.

MANCHESTER LEAGUE: Arthur H. Weller, J.P., Secretary, 69 Piccadilly, Manchester 1. (Phone: Central 5527.)

Well-attended meetings were held at Alexandra Park Gate, Moss Side, on 3rd, 10th and 17th July, and were addressed by Messrs E. M. Ginders, W. Withington, D. J. J. Owen, E. F. MacClafferty and A. H. Weller.

Among the resolutions sent by local parties for the agenda of the Labour Party Conference at Brighton in October is one from the Manchester Borough Labour Party in favour of rating empty property, and also rating unused and undeveloped land on its site value. This shows a welcome advance from this Party's advocacy of a municipal income tax. Perhaps *The Challenge of the Rates*, with official declarations by the Labour Party, recently published by the United Committee, has had some influence in this direction.

Through a request made by Mr D. J. J. Owen, Dr S. Vere Pearson's book, *The Growth and Distribution of Population*, can now be obtained from the new Manchester Central Library.

Readers are reminded of the President's Garden Party at Park Hall, Little Hayfield, on Saturday, 24th August. There will be a charge of 1s. 6d. each for refreshments, the whole of the proceeds going to the League's funds. All members and friends welcome.

LIVERPOOL LEAGUE: F. R. Jones, Hon. Secretary, 23 Rocklands Avenue, Bebington, Cheshire. (Office and Meeting Room: 21 Harrington Street, North John Street, Liverpool.)

At our League Room, 21 Harrington Street, each Wednesday, 8 p.m., Mr E. J. McManus is continuing his Study Circle, which has now grown in numbers to over 20 persons of each sex. The method adopted is the reading of one of the chapters from *Social Problems*, followed by questions and comment from each member of the Circle in turn. In this way all make steady progress in economic knowledge and in the capacity to analyze difficult questions. Everyone interested is invited to attend and bring friends.

The Birkenhead Circle on Thursday evenings at the rooms of Mr Byrne Hely, Charing Cross, is being regularly conducted by the Secretary. Post's charts are being used to give a thorough ground in the leading principles of production and distribution.

On 26th July Mr E. J. McManus addressed the Waterloo Rover Scouts on "The Problem of Poverty."

We are now engaged in a general circularization of societies for the purpose of arranging addresses by our speakers during the coming winter session. It is hoped this year to reach a still wider audience with our message.

MIDLAND LEAGUE: Chapman Wright, Hon. Secretary, 20 Cannon Street, Birmingham 2.

The Corporation *Blue Book*, just issued, shows Birmingham to have an estimated population of 1,033,000, and the civic debt per head is £51 2s. 6d.

It was asserted at a recent Council meeting that no less than £263,000 was paid in rates during the past year by the City Electrical Department, also that the Municipal 'buses paid about £90 per vehicle as licence fee, and 8d. per gallon for motor spirit. Any suggestion to remove the grievous burden of rates and taxes by the taxation of land values is out-voted, yet many families, with a total income of £2, may pay 4s. or 5s. weekly in tram and bus fares.

PORTSMOUTH LEAGUE: A. H. Stoakes, Hon. Secretary, 110 Baffins Road, Portsmouth.

Arrangements for the autumn and winter session were discussed at a Committee meeting on 2nd July, and it was decided among other activities to hold a series of monthly public meetings in one of the local halls. We recently distributed to persons likely to be specially interested 600 copies of the pamphlet

The Challenge of the Rates through the medium of the Northern, Central and Southern divisions of the local Labour Party. Thus attention is drawn to the case for Land Value Rating and the opportunity to promote the policy in municipal circles.

WELSH LEAGUE: Mrs Annie Fento, Hon. Secretary, 214 Caerphilly Road, Birchgrove, Cardiff.

At its meeting on the 25th July, the Cardiff Corporation further discussed the plans for the holding of the Conference to promote the rating of land values. The date has now been fixed for the end of September and by special resolution it was decided to send the invitation to *all* the rating authorities in Wales and Monmouthshire, further to the invitation that the Town Clerk had already sent to the counties and the boroughs.

The meeting of Gabalfa and Birchgrove ratepayers which was addressed on 19th July by Capt. Saw, Councillor J. H. Morgan, Mr Meth Jones and Mr Charles Gardner, unanimously supported a resolution welcoming the City Council's land value rating demand.

Councillor Morgan (a journalist by profession) said his experience on committees negotiating with landowners had convinced him that ratepayers should not cease to urge their representatives to press for this reform. He was definitely one who believed that it was not so much a political matter; it was purely a question for the people, if only because of the high prices demanded. As an instance, £11,000 was asked for a small strip adjoining the Corporation Putting Green on Penylan Hill, which could not be used for building, being only suitable for a rockery.

Another meeting is being arranged to be held in the Canton Ward shortly.

Speaking on 19th June on "Land Nationalization" at a meeting of the Ewloe and Hawarden (Flintshire) Labour Party, Mr Samuel Lloyd treated the question as that of restoring the land to its original owners. As to methods, he discussed three points: confiscation, purchase, and the taxation of land values with special treatment of the last named. The audience were greatly interested as the subsequent discussion showed, and gladly took the land values literature which Mr Lloyd had obtained from the United Committee for distribution.

BRISTOL LEAGUE: J. A. Hurley, Hon. Secretary, 14 Queen's Road, Knowle, Bristol.

During the summer and holiday season, the usual meetings of the League have been discontinued.

A meeting of the League Executive will be held on 20th August at 5 Eastfield Road, Cotham, to consider the arrangements for the forthcoming indoor session.

Our President, Mr E. J. Brierley, has made many new contacts during the past month and much good work has been accomplished by this means. A circular letter has been prepared and every local organization will be advised of the activities of the local League.

PENNY PAMPHLETS

The Only Way Out of Unemployment. By H. G. CHANCELLOR, Ex-M.P.

The New Political Economy. By JOHN B. SHARPE.
Agriculture and Land Value Taxation. Three Papers by F. C. R. DOUGLAS, M.A., CAPT. A. R. McDUGAL OF BLYTHE and JAMES SCOTT, Ex-M.P.

Unemployment and the Land. By W. R. LESTER.
Land Value Taxation and Free Trade. (Prize Essay.) By HAROLD CROSSLEY.

Sheffield and Land Value Rating. Official Report of the City Council, with facts as to land prices.

Land Value Taxation in Practice (New South Wales). By J. R. FIRTH, Mayor of Strathfield.

The Crying Injustice of our Rating System. By FREDK. VERINDER.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

The Crime of Poverty. Thou Shalt Not Steal.
Thy Kingdom Come. "Moses."
Justice the Object, Taxation the Means.

ADDRESS ORDERS TO "LAND & LIBERTY,"
94 PETTY FRANCE, LONDON, S.W.1.

THE DE-RATING ACT A Scottish Demand

The 1929 Act is familiarly known as the De-rating Act for what it did in regard to the rates. Correctly, the title is the Local Government Act, which besides the rating provisions remodelled the framework of local government by reducing the number of rating authorities and transferring various functions from one set of bodies to another. County Councils, for example, were given many new powers, poor law authorities in England and Wales disappearing, while in Scotland Parish Councils were swept out of existence.

The results of the Act, so far as it affects local government in Scotland, are set forth in a report recently issued by a Select Committee of the executive of the Scottish Liberal Federation, from which we quote with its recommendation in favour of the Taxation and Rating of Land Values:—

"Scotland has always had a genius for Local Government, but the Act has deprived the Scottish Smaller Burghs of so many of their rights that public interest in Local Government has declined to a deplorable extent. . . . The smaller Burghs have been put in vassalage to the County Councils, with most prejudicial results to the Burghs. 'Local Government' has become a misnomer, because the 33 County Councils control the administration in so large areas that real 'local' administration is impossible.

"Prior to 1929 the landward rating did not provide County Councils with sufficient revenue, and therefore the Burghs were brought in to swell the County Council revenue. The de-rating of all productive industries was secured by the tax on petrol, which is a tax on transport. By such de-rating the burden of local rates has fallen very harshly upon the householders and shopkeepers in the Burghs, as well as in the Landward Areas. All new developments or expenditure in the Burghs or Landward Areas fall mainly upon these un-de-rated ratepayers.

"In rural areas, the de-rating of land has gravely prejudiced water and drainage schemes. If a water and drainage area is formed the landowners are relieved of their liabilities to provide these services; yet they are left free to exact feu duties or ground rents fixed by themselves and increased through the public services provided by the ratepayers.

"The Taxation of Land Values should be put into operation as soon as possible so as to secure the fair proportion of rates from the owners of the ground who at present escape rating or taxation altogether (except the income tax which everyone pays). They should be rated on the real capital value of the ground they own, these values being created by the activities of the community. The rates on houses, shops, and other "improvements" would then be gradually transferred to the owners of the ground.

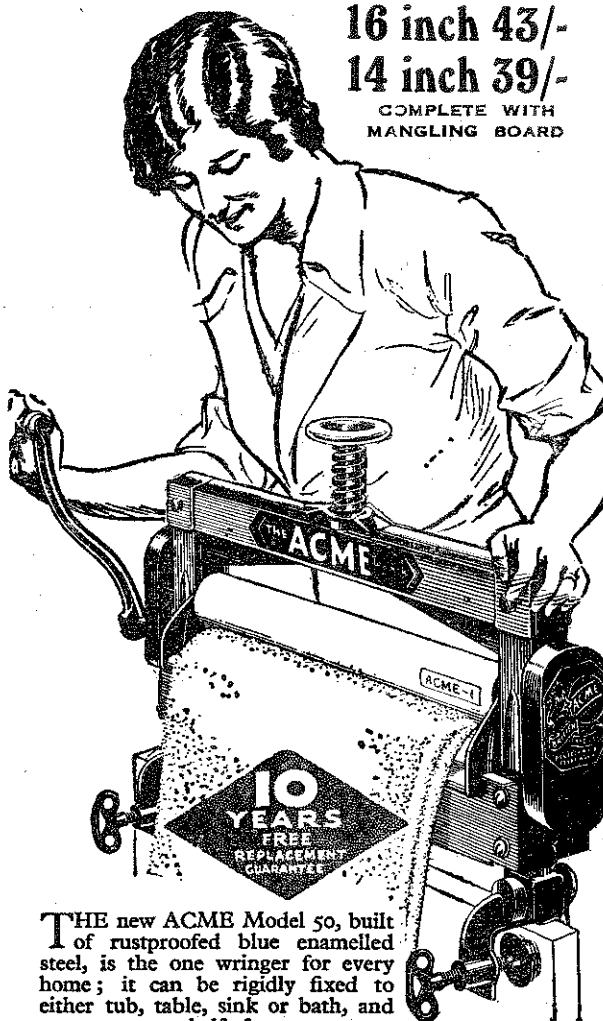
"The problem of overcrowding is a grave one. The shortage of houses is serious. Many landowners are unwilling or refuse to give building sites on their land near the towns, or exact prohibitive feuing rates. The really effective lever to ensure that ample supplies of building ground will be made available at reasonable rates is the economic lever. If a tax were laid on the capital value of all land this would force land into the market."

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TARIFFS—QUOTAS—SUBSIDIES

How Consumers and Workers are Exploited

More than £350,000,000 a year is being raised from the people in indirect taxation. This is equal to £8 a head; 15s. a week for a family of five. Many more millions are being taken from the people for the benefit of private interests through the higher prices caused by tariffs, quotas, and restrictions. Consumers cannot afford to ignore these facts.

The strength of protectionism lies in the argument that it will secure men employment, and raise wages. How can this be true when there are still 2,000,000 unemployed? Are the interests of consumers opposed to the interests of workers? Why did unemployment and low wages prevail when we had no Protective Tariffs? The answer to these questions is given in

Protection or Free Trade

By HENRY GEORGE

This book, which the author entitled "An Examination of the Tariff Question with special regard to the Interests of Labour," is the clearest and simplest presentation of the problem ever written. It carries the discussion beyond the point at which other writers stop. It shows the weakness of the case for Free Trade as usually argued, and the means by which wages may be permanently raised. The following extracts indicate the spirit of the work:

The truth is, that the fallacies of protection draw their real strength from a great fact, which is to them as the earth was to the fabled Antæus, so that they are beaten down only to spring up again. This fact is one which neither side in the controversy endeavours to explain—which free traders quietly ignore and protectionists quietly utilise; but which is of all social facts most obvious and important to the working-classes—the fact that as soon, at least, as a certain stage of social development is reached, there are more labourers seeking employment than can find it—a surplus which at recurring periods of industrial depression becomes very large. Thus the opportunity of work comes to be regarded as a privilege, and work itself to be deemed in common thought a good.

Here, and not in the laboured arguments which its advocates make, or in the power of the special interests which it enlists, lies the real strength of protection. Beneath all the mental habits disposing men to accept the fallacies of protection lies one still more important—the habit ingrained in thought and speech of looking upon work as a boon.

Those who imagine that they can overcome the popular leaning to protection by pointing out that protective tariffs make necessary more work to obtain the same result, ignore the fact that in all civilised countries that have reached a certain stage of development the majority of the people are

unable to employ themselves, and, unless they find someone to give them work, are helpless, and, hence, are accustomed to regard work as a thing to be desired in itself, and anything which makes more work as a benefit, not an injury.

Here is the rock against which "free traders" whose ideas of reform go no further than a "tariff for revenue only" waste their strength when they demonstrate that the effect of protection is to increase work without increasing wealth.

The reason why the abolition of protection, greatly as it would increase the production of wealth, can accomplish no permanent benefit for the labouring-class, is that so long as the land on which all must live is made the property of some, increase of productive power can only increase the tribute which those who own the land can demand for its use. So long as land is held to be the individual property of but a portion of its inhabitants no possible increase of productive power, even if it went to the length of abolishing the necessity of labour, and no imaginable increase of wealth, even though it poured down from heaven or gushed up from the bowels of the earth, could improve the condition of those who possess only the power to labour. The greatest imaginable increase of wealth could only intensify in the greatest imaginable degree the phenomena which we are familiar with as "over-production"—could only reduce the labouring-class to universal pauperism.

Over 2,000,000 copies of this book have been sold.

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