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Not to the Landlord and Not to the Tenant.—We report elsewhere the informing debates on the Landlord and Tenant Bill in the House of Commons on 8th and 18th November. The question of land values entered by a side door, as it were, and took possession of the field. The opening was given through the clauses which try to determine what the tenant is entitled to receive at the end of a lease from the landlord in the name of goodwill. The framers of the Bill had found it impossible to define "goodwill." The only practical thing to do was to specify what "goodwill" did not include and when the Bill was in Committee last Session it became clear that the value of land must be ruled out because, however it arose, it was not attributable to the industry and energy of the tenant. Mr MacLaren pressed for a provision in the Bill that would allow land value to be identified, if even for the guidance of the Tribunal that has to adjust matters between the parties concerned.

In the Report Stage the necessary words were added and in the sentence that the Tribunal shall disregard any value "which is attributable exclusively to the situation of the premises," Parliament has placed its seal once for all on an affirmation that is pregnant of meaning for the land value policy.

"King Charles' Head."—The noteworthy feature of the arguments used to justify the provision was that no one had the audacity to claim that the value of land was attributable to anything the landlord did. On the contrary, it was freely recognized that land value is a community product belonging not to any individual but to the community itself.

Sir Wm. Joynson-Hicks, the Minister in charge of the Bill, said: "We tried very hard to keep ground values out of the Committee stage upstairs, and like King Charles' head, it cropped up from time to time. *There is no more right for the increase which is due to the public ground value to belong to the tenant than to the landlord.*"

The sentiment was still better put by Mr J. J. Withers, Conservative Member for Cambridge University:

"If this Amendment be not inserted that goodwill

will pass to the tenant. *As a matter of fact, it does not belong to either, it belongs to the community. It is a very poor law which takes property away from one person to whom it does not belong and gives it to another person to whom it does not belong.*"

These striking admissions deserve emphasis. Coming as they do from Conservative benches in the House of Commons and with Ministerial authority, they have not been made in vain. They will assuredly be repeated on many a platform.

Speakers on the Labour benches drove home the lesson one after another, an outstanding contribution being made by Mr J. Hudson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury in the late Labour Administration, who, like his colleagues, made the most of the occasion to state the case for land value taxation and pledge his Party to that policy.

A Different Tribunal wanted.—Although the Bill is a puny thing and goes the wrong way to rectify grievances, it provoked an instructive discussion by the greater issues it raised. In what it actually proposes, it touches but the fringe of the subject. Bristling with litigious matter, it commits tasks to a Tribunal that are as perplexing as they are futile. It deals only with one aspect of the privileges that landowners enjoy against their fellow-men when access to land or a continued occupation is in question. The landowner is to-day the receiver of the rent of land and he is well protected in his monopoly by the taxation that is thrown entirely on industry. As long as he can withhold land at will, dictating his terms and escaping his obligations to the community, rent and rates and taxes all mount together to make an intolerable burden on the shoulders of the working population. It is idle therefore for the tenant, caught in this net with his customers in the same plight, to complain about the evils or the excesses of the leasehold system, as if where freehold obtains industry had a better chance or a better reward. The fundamental cause of the trouble is that the "land market" is restricted because owners of desirable sites are in command of the situation and the value of land is drained into private pockets. What belongs to the community and what belongs to the land-user can only be discovered by a valuation separating the value of land from the improvements on the land, and when the former is taken for the uses of the community and the latter are exempted from taxation, the occupier under a leasehold or any form of land tenure will be free to enjoy the fruits of his enterprise. What is wanted is a Tribunal to set that effective machinery in motion.

Mr Neville Chamberlain as "Land Taxer."—The admissions of Conservative Members of Parliament as to the cause and nature of land value are in their place. A further witness from the same side is called to submit that the assessment and the taxation of land values is not at all an unworkable proposition. Doubts about

both theory and practice begin to vanish.

Mr Neville Chamberlain, the Minister of Health, speaking on 2nd November at the first meeting of the new Regional Town Planning Committee for Greater London, said that in the interests of town planning he wanted to see an agricultural belt of land dividing Greater London as it existed to-day from the building expansions of the future. The agricultural belt would partly consist of parks and playing fields or the grounds of any large buildings such as hospitals. But the land would have to be "sterilized" and the question of compensation to the owners would at once be raised. The remark that startled his hearers was: "*It would be well to see whether the cost could not be to some extent met by a share in the increased value of the adjoining land.*"

For the Benefit of Landowners.—We need not labour the morality of the proposal to buy up the land around the towns, which has an enormous value, being held in speculation while allowed to stand at only a pound or two in the rate books and even so relieved of three-quarters of the rates. Nor is the reference to a mere "increment" a matter for comment here. The point no one will miss is that Mr Neville Chamberlain is prepared to obtain—for the benefit of landowners—revenue from a source and by a means that the community heretofore dared not touch nor use for the benefit of the public. He is prepared to do something that his confrères have always contended is both unjust and impossible. In his General Election Manifesto Mr Baldwin denounced Land Value Taxation as spoliation. When the Land Clauses of the 1909 Budget were repealed in 1920, Sir Austen Chamberlain, the brother of Mr Neville, spoke of the "fancy and hypothetical values" and the "metaphysical abstractions" on which men attempted to build a policy of taxation. At a later date, in 1923, when the Valuation Department was deprived of its power to get the particulars of transactions in land, he said to those who protested: "They think some day upon these valuations they are going to found a system of a predatory kind."

Mr Neville Chamberlain cries out in so many words, "enough of this foolery." Land Value Taxation is not spoliation; it is not based on fanciful abstractions; it is not predatory; we can certainly make use of these valuations. The policy is perfectly sound and rational. We need only the will to put it into operation, although our aims be not the aims of others.

A New View of the Case.—The *London Daily News* and the *Star* had useful leading articles on this new turn on the political stage.

The *Star*, 4th November, chided the Minister of Health in these words:—

He has completely reversed the idea of land taxation. He proposes that the community which desires to have these belts of unbuilt-on agricultural land around it should pay the landowner the prospective building value of this land and levy part of it as a tax on the built-on neighbouring land. In other words, the landowner who to-day is holding up land from building in order to get an exorbitant price—and whose action in this respect at Morden has recently been criticised by so moderate a politician as Lord Ashfield, as chairman of the Underground—will in future be paid for holding up this land because the community wants it.

According to the *Daily News*, 4th November:—

Mr Chamberlain has given a whimsical twist to the land tax controversy. For a generation land taxes have been attacked as highway robbery. A whole library of mis-statement has grown up round the

unfairness of their incidence and the catastrophic results of their imposition. Now it is discovered that they might be levied to enrich the landlord, and the Conservative Minister of Health gives them his blessing. Truly the Conservative Party does not change. Conservatives have devised a method by which the nefarious schemes of the Radicals could be diverted to the advantage of their supporters. It is also in line with the Conservative tradition that they should take a generation to think of it.

Nothing is likely to come of the proposal. But much will be heard of the implication it bears, that the case against land value taxation as a *practical* proposal—for whose benefit is another question—has fallen to the ground on the testimony of most acceptable authority.

Landowners' Antagonism to Town Planning.—The *Essex Weekly News* of 22nd October reports that at an inquiry into the application of the Orsett Rural Council for approval of a town planning scheme, the discussion was wound up by Mr G. F. Andrassy, acting Clerk and Engineer and Surveyor to the Orsett Council, who said that most of the arguments finished with antagonism against town planning.

They had done everything they possibly could to assist the landowners by having conferences and meetings, but it all boiled down to exactly the same thing—"We want to do as we like." If the Council were going to sit down to that, it meant that the whole principle of town planning was a waste of time, and the Council might as well leave it out altogether.

Orsett lies on the north bank of the Thames near Tilbury. The interests that made objection included one landowner who was against "restrictions being placed on his property"; and the Thames Land Company, owners of some 1,650 acres in the district, who were holding it for industrial purposes for which it had a high value. They objected to land being scheduled for permanent allotments and to the proposed area for housing. Orsett has evidently to reckon with its land speculators just because it cannot call them to account through a sound measure of land value taxation. When the Housing and Town Planning Bill was before the House of Commons in 1908, Lord Oxford (Mr Asquith) said: "I agree with those who think that its necessary complement is a complete reconstruction of our valuation and rating system." The Act was passed and that "reconstruction" is still wanting, proving by all subsequent attempts at town planning how vital it was and is. The town planners paid no heed to Lord Oxford's counsel and their schemes have remained since, to all intents and purposes, in the paper stage.

A Useful Illustration.—At the Lancashire County Council meeting on 3rd November, Alderman J. Whitaker, Chairman of the Finance Committee, referring to figures dealing with the revised budget, said the amount realized from Wigan was £1,219 below the amount expected for the past half-year, the reason being that the rateable value had depreciated by £33,386, due to the fact that colliery rateable values were based on the amount of coal raised, and the collieries had been under a cloud, the coal raised being small in quantity owing to the dispute last year.

The same conditions obtain in all colliery districts and are responsible for the troubles of the local authorities. Rates are levied on coal when produced, and, when mines are closed the burden falls the more heavily on the rest of the community; unemployment and distress are thus aggravated. If taxation was levied on the value of mineral-bearing land, whether exploited or not, and on all land whether used or not, and houses and other buildings were exempted, the troubles in the

colliery districts would disappear like mist before the rising sun. With the land and its natural resources thrown open to industry, involuntary unemployment is unthinkable.

A Short-sighted Providence.—The Dean of St. Paul's is again instructing the faithful on birth control, of which subject he is a leading protagonist. He tells us that he will have nothing to do with the old saying, "Where God sends mouths He sends meat." We cannot throw on the Deity the responsibility of bringing unwanted children into the world and leaving them to the mercy of State and outdoor relief for food, clothes and support. If the good citizen has reason to think that his children are not likely to be healthy in body and mind, or if it is plain that there is no longer room for large families, it is his duty to act in accordance with that knowledge. The multiplication of the waste products of civilization is a new thing. It is only in the last two generations that the survival rate of the slums has been much higher than that of the middle classes. The results are certain to be disastrous.

As coming from a high dignitary of the Church all this makes queer reading. Not the remotest hint of the possibility that the overcrowding of the slums and the propagation of the unfit may be due, not to the perversity of the "lower classes" but to the inhuman institutions that imprison them and rob them of their equal right of access to nature's unlimited and bountiful storehouse. They know it is true that "where God sends mouths He sends meat"—or every opportunity of producing it—and they at any rate will "have nothing to do" with the Dean's cynical reproaches addressed to God and man.

Natural Resources for All.—If, to-day, there seem too many mouths to feed, we throw back on the Dean his insinuation that this is because God or nature is niggardly or has been short-sighted. Far from it, a bountiful provision awaits all who are born into this world. Who is to blame if access to nature's illimitable storehouse, workshop and playground is barred? Is it God or is it man? Why cannot the Dean get hold of the simple truth that were access to this storehouse equally free to all without obstruction there would be ample room for all? And why cannot he see that the slums and overcrowding of the "lower orders," side by side with the precarious position of the middle classes who find it harder to maintain their position to-day than ever before, is because this bountiful storehouse is only accessible on payment of toll exacted by a favoured class to whom we grant the power, and even encourage, to withhold it if they so please.

There is no case for the theory of over-population and its derivative, birth control, so long as there remains a single acre of land in town or country which is in demand for support of life but withheld from those who would use it. It will be time to talk of the need for birth control if it can be shown that all those opportunities for a full and happy life, and the natural resources from which wealth is derived, have been exhausted.

Land Restoration.—We are glad to notice the sufficient answer to a point given by Dr Percy McDougall in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* of 25th November. Our watchful co-worker writes:—

"The name 'maelstrom,' imagined by your leader-writer to-day for a state of society in which wages paid by employers are gravitating to a bare subsistence level, so that Guardians' relief must fall even below subsistence level, is a good name for a society which by persistently tolerating unrestricted private property in land enables owners of land to keep land unused or

poorly developed (causing unemployment), or, when the land is more fully developed, enables the owners to get a 'rake-off' from production each year of an amount which should rightfully go to satisfying public revenue. We have seen this power capitalized in Bootle at £1,750,000. In default of these values public revenue must be obtained by crushing, burdensome rates and taxes, causing unemployment and lowering wages always towards a bare subsistence. Let us work for land restoration."

The reference to Bootle is the sale of ground rents by the trustees of Lord Derby, as reported in another column.

LAND VALUES PARLIAMENTARY GROUP

The group, which was recently revived, is steadily growing in numbers. At the time of writing it includes 59 members: Labour 46, Liberal 9, Co-operative 3, and Independent 1. It includes 7 members of the late Labour Government, of which Mr Philip Snowden was the first to join. At the first meeting of the group, held on 10th November, a committee was elected, consisting of the President (Col. Wedgwood), the two Hon. Secretaries (Mr P. A. Harris, M.P., and Mr B. Riley, M.P.), with 7 other M.P.s (5 Labour and 2 Liberal) and Sir Edgar Harper as consultative member. Ex-members of the House and candidates for the next Parliament are eligible for membership, if they express a desire to join.

The list of the 59 members of the group is as follows:—

LABOUR

Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman (*Deptford*); Rt. Hon. W. Graham (*Central Edinburgh*); Rt. Hon. Ben Spoor (*Bishop Auckland*); Rt. Hon. P. Snowden (*Colne Valley*); Rt. Hon. C. P. Trevelyan (*Central Newcastle*); Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood (*Newcastle-under-Lyme*); Rt. Hon. S. Walsh (*Ince*); C. G. Ammon (*North Camberwell*); J. Baker (*Bilston*); G. Barker (*Abertillery*); F. A. Broad (*Edmonton*); W. Bromfield (*Leek*); M. Connolly (*East Newcastle*); T. Griffiths (*Pontypool*); J. H. Hudson (*Huddersfield*); W. Jenkins (*Neath*); W. John (*West Rhondda*); T. Johnston (*Dundee*); W. T. Kelly (*Rochdale*); Com. Kenworthy (*Central Hull*); G. Lansbury (*Bow and Bromley*); F. W. Lindley (*Rotherham*); W. Lunn (*Rothwell*); A. MacLaren (*Burslem*); E. Rosslyn Mitchell (*Paisley*); J. A. Parkinson (*Wigan*); R. Richardson (*Houghton-le-Spring*); B. Riley (*Dewsbury*); J. Ritson (*East Durham*); F. H. Rose (*North Aberdeen*); A. L. Shepherd (*Darlington*); Rennie Smith (*Penistone*); H. B. Lees-Smith (*Keighley*); H. Snell (*East Woolwich*); T. W. Stamford (*West Leeds*); Jos. Sullivan (*Bothwell*); W. Thorne (*Plaistow*); F. B. Varley (*Mansfield*); S. P. Viant (*West Willesden*); J. Westwood (*Peebles and Southern*); W. Whiteley (*Blaydon*); Miss Wilkinson (*Middlesbrough*); C. H. Wilson (*Attercliffe*); R. J. Wilson (*Jarrow*); W. Wright (*Rutherglen*); R. Young (*Newton*).

LIBERAL

F. Briant (*North Lambeth*); E. Brown (*Leith*); Major Crawford (*West Walthamstow*); Sir R. Hamilton (*Orkney and Shetland*); Hon. E. A. Harney (*South Shields*); P. A. Harris (*S.W. Bethnal Green*); L. Hore-Belisha (*Devonport*); Major Owen (*Carnarvon*); Trevelyan Thomson (*Middlesbrough, W.*).

CO-OPERATIVE—A. V. Alexander (*Hillsborough*); A. J. Barnes (*East Ham, S.*); T. Henderson (*Tradeston*).

INDEPENDENT—E. Scrymgeour (*Dundee*).

ECHOES FROM MOSS SIDE WEST

Mr Arthur H. Weller's Victory



COUNCILLOR ARTHUR H. WELLER, J.P.

In the Municipal Elections on 1st November Mr Arthur H. Weller, J.P., Secretary of the Manchester Land Values League, stood as "Land Values Candidate" in the Moss Side West Ward, Manchester.

The result of the voting was:—

Arthur H. Weller (Land Values)	.. 2,016
Thomas Dunham (Conservative)	.. 1,770

The seat was gained from the Conservatives, Mr Dunham having been representative for the ward in the City Council.

On 2nd November the *Manchester Guardian*, in a leader on the previous day's elections, said: "Mr Arthur Weller, fighting upon the Land Values Taxation issue, gained a remarkable success in Moss Side West," and also, on another page, said that Mr Weller's majority of 245 amply justified his fighting on this sole issue. If the recipe is required for achieving similar results in other places, the answer is: first, get a candidate whose personality, like Mr Weller's, has impressed itself upon the life and mind of a locality by 20 years loyal advocacy of a great principle. Local circumstances rather than choice made Moss Side, Manchester, the district where Land Values doctrine has been preached in season and out. The opportunity was so used by Mr Weller that the electors have been compelled to recognize his dogged persistence.

The further ingredients are, attractive literature and its judicious circulation. Much credit is due to the local Moss Side Land Values Association, under the secretaryship of Mr John Garner, who have made a quarterly house-to-house distribution of well-chosen leaflets, during the last two years. This kept the interest alive, ready for the appointment in October of the election committee, with Mr W. Withington as chairman.

Again, the election literature itself was of an unusually telling kind. A special edition of Mr Weller's

monthly journal, the *Porcupine*, was left at every house, as a first step in the campaign. As this is a type-written sheet, it probably received special attention from the electors. The address was also something different and better than the usual municipal candidate's apology for standing. This and the poll cards were adorned with two of Mr Andrew MacLaren's cartoons on land monopoly.

Special attention must be drawn to the new plan decided on by Mr Weller and his committee, that is, of concentrating on the canvass. This kind of work had not been specialized in on previous occasions. Now, however, we determined to canvass as thoroughly as our small band of workers would permit. The result was to confirm our view that this election would be won on the doorsteps of the people. We found it more effective, for election purposes, than open air meetings, though these were held, and also the usual indoor meetings.

Our experience was refreshingly unexpected. We found that canvassing was not necessarily a matter of heated arguments; most often it required a word or two, mentioning the candidate and his policy; noting the reply and passing to the next house. Also it did not require two workers to call at each house; we went out two by two, but called one on every other house. It was surprising how the most reserved and quiet workers came night after night to the committee room, not to discuss the prospects of success, but to ask for more canvass work, and to go out and make success sure. A first complete canvass of every house was made, and a good proportion of the second canvass. On the Saturday previous to the Tuesday's poll the canvass results justified an estimate of 2,050 votes for Land Values. Mr Weller's actual vote was 2,015: a tribute to the thoroughness with which our canvassers did their part of the work.

These matter-of-fact details are given in the hope that they may be of guidance in many a similar fight. We had about three motor cars against about a dozen. Against us was the highly specialized and practised Tory party organization. The factors that enabled Mr Weller to increase his poll under these circumstances are worthy of close study. The policy, the candidate, the work, these are the three essentials of success, according to Moss Side West experience.

The work has been doubly justified by the signs already of new attention that has been forced on to the Land Value policy. Our new Lord Mayor makes reference to the need for rating Land Values in his inaugural address to the City Council. A bye-election candidate is just now announced as being a "supporter of the Taxation of Land Values." They are, in these parts, certainly paying more attention. Now that we have at last a progressive preponderance in our Manchester Council, Mr Weller's triumph has come in the "nick of time." At the same time, it is a personal triumph, and we, in Manchester, are grateful to him for his leadership and example in hard work.

D. J. J. O.

The election of Mr Arthur H. Weller as a representative of the Moss Side West Ward on the Manchester City Council was celebrated at a Social Gathering held in the Edinburgh Hall, Moss Side, Manchester, on 30th November. Mr Weller's success has brought new life and inspiration to the Manchester League, and there are high hopes of the extension of the propaganda in many directions. The new Land Values member of the City Council can be relied upon to make the most of his opportunity. In behalf of our united movement we again offer him heartiest congratulations.—[EDITOR, *L. & L.*]

THE BURDEN OF RATES

By Sir Alfred Mond, M.P.

There was published last month a book entitled *Industry and Politics** by the Right Hon. Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., being a series of speeches and papers on various phases of economic, industrial, political and social problems delivered or prepared by him on various occasions.

The following passage, with title as given above, appears on pp. 55-56 in the chapter on Trade, Currency, Industry and Unemployment, which is based on speeches delivered in October, 1925.

"I remember very well when I was Minister of Health receiving a deputation, a very influential body of steel-makers from Sheffield. They pointed out to me what their position was: their industry was depressed, and there was great unemployment in Sheffield. What happened? The great unemployment led to a rise in the poor-rate. The rise in the poor-rate led to an increase in their burdens, and in the cost of steel. At the moment when they wanted to be able to sell cheaper, the system of rating was adding to their cost of production, and making it impossible for them to carry on business at all. In fact, in many cases it was cheaper for them to shut down and not operate the works at all, in order to escape the rates, than to operate the works part time. That does not seem a sensible system of levying your local taxation—a system by which you depress enterprise, tax activity and subsidize inactivity, and assist those who are doing nothing.

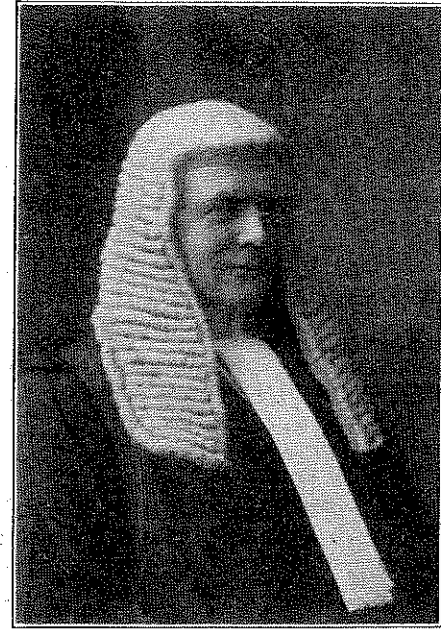
"Again, a small circle drawn around a small area is really quite a wrong way of dealing with a large national question of this kind. The poor-rate system of Queen Elizabeth was never meant to deal with a great industrial crisis. It is because you try to make it do so that you get all these fantastic and absurd, even criminal conditions, holding down the very industries which most want to be assisted. I am more convinced than ever that it is high time our rating system should be reformed. It is high time, indeed, that those whose landed property continues, has continued, and will continue—whether trade be good or bad—in the long run to gain in value by doing nothing—that these should bear their fair and proportionate part of local taxation. Take your rate off improvements, and put it where it ought to be, and you will see in that alone a share of the revival of the trade of this country. Why, in America or Canada, if I want to put up a factory, the first thing the local authority will do will be to exempt me probably for ten years from all taxation, but here, as soon as you add another shed to your works, the first thing you find is the rate collector coming round."

Sir Alfred Mond joined the Conservatives in January, 1926. In reprinting this declaration he shows he has not abandoned all the beliefs he formerly avowed. It is well to have this quotation to submit for the consideration of other Conservatives, although it is by no means the best of the many statements Sir Alfred has made on the subject; for in his "unregenerate days," as a Radical in the Liberal camp, he was foremost among the advocates of Land Value Taxation and one of the leading members of the Land Values Parliamentary Group. Now that the Group has got busy again, under the energetic chairmanship of Col. Wedgwood, is there not here a recruit to be enrolled?

A. W. M.

* Macmillan & Co., Ltd., price 12s. 6d. net.

EDWIN ADAM, K.C.



Former co-workers and friends of Edwin Adam will be interested to see his name once more in our columns. In October last he retired from the position of Principal Clerk of Session at the Scottish Law Courts, Edinburgh, which he has occupied for the past 20 years. Sir Walter Scott held this post of honour in his day and generation. A keen politician, Mr Adam fought two contested Parliamentary elections, but is better known to our readers as an able advocate of Radical land reform. He was President of our Edinburgh League for several years and one of the small group that formed the United Committee some 21 years ago.

His masterly evidence submitted to the Select Committee on the Scottish Land Values Bill of 1906, together with his book on the Taxation of Land Values, which was distinguished by a second edition, long since exhausted, was the culmination of his public service in the cause. In such works his standing as an authority on its practical side was for ever established and his retirement from the active field of politics was universally deplored. As Lord Strathclyde remarked at the time to the present writer: it should not be allowed.

But Mr Adam felt his work as an active supporter of the land value policy was accomplished, and that he could stand aside with the assurance of an early instalment of the reform. It is in the history how this expectation, shared by some tens and hundreds of thousands, came to naught. But the work still tells. The idea underlying the principle of equal rights to land and a common interest in its unimproved value still persists and will continue to persist so long as social problems are stumbling-blocks to social progress. Edwin Adam is with us still and can be relied upon for counsel and advice as and when it is required.

Following on his retirement from his post at Edinburgh came the announcement of his marriage to Miss Jessie Alice Neilson, on 2nd November. In the name of a wide circle of friends with Edwin Adam in the fight 20 years ago for economic freedom we cordially wish him and Mrs Adam long life and happiness. J. P.

Local authorities should be given power to impose rates on Land Values.—*London News* (December), organ of the London Labour Party.



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GOD'S LAW IN INDUSTRY

The darkness in light, the weakness in strength, the poverty amid wealth, the seething discontent, foreboding civil strife, that characterize our civilization of to-day, are the natural and inevitable results of our rejection of God's beneficence, of our ignoring of His intent. Were we, on the other hand, to follow His clear, simple rule of right, leaving scrupulously to the individual all that individual labour produces, and taking for the community the value that attaches to land by the growth of the community itself, not merely could evil modes of raising public revenues be dispensed with, but all men would be placed on an equal level of opportunity with regard to the bounty of their Creator, on an equal level of opportunity to exert their labour and to enjoy its fruits. And then, without drastic or restrictive measures, the forestalling of land would cease. For then the possession of land would mean only security for the permanence of its use, and there would be no object for anyone to get land or to keep land except for use, nor would his possession of better land than others had confer any unjust advantage on him, or unjust deprivation on them, since the equivalent of the advantage would be taken by the State for the benefit of all.

In the growth of this great fund, increasing with social advance—a fund that accrues from the growth of the community, and belongs, therefore, to the community—we see not only that there is no need for the taxes that lessen wealth, that engender corruption, that promote inequality and teach men to deny the gospel; but that to take this fund for the purpose for which it was evidently intended, would, in the highest civilization, secure to all the equal enjoyment of God's bounty, the abundant opportunity to satisfy their wants, and to provide amply for every legitimate need of the State.—Henry George in *The Condition of Labour*.

The autumn session of Parliament opened last month and at once industrial conditions came uppermost in debate. There are over 1,000,000 unemployed in Great Britain; and European countries, to go no farther afield, continue to stagger under the weight of the affliction. The preaching of optimism brings no relief; the war

for markets proceeds apace and tariff walls are made to make the worse appear the better part. The case is argued as if opportunities to employment and trade were limited in quantity and that the struggle is, therefore, inevitable. No one in authority suggests any change that would lead to new openings.

In moving a resolution, in the House of Commons on the despairing condition of the coal industry the leader of the Opposition, Mr Ramsay MacDonald remarked: "Right hon. Members sit calmly and wait until the laws of God operate, because they cannot devise laws of man to meet the situation." The observation makes its own appeal. But to look at the reflection from a different angle, is it not just because the laws of man are in operation that the misery endures? God's law in industry is that wealth—goods and capital—can only be had in obedience to human exertion, and in the land and all that it contains He has made provision in overflowing abundance for man's wants. This is what man's law has failed to observe and in the disobedience there is punishment.

The other day a Member of Parliament who had searched the scriptures on the subject told his audience that unemployment was no mere modern calamity, that when the world was young the unwanted labourers replied to the lord of the vineyard, they stood idle in the market place because no man had hired them. The clear answer to this lament and its inferences is that the lords of the vineyards in those days, as they are in our time, were the stumbling block to any just and fair settlement of the problem. The lesson is that so long as there are lords of the vineyard there will be labourers dependent upon them for work and wages.

If land monopoly—the withholding of land from use—be not the primary cause of unemployment and industrial adversity will those who reject this impeachment not turn their wit and wisdom to a more feasible explanation?

In his book *The Socialist Movement*, Mr Ramsay MacDonald says:—

It is from the land that we derive all the primary raw materials. It is the soil which the agriculturist needs, it contains the ores of all our vast mining quarrying, smelting trades; upon it must be built our factories, our warehouses, our houses; it is still, with the exception of our high seas, the foundation of our transport industry. . . . The owner of land is thus in the position of a man who holds the keys of life, and he constantly can exact a maximum toll as his price. He does so. Rent, therefore, tends to absorb every social improvement that can be turned into an advantage in the exchange market.

In a nutshell that is the case against land monopoly. They who hold the keys of life absorb the benefits of every improvement and under the fear of losing a higher price due to further improvement a vicious system of land speculation prevails. It is a system that breeds poverty that no welfare scheme can hope to mitigate.

The demand for economy in public expenditure points to needless and excessive taxation as the chief cause of business depression; but economy, however effected, can do nothing to bring idle hands to idle acres and until this wanton wastage is first remedied

what hope is there of any reduction in the cost of social services? These services, so named, amount to some £240 millions. As a writer in the *Standard* (London), 28th November, remarks, "Let the Economy Group in the House of Commons tell us which of the Civil votes they propose to reduce: Old Age and Widows' Pensions? Education? Public Health? Housing? Poor Relief? Insurance?" The problem of poverty was present in all its severity before this colossal expenditure was undertaken, and anyone is free to imagine for himself what would happen if these social services were not provided for in next year's Budget.

In industrial affairs the three parties in the State are out for money, for additional schemes of social service and they must keep at it while unemployment and poverty prevail. The pace is set for increasing burdens on industry as long as land monopoly and land speculation remain to make a mockery of every well-intentioned plan and every impulse towards a better understanding of the law of human progress.

There is the same bitter feeling in the municipalities. The rates are mounting and the local debt assumes proportions that can only breed discontent and illwill. The call for economy is countered by a demand for elbow room and fair play that cannot be safely ignored, and as the discontent gathers momentum, the voice of the conventional wiseacre is heard solemnly assuring the ratepayer that if he will only resolve to pass on the burden to the National Exchequer the problem will be half solved. But this device ignores the economic relation between rent and rates; for grants-in-aid like all subsidies where they do reduce rates as at present levied go straight into the pockets of the local landowners in a corresponding increase in the value of the land. In the end the ratepayer is worse off than before. He has the relief in name; the landowner has it in substance.

It is an easy exercise to ponder over the solution of social problems without regard to the teaching of political economy; it is the same as ignoring the science of botany in agricultural research, or putting the ban on geology in an effort to ascertain the age of the earth.

The Prime Minister was approached by the London Council of Social Service, 22nd November, who urged the appointment of a Royal Commission to consider the Housing of the Working Classes. That was the name of a Royal Commission appointed to consider the question in the preceding generation, and forty-one years ago they reported:—

At present, land available for building in the neighbourhood of our populous centres, though its capital value is very great, is probably producing a small yearly return until it is let for building. The owners of this land are rated not in relation to the real value, but to the actual annual income. They can thus afford to keep their land out of the market, and to part with only small quantities, so as to raise the price beyond the natural monopoly price which the land would command by its advantages of position. Meantime the general expenditure of the town on improvements is increasing the value of their property. If this land were rated at, say,

4 per cent on its selling value, the owners would have a more direct incentive to part with it to those who are desirous of building, and a twofold advantage would result to the community. First, all the valuable property would contribute to the rates, and thus the burden on the occupiers would be diminished by the increase in the rateable property. Secondly, the owners of the building land would be forced to offer their land for sale, and thus their competition with one another would bring down the price of building land, and so diminish the tax in the shape of ground rent, or price paid for land, which is now levied on urban enterprise by the adjacent landowners; a tax, be it remembered, which is no recompense for any industry or expenditure on their part, but is the natural result of the industry and activity of the townspeople themselves.

If the principle of this recommendation signed, among others, by King Edward, then Prince of Wales, had been given effect to forty, twenty or even ten years ago, the housing of the working classes would have been assured without the help, or the encumbrance, of costly subsidies. In the past eight years subsidies have added hundreds of millions to the national and local debt of the country and reduced the building trade to its present precarious position, with millions of the working classes still in the slums.

A Royal Commission on Housing, in view of the data accumulated and the experience gained from working models in a decade of public inquiry and press publicity on the subject, is a mere drawing-room proposition that can be left to its own resources. In the open streets of men the idea that the housing question is a wages question is winning its way and the taxation of land values as the means to a more equitable distribution of wealth, in spite of confused thought and the conspiracy of silence, continues to make headway in the public mind. It would make rapid headway indeed if the information we supply as to its progress in other lands were not deliberately suppressed by the powerful interest that vigilantly operates behind the scenes.

In its leading article on "The True Demand of Labour," the *Observer*, 27th November, says:—

Let there be no doubt of it—pride, not poverty, is the root of labour unrest. Everywhere the worker is seeking for a principle of social justice that will proclaim the rights of man in economics as surely as they have long since been asserted in politics. Indignantly he feels himself gripped by a process which avails itself of his strength and skill but disregards his aspirations. This is the temper upon which revolution thrives. What matter if it be a leap in the dark? In any event, what could be worse than a social system which exhausts the body and atrophies the soul? Happily society has created the means of its own improvement. Science, itself long confined in mechanical channels, is beginning to recognize that humanity comes within its province. . . . Out of the desire to better the environment of labour has arisen the need to inquire into the causes of industrial fatigue.

When that "leap in the dark" takes place this is the kind of instruction that will account for some of its crudities and rough-and-ready manifestations. To translate the rights of man in

economics into the need for an inquiry into the causes of industrial fatigue is akin to the feeble cry for money to train the thousands of boys who leave school annually for industrial life, while over a million men and women search in vain for employment.

The principle of social justice that will suit the worker is one that will put an end to industrial tyranny and when this is achieved he will be able to speak for himself, when he feels the need of a day or two at home. The rights of man in economics will be safely established when the element of monopoly is removed from the raw material of all industry. That means all round economic justice, and the laws that make for this enlightenment are the laws that will bring humanity "within its own province." There is no hope for the miners in any *ad hoc* legislation while unemployment, low wages and a low standard of purchasing power is the common lot of the workers. For weal or woe, in fair weather or foul, coal-getting is related to all other industry and that being so, its safety lies in the general improvement the land value policy would ensure.

J. P.

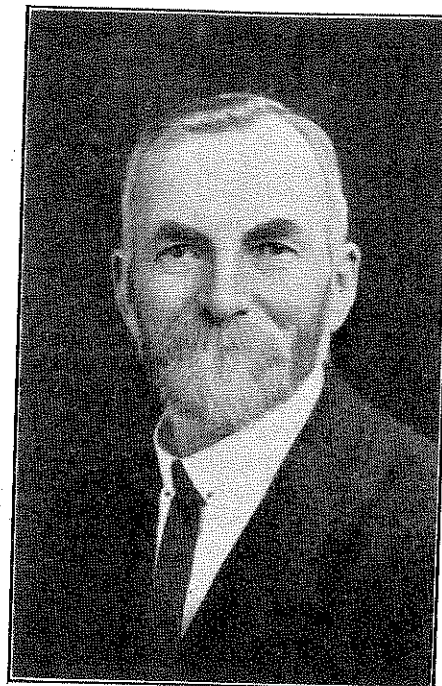
HELD OVER

We offer congratulations to our active co-worker, Rev. Mervyn J. Stewart, on his special article published in the *Irishman*, 5th November, the journal of the Irish Labour Party. It is an arresting statement in favour of Land Value Taxation for which we had hoped to find space in our own columns this month, but it is among the matter unavoidably held over.

Other articles in print and similarly crowded out for later publication include Councillor A. Barton's admirable Report on the Rating of Land Values submitted to a Committee of the Sheffield City Council; an account of the Danish "Housemen's Movement" and its insistence upon the Land Value Policy and Free Trade, with special reference to Mr S. Berthelsen's address from the Copenhagen Radio Station, 17th November, on the now famous "Køge Resolution"; the able digest of *Progress and Poverty* appearing in the *World's Great Books*, published by the Amalgamated Press; the further instalment of Mr A. E. Scott's chapter on The Taxation and Rating of Land Values in *The Book of the Labour Party*; "Natural Law in the Social World," by Louis F. Post, and an instructive extract on "The Rent of Ability" from his newly-published *Basic Facts of Economics*; "Crown Lands and their Revenues"; a review (by M.J.S.) of *Christison of Lammermuir*, a book that reveals how the vast Australian monopolized estates were set up; and two informing articles, also by M.J.S., on Mexico and on the Report of the Local Government Commission of Kenya Colony, favouring Land Value Taxation.

The next issue of *Land & Liberty* will be a New Year Double Number of 32 pages (price 3d., postage 1d.) for the two months January and February

MR. WILLIAM THOMSON "A Disciple of Henry George"



In a fitting complimentary notice, the Bradford *Daily Telegraph* of 4th November offers "Many Happy Returns" to Mr William Thomson, of Keighley, born 4th November, 1854. Mr Thomson, says the *Daily Telegraph*, is best known to Keighley people as an ardent disciple of Henry George, and for the good service he has rendered to the Co-operative movement in Keighley both as master and man. In the former capacity he was the sixteenth President of the Keighley Co-operative Society, serving in the chair from October, 1889, until 1894. Before that he had been treasurer. From his youth he has been keenly interested in political and social questions, and a careful study of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* convinced him that co-operation was impossible of realization in its fullness while land monopoly continues to exist.

This explains the earnestness with which Mr Thomson calls public attention to the problems associated with the land question. The late Mr Joseph Rhodes in a reference to Mr Thomson's career wrote that "alike in the performance of his duties as workman, politician, social reformer, and magistrate, Mr Thomson reveals all the qualities of an intelligent Christian citizen."

* * *

We heartily endorse this deserved tribute to our friend and colleague whose able and devoted advocacy of Henry George's doctrines these many years has brought him the affectionate esteem of all his associates. *Land & Liberty* has no more faithful adherent than William Thomson of Keighley.

J. P.

We regret to report the death of Mr Robinson Lamb, which took place suddenly at his home in Caldby on 5th November. Since his brother George passed on some two years ago Mr Lamb has had to devote himself almost exclusively to business, but with more freedom it was his intention to maintain his brother's interest in the land value cause. We deeply sympathize with Miss Lamb in her bereavement.

THE LANDLORD AND TENANT BILL

Property Rights and Land Values—Some Notable Admissions

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

When Parliament assembled for the autumn session, the Landlord and Tenant Bill, which had gone through Committee in the previous session, was one of the first Measures to be taken up. The Report stage was considered on the 8th November and the Bill received its Third Reading in the House of Commons on the 18th November. Its purpose is to secure certain compensation to tenants from landlords on the termination of leases, both on account of improvements made by the tenant which add to the letting value of the premises and also on account of goodwill; it is intended also to limit the tenant's liability for repairs when the premises are handed back. A feature of the Bill is that it does not define goodwill, but tries to reach some intelligible conception by the process of eliminating values that manifestly do not belong to the tenant. Does goodwill include the value of the land occupied by the premises? was a question put repeatedly by Mr Andrew MacLaren when the Bill was in Committee. If so, the landlord could not be called upon to give compensation for that, because the tenant had no more right to the land value than the landlord had; and in a Bill dealing with the relations between landlords and tenants, nothing should be done to jeopardize the rights of the community.

Mr MacLaren gained his point and the necessary words were added in the Report stage to Clause 4 of the Bill. They were moved by the Home Secretary, Sir W. Joynson Hicks, who was in charge of the Measure, and read that the Tribunal set up under the Bill, when determining the compensation to be allowed for goodwill "shall disregard any value which is attributable exclusively to the situation of the premises."

The following extracts from the speeches in the debates, especially the statements of Conservative members, are well worth putting on record.

REPORT STAGE

(8th November)

Subsection (2) of Clause 1 contained provisions that in effect disallowed compensation for tenants improvements if the landlord showed he intended to demolish the buildings or use them for a different purpose.

MR HUGH DALTON (Labour) moved the deletion of this Subsection.

SIR W. JOYNSON-HICKS (Home Secretary): The principle of the Bill is to have no regard to questions of the tenant's loss but solely to questions of the gain of the landlord. The landlord is only to pay for the improvement made by the tenant the benefit of which he gets. If the neighbourhood is going to be developed and the building is to be pulled down and, say, a town hall or a bank is to be built, then the improvement made by the tenant, perhaps 10 or 15 years ago, is of no value at all, and the landlord gets no additional benefit from it. In regard to that matter, this Subsection of the Bill is right.

Mr Dalton said that the landlord might change his intention, and then the tenant would get nothing. If the hon. Member will look at Subsection (3)—he will see that it is clear that the tribunal may authorize a further application for compensation to be made by the tenant if effect to the intention is not given within the time fixed by the tribunal.

MR KIRKWOOD (Labour): The Home Secretary said that everybody was going to be compensated

because after the removal of a building there would, in all probability, be erected a magnificent building, a bank, or municipal chambers. My point is that the landlord has no right to any increase in the value of that land. It not only does not belong to the landlord and it does not belong to the tenant; the increased value of the land belongs to the whole community. Where a bank is to be erected, what is the reason? It is because of the industry of the people who have congregated around the site. In cases where municipal chambers are to be erected, we find that the value of the ground has been created by the industry of the people who surround it, and you have no right to give that value to the landlord.

SIR W. JOYNSON-HICKS: We tried very hard to keep ground values out of the Committee Stage upstairs, and, like King Charles' head, it cropped up from time to time. There is no more right for the increase which is due to the public ground value to belong to the tenant than to the landlord. The question of ground values is an arguable point, but it is not arguable on this Bill.

MR MACLAREN (Labour): There has been a rather interesting suggestion that where the landlord may sell property, with advantage, to some local authority, the increase should be divided between himself and the outgoing tenant. That is just about as immoral a contract as I have ever heard.

The Amendment was defeated.

Clause 4.—Compensation for goodwill.

SIR W. JOYNSON-HICKS: The person who wants to get compensation for goodwill has to prove to the satisfaction of the tribunal "that by reason of the carrying on by him or his predecessors in title at the premises of a trade or business for a period of not less than five years goodwill has become attached to the premises, which will in the absence of arrangements to the contrary be of pecuniary advantage to the landlord." The House will notice the words "pecuniary advantage to the landlord." In Committee there was a long discussion in trying to find out how this could be settled. As I have said, the whole foundation of this Bill is not that the tenant is to be compensated for his loss. There may be a very large loss indeed to a tenant in giving up possession of his premises. The basis of the Bill is to remedy an evil which has been complained of for many years, in London and elsewhere in country towns, that the landlord was able, at the termination of a lease, to appropriate to himself the goodwill created by a tenant who had carried on business in one of these shops.

We have to find some method of preventing the landlord appropriating to himself, for his own pecuniary advantage, that goodwill which the landlord has done nothing whatever to create but which is the creation of the outgoing tenant.

(After further debate and the adoption of sundry amendments, the point was reached where the Bill gives instruction to the Tribunal for determining the sum to be allowed for goodwill.)

SIR W. JOYNSON-HICKS moved to add the words that the Tribunal

shall disregard any value which is attributable exclusively to the situation of the premises.

He said: I promised from time to time, during the

very long and exhaustive Committee Stage upstairs, to consider various points, and I promised Mr Withers to consider this point. We had a very grave discussion, in which hon. Members opposite took part, and particularly the hon. Member for Burslem (Mr MacLaren), who spoke a little time ago, on the subject of ground or site value, as to how far the goodwill was attributable to the industry and energy of the tenant or how far it was merely attributable to a tube station coming next door or to the general rise in value of property in the neighbourhood. It may be due to both. A shop which has carried on by a fruiterer outside a tube station may have a goodwill and an additional value given to it partly from the industry of the tenant and partly from the fact that the tube station has come there and brought a very large amount of business to it. That would mean that the value derived from the energy and ability of the tenant who has built up his fruiterer's business by his own industry and energy could be made the subject of compensation by the landlord, but that the value attributable exclusively to the situation of the premises would not be taken into consideration by the Tribunal.

MR WITHERS (Conservative): As I have been the villain of the piece, so to speak, I think I ought to try to justify this Amendment. Under the present law goodwill which is attributable exclusively to the situation of the premises belongs to the landlord. If this Amendment be not inserted that goodwill will pass to the tenant. As a matter of fact, it does not belong to either, it belongs to the community. It is a very poor law which takes property away from one person to whom it does not belong and gives it to another person to whom it does not belong. That is one argument; and I put forward a further argument. Some day a party will come which will try—and in my opinion properly try—to tax this unearned income. Just look at what will happen if you do not accept this Amendment. When you go to the landlords and try to tax them they will say, "Tax us! Why should you tax us? We have paid for this. It belongs to the tenant. You must tax the tenant." A nice chance that party will ever have of getting anything out of the tenants! The only thing to do is to exclude the goodwill which is attached only to the premises; I think that on consideration everybody will agree that there is no alternative.

MR HARDIE (Labour): It has already been admitted that the additional value really belongs to the community, but the hon. Member who has proposed this Amendment has never done anything to secure that value for the community.

SIR MERVYN MANNINGHAM-BULLER (Conservative): We are dealing now with a goodwill which is not in any way built up by the tenant, but is merely applicable to the situation of the premises. That is a totally different case which was never contemplated by the Bill.

MR MACLAREN: The hon. Gentleman has spoken of the difficulty found in defining goodwill in the Committee. I tried to disintegrate these two somewhat mysterious elements, one called goodwill and the other called site value. I am only intervening now because I want to press home the lesson. I am utterly opposed to any tenant receiving something for what he is pleased to call goodwill which is entirely site value, but I fail to see that any words included in this Bill are going to disintegrate these two elements. I rather agree that they were both one thing, namely, site value. I do not know how far my colleagues on this side of the House are going on this matter, but for reasons which

I have already hinted at, I would rather support the Home Secretary and allow the words to remain.

The Amendment was agreed to.

THIRD READING

(18th November)

MR DALTON (Labour): I believe that when we have to handle this problem we shall not content ourselves with such small and partial measures of justice as between the private landlord and the shop tenant, but shall aim at such wider measures of justice and adjust also the relations between private landlords and the community as a whole and put an end to the growing unearned increment from the labour of others which now finds its way into pockets utterly undeserving of its receipt.

SIR PHILIP PILDITCH (Conservative): The leasehold system of this country, whatever its defects may be—and I am admitting that there are some—has as a whole been beneficial, promoting as it does the co-operation of two classes of capitalists: one, the landlord who provides the land at a very low rate of interest, and the other, the business man who is enabled by this system to use his capital in a much more profitable way.

MR MACLAREN (Labour): Sir Philip Pilditch, in language which I cannot understand and which seems to be common on the other side of the House, said that this Bill is going to interfere with the equitable arrangements between two capitalists, and one of them is the landlord who provides the land. [AN HON. MEMBER: "Where did he find it?"] The Conservative Party still hold the idea that the landlord provides the land.

I think the House will appreciate when setting up a Tribunal which under this Measure will be burdened with a great number of instructions that it should be incumbent upon the Government to give a clear definition of what goodwill really means so that the Tribunal would know exactly what to do when making this valuation under the Act. That has not been done.

With all its faults we are anxious that this Bill should become law, because it marks a new point of advance. The old historic power of the landlord to dictate terms to the tenant—and not only to the tenant of the land immediately under his charge, but to the tenants of the land contiguous to his own property—is implicitly challenged by this Bill. I look upon it as something that will be a marked page in history, to which we can always point, and for which we can give credit to those dear old Conservatives who in 1927 had the courage to evolve it. They are building better than they know.

There are ways and means whereby a courageous Government, determined to give the tenants the full value of the product of their labours during their tenancies, will be able to do so without this circumlocution, this bureaucratic, hamstringing method called the Landlord and Tenant Bill. Such a method will be

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adopted, no doubt, when a courageous Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to that Box. I hope that in the near future much of the argument that has been used for and against this Bill will be repeated when the question of ground values comes up for consideration. I hope that a Chancellor of the Exchequer more bold than his predecessors will endeavour to appropriate the ground values of this country in a national tax.

MR RYE (Conservative): I can almost hear the Prime Minister saying, "I ask you, Sir William (Joynson-Hicks), to go hence, put on your suit of armour, or rather your second best, with the Socialist gorget and slay this dragon of landlordism." This dragon, that has been responsible in the past for the erection of half London; this dragon that has granted leases that have allowed tenants to obtain thousands and thousands of pounds and enormous benefits; this dragon, composed in part of poor people, not millionaires or dukes or the rich, but many a poor widow and poor person. This dragon had to be killed. I am bound to confess that the right hon. Gentleman struck it a number of serious blows. How far the dragon will recover from those blows, time alone will show.

I have been told that I have endeavoured to wreck the Bill, that I am a bitter opponent of the Bill. I am going into the Lobby against it. Although I hate the thought of voting against my Party, I decline, and I shall continue to decline, to take a single step along the path of Socialism that is pointed out by our leaders.

MR HARDIE (Labour): The suggestion has been made to-day that the leasehold system has rendered a tremendous service to the community. That argument will not appeal to anyone who reads the history of the leasehold system in London, and who sees the tombstones of those men who, by personal industry and energy, built up that which has been absorbed by the landlords. Everything that came from their industry went into the maw of the landlord; the tenant was sucked dry.

MR HUDSON (Labour): The Conservative Government has introduced a Bill infinitely worse than it ought to have been and has introduced it deliberately, as they hope, to spike further legislation later on that we, the Labour Government, when we get an opportunity, would certainly bring in dealing not merely with these particular tenants' rights that we have been discussing now but with the whole question of the landlord and the power he at present has in our legal system.

I entirely disagree with Sir Philip Pilditch when he explains the process by which he says the landlord to-day carries out his functions. He stated that the landlord provides land at a low rate of interest. As the hon. Member for Burslem (Mr MacLaren) has said, he does not provide the land and the rate of interest has nothing to do with it in the amount that he obtains as the result of the permission he gives for someone else to use the land. He forgets, as Conservatives generally forget, that the law of rent operates irrespective of rates of interest and wages because it has given facilities to a comparatively few people to hold what the whole community requires. The law has given to a certain number of people rights of property which they use to this extent, that they take the whole surplus that they can extract after the competition of the trader has been allowed for, after the competition of wage earners has compelled them to take the lowest wages, and in the process of extracting the surplus the question of rates of interest and the other issues which have been raised have nothing whatever to do with

it. Until we take away this legal privilege that we have given to the landlord to obtain rent in the form that we do, the sort of injustice that we are dealing with in this Bill will continue to confront us, particularly in the case of those poorer tenants about whom so much has been said. I realize, therefore, that we shall make no radical advance towards real justice for all the tenants of the country, but I accept this Bill because a challenge has been thrown down against the power of the landlord to take exactly what he thinks fit to take, and what will now happen will be that the power of the landlord to make a bargain with the tenant and compel him to keep it is now going to be cancelled. That is the nature of the challenge against the whole landlord system.

SIR H. CAUTLEY: Does not that mean that there will be no more contracts?

MR HUDSON: It means that there will be no more contracts ultimately, when we arrive at the logical conclusion of the legislation we have now started upon, based upon a particular power of a landlord whose rights are obtained from the law to impose conditions upon industry to such a point that he takes a surplus which he has done nothing to create, which should belong to the community, and which one day the community will take in the form of a tax that it will place upon the landlord.

SIR W. PERRING (Conservative): It is against that small number of rapacious landlords, those speculators in property, those who desire to buy up short leases with a view to taking advantage of the tenant, that this Bill is designed to protect. I cannot for the life of me understand why anyone should desire to continue this state of things, and not stop all that gambling of the speculators who have hitherto bought up property for the mere purpose of exploiting the tenant. If this Bill will in a small degree, and it is only in a small degree, protect the tenant from that kind of thing, then everybody in this House ought to be satisfied.

MR WELLOCK (Labour): Hon. Members opposite sometimes say that Socialism will drive the capitalist from the country, but, in the same way, the factories, mines, and workshops will be left behind. In the Committee, the thought which impressed itself upon my mind was that we were being asked to say whether A or B should have that which belonged to C. As the hon. Member for Burslem (Mr MacLaren) very well said, we were discussing very largely the future of site values, and deciding whether the landlord, the tenant, or the community should have them. This question

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is very deeply involved in the question of goodwill, and the rights of the landlords to enjoy the values.

Let me take a very simple illustration. I refer to the road from Wolverhampton to Birmingham. That road has been made by the public authorities, with public money, and yet, during the next number of years, what shall we see as a result of that public enterprise? We shall see a very large amount of value that ought to belong to the community going, some of it, into the pockets of the landlord, and some of it into the pockets of the tenants, but not so much into the pockets of the latter as into the pockets of the former. The increased site values of the land alongside that road have been increased by scores of thousands of pounds. Omnibuses are now running along the road, and traffic is increasing every day. Before long, a large number of business houses will be established along the road, and there will be increasing custom owing to the nature and the geographical situation of the road. The improvement that has been made by the local authorities in that district will mean increasing custom for any shops that happen to be along the road. There will be very extensive values that will go into the pockets of the landlords which ought to go into the pockets of the community at large. That indicates the steps that will have to be taken in the future, and we, as a Socialist Party, will certainly endeavour to take those steps.

Just as the Tories are delighted that they have got their toes a little way into the sea of site values, so to speak, we can assure hon. Members opposite that, in due course, we shall go very much farther into that sea of site values and land values, and bring them more and more into the control of the community.

MR CHARLETON (Labour): Anyone who knows anything about the history of railways knows that many hundreds of thousands of pounds were spent in law suits because landlords held up their land, and that railway companies had to pay exaggerated prices when they were able to get the land. The reason is not far to seek. At the time when railways were being laid down the landlord classes were in power in this House—they always are in power in another place—and the landlord classes were able to extract whatever terms they liked. I have examined the accounts of railway undertakings; I have made it a study, and I say that millions and millions of pounds have been spent in lawyers' fees and in excessive prices charged for the land.

SIR H. SLESSER (Labour): Given adequate Treasury machinery and given an adequate Tribunal of competent persons, you can assess site value all the time. My point was that a surveyor under this Bill is quite incompetent to perform such a function.

SIR THOMAS INSKIP (Solicitor-General): The hon. Member for Burslem discussed the question of site value, and I will say nothing about it, because I am not sure that it is really relevant to this Bill. It is very dear to the hon. Member's breast, is this question of site value, and when he dies, like the word "Calais" on Queen Mary's heart, I am sure the term will be found written on his.

But really this Bill deals not with such recondite matters as site value, but with what most people recognize does exist, namely, goodwill in connection with business premises. My two hon. Friends, the hon. and learned Member for East Grinstead, Sir H. Cautley, and the hon. Member for Loughborough (Mr Rye), are alone, so far as I know, in their intention to oppose the Bill.

Do they deny that a grievance exists? Do they deny that when a tenant makes an improvement with the consent of his landlord, not unreasonably withheld,

he should be entitled to fair compensation when his tenancy comes to an end? Do they deny the justice of that claim?

I believe my two hon. Friends who have taken up this attitude will be remembered not only for their amiable qualities but for their eccentric opposition to proposals which every reasonable man is prepared to accept.

On question being put, the Third Reading was carried without a division.

Two speeches stood out from the ruck—those of Mr Maclaren, Labour Member for Burslem, who has specialized on the land question, and of Mr Rye, Conservative member for Loughborough, who is a real estate lawyer. Mr Maclaren regards the Bill as a miracle. He thinks it marks a new page in history which Progressives will long regard as a credit to those pioneers, "the dear old Conservatives of 1927." Tenants would get little or nothing out of the Bill, but a Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to make it the basis of that great measure of land reform for which this country was pining—the adequate taxation of land values.—The Parliamentary Correspondent of the *Daily News* (19th November) on the Third Reading of the Landlord and Tenant Bill.

Suburban property at Greenford, near Ealing, known as Greenford Lodge, about 14 acres, will be submitted with possession, this evening locally, by Messrs Barker and Neale (Lowndes Street), by order of mortgagees.—*Times*, 16th November.

Query: If the owner of land cannot pass on the interest on a mortgage to would-be purchasers (or to a tenant), how will he be able to pass on a tax on land values? In neither case can he increase the rent of the land nor its purchase price.

Commenting on Sir James Hinchcliffe's remarks at Leeds recently in favour of a local income tax, "Property Owner," in a letter to the *Yorkshire Post* of 22nd November, writes: "There is a way to open up means of production of more wealth, and it is being tried successfully in Denmark, America, certain Colonies, etc. Why not in England, which enjoys the best climate, has the most fertile soil, and the best people in the world for individual enterprise? Let the best land pay the highest tax. Land can't run away and hide itself, but under our income-tax basis land can be kept idle or badly used, and the bounties stored for man's enjoyment locked against him."

Advocates of the Land Value Policy have been able to put some good points in the correspondence columns of the *Yorkshire Observer*, showing the alternative to the proposal for a "Surtax" on investment incomes. We note especially the letter by "Single Taxer" on 23rd November, and that of Mr W. R. Lester on the 26th.

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STATESMANSHIP WITHOUT A PHILOSOPHY

Explaining the Non-Success of Certain Conferences at Geneva

BY HON. CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY

(Paragraphs from an Address made at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, at the Congress of the Henry George Foundation of America, 13th September, 1927. What is here printed has been published in pamphlet form by the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, 11, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1, of which Mr Hennessy is the Hon. President)

I have been greatly heartened by reading in our London office some of the letters that have come in during the last year, especially since the circulation of our Geneva Memorandum demonstrating "The Interdependence of the Economic Causes of War and Industrial Depression." This classic document is now circulating in eight European languages, and must continue to have an increasing favourable effect upon public opinion. We have found new and helpful points of contact in Italy, in Switzerland, in Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere. From a long letter that came recently from a noted watch manufacturer of Heidelberg, let me quote this:—

"It would have been a great happiness to meet your leading men for you have done me extraordinary pleasure by letting me see how actively and how rightly you present our question. I began to give up hope of human progress and even to be bitter when I thought about the way in which the sublime thoughts of George had been so obscured, and *Progress and Poverty* itself had seemingly been written in vain. I thank God that my faith has been restored, and you cannot imagine how happy it has made me to see what able, alert and devoted people you have to lead the movement. Now I am convinced that the great thoughts of Henry George can never be lost!"

* * *

I, too, have come to the conviction, my friends, not only that the great thoughts of Henry George can never be lost, but that they are destined in the near future to influence the thinking of the world and the action of governments as never before since *Progress and Poverty* was published 49 years ago. It is a sign of the times when a great educational leader like Prof. John Dewey (who I find is respected in Europe as he is here) should publicly rate Henry George as among the great social philosophers of all history, while commending his simple and practical plan for restoring justice and prosperity to a troubled world by liberating labour and capital from the shackles which now bind them. It is a sign of the times that the Economic Conference of the League of Nations last May should discover and declare, however indirectly or timidly, that the misery of millions of people on the European continent was the result of the obstacles that selfish and ignorant statesmanship had created to interfere with the normal production and distribution of wealth.

Plainly the world needs the wisdom and the sanity of the philosophy of Henry George. Philosophy has been defined as *critical and reflective thinking*. No other man in the world's history has ever produced a message relating to the constitution and maintenance of just social relations which has been marked by such critical and reflective thinking as that which Henry George has given us. In that message, to quote the happy phrase of Prof. Dewey, we find "the analysis of the scientist combined with the sympathies and aspirations of a great lover of mankind."

It would now seem that it is the absence of any definite philosophy in the minds of the leaders of men that is responsible for most of the social ills of the world to-day.

Let me illustrate this thought by a further reference to that Economic Conference of the League of Nations last May, to which our International Union submitted, without visible results, that respectful and dignified Memorandum to which I have referred. The Conference had been called into being by a resolution of the League Assembly to search out the economic ills of the world (and especially of Europe) and to offer recommendations for their cure. There was no difficulty about diagnosis. The sources of the troubles of Europe were plain enough. It was revealed that as a result of the new political nationalities set up by the Versailles Treaty, there are now 27 frontier obstructions to trade, where only 20 existed in 1914. There are 6,000 more miles of tariff barriers than there used to be. One of the unanimous conclusions of the Conference was expressed in these words:—

"The obstacles of all kinds placed on the circulation of goods and capital have had deplorable results, by hampering the normal play of competition and by imperilling both the essential supplies of some nations and the not less indispensable markets of others."

Reviewing the proceedings of the Conference, the President, Mr Theunis of Belgium, declared, in effect, that they had uncovered the fundamental source of Europe's economic misfortunes. He expressed his conviction concretely in these words:—

"The main trouble now is neither any material shortage of the resources of nature nor any inadequacy in man's power to exploit them. It is all, in one form or another, a maladjustment; not an insufficient productive capacity, but a series of impediments to the full utilization of that capacity. The main obstacles to economic revival have been the hindrances opposed to the free flow of labour, capital and goods."

These statements help to account for the facts stated at the Conference by the editor of the London *Economist* that there are ten million workers out of employment in Europe, and that governments, eight years after the War to end War, are raising by taxation and spending two and a quarter billion dollars annually to maintain the organization for war.

Well, the penalties that the world must continue to

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THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR AND OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION

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suffer from the guidance of leaders who cannot lead because they have no philosophy, were revealed by the action of the statesmen in concluding this Economic Conference. The social disease had been accurately diagnosed. The economic life of a continent was crippled and bound in shackles. The remedy, plainly, was Freedom. But all that the Conference felt moved to do about it was to recommend *that tariff barriers be made no higher*, and that a beginning be made toward the reduction of them.

In a word, the Economic Conference of the League of Nations was ineffective, and Europe with its 27 hostile trade frontiers, is left to continue the policies that serve only to increase human misery, while sowing the seeds of new national animosities and new wars.

* * *

I think that one of the most significant events in international politics, although it may not have been noticed on this side of the ocean, was the recent resignation of Lord Robert Cecil from the British Cabinet, which involved his retirement from official connection with the League of Nations. He was, I believe, one of the authors of the Covenant, and a sincere and devoted champion of the League since its inception. In spite of his aristocratic lineage and Tory Party affiliations, I believe he is respected in England by men of all parties for his patriotism, his sincerity and his constant efforts to find a basis for the establishment of permanent world peace. There was almost a note of despair in his letter of resignation, which seems to have been precipitated by the failure of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva—perhaps to some extent by the futility of the Economic Conference. In his letter to Premier Baldwin he strikes this solemn note:—

"I believe that a general reduction and limitation of armaments is essential to the peace of the world, and that on that peace depends not only the existence of the British Empire, but even that of European civilization itself."

To the followers of Henry George it must seem that the trouble with Lord Cecil and with other sincere men who are seeking the way to world peace, is the lack of a philosophy, the absence of the faculty for critical and reflective thinking. It seems to us the very height of futility to seek the road to disarmament through such conferences as we have witnessed at Geneva; through meticulous discussions by uninformed professional warriors, relative to the number of battleships more or less, or the calibre of their guns, or the length and tonnage of the armed cruisers that this or that nation is to be permitted to maintain. It all seems like children playing a game of peace or war, especially when we reflect that in all probability the next world war will be decided not by battleships or massed armies but by ships of the air raining down death-dealing explosives and chemicals upon civilian populations.

* * *

That critical and reflective thinking which is philosophy might teach statesmen that wars will end when the causes that lead to wars are ended, and that these causes, as our International Union is seeking to make plain, are mainly economic in their character. We must seek disarmament in men's minds, by removing from them the suspicions, hates, fears and animosities engendered by the narrow and selfish policies by which one nation seeks to profit itself at the expense of another. We believe that if lasting peace between nations is to be maintained, if contentment and happiness is to come to the distressed peoples of the world, these ends are not to be attained by mere formulae, or by the most solemn of covenants and treaties that unenlightened statesmanship may negotiate. So long as greed and selfishness and passion and ignorance are allowed to

rule the nations of the world, covenants and treaties may be broken as easily as they are made. Gestures of worthy intention and good will, like that of Locarno, are not sufficient while the conditions that make for ill-will still remain to menace mankind with the shadows of new world wars. This I say not in deprecation of the League of Nations, for I firmly believe in it as a great and growing instrumentality for international education, conciliation and progress.

* * *

Let me close on the note sounded by Lord Cecil in his letter to Premier Baldwin resigning from the British Cabinet. *"The hope of the future,"* he said, *"lies in an aroused and instructed public opinion."*

Henry George said the same thing more than forty years ago when he declared that the work set for any man or group of men who would improve social conditions is the work of education; the work of arousing men to the intelligent use of political power. *"Until there be correct thought,"* he said, *"there cannot be right action. When there is correct thought, right action will follow."*

That is the great work to which we are summoned—the propagation of the great truths which Henry George has left to us; truths that, as he told us in one of his last speeches, have power to revivify and regenerate this great city, this State, this nation, and the whole world.

"OF MEN LIKE HENRY GEORGE"

All the country needs is a new and sincere body of thought in politics, coherently, distinctly, and bodily uttered by men who are sure of their ground. The power of men like Henry George seems to me to mean that; and why should not men who have sane purposes avail themselves of this thirst and enthusiasm for better, higher, more hopeful purpose in politics than either of the present, moribund parties can give?—WOODROW WILSON.

[Quoted from *"Life and Letters of Woodrow Wilson,"* by Ray Stannard Baker, Doubleday, Page & Co., and appearing on the outside cover of the new pamphlet *"Statesmanship without a Philosophy,"* published by the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade.]

The contact with those afflicted and heavy-laden ones whose lives are spent tramping from Labour Exchange to relief stations, from one employer to another, is an experience which must humble and depress all but the most stony-hearted. Although this is the case, and although I realize all there is to crush the finer instincts in men and women, I would urge all who, on occasion, feel as I have felt the horror of the struggle with poverty, to read the last chapters of *Progress and Poverty*, by Henry George, and with him realize that, though the clouds swoop down, though right appears to be overborne, we do not, cannot, see all there is to see, or know all there is to know.—George Lansbury, M.P., in the *"Daily Herald."*

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LAND CAMPAIGN MEETINGS

Speeches by Mr Wm. Graham, M.P., and Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P.

Our readers will have observed in the recent notes of the English League that an independent Land Campaign Committee has been formed in London consisting of members and ex-Members of Parliament and others interested, who were of the opinion that the time was opportune for an educational effort on a fairly large scale. The secretarial work of this Committee is conducted by Mr Fredk. Verinder from the office of the English League. A special fund, over which Mr E. Belfour, J.P., has charge as Hon. Treasurer, has been established. The energetic chairman of the Committee is the Hon. Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P.

The organizing of the meetings has proceeded apace in conjunction with local Labour and Liberal Parties and Associations, to whom speakers are offered from a representative panel containing, among others, the names of a number of Members of Parliament. The campaign opened on 9th October with a meeting addressed by Col. Wedgwood in his constituency, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and by the end of March no fewer than 34 meetings will have been held, many of them in large public halls. It is interesting to note that the Right Hon. Philip Snowden, M.P., was one of the first to put his name on the speaker's panel. He is booked to speak at the King's Hall, Stone-on-Trent, on 25th January.

The brunt of the platform work falls on Col. Wedgwood. Other speakers announced include Sir Edgar Harper, F.S.I., Rt. Hon. Wm. Graham, M.P., Rt. Hon. C. P. Trevelyan, M.P., Andrew MacLaren, M.P., W. T. Kelly, M.P., Ben Riley, M.P., W. Whiteley, M.P., T. W. Stamford, M.P., Ashley Mitchell, Alderman F. C. R. Douglas, Councillor Austin Brook, and T. Atholl Robertson. The preparations for these engagements have been no light undertaking. The success attained is a tribute to the patience and perseverance Mr Verinder has devoted to the work and the heavy correspondence it entailed.

Satisfactory Press reports are to hand of meetings recently held. Col. Wedgwood, speaking in Wimbledon on 6th November, was reported in the *Birmingham Post*, the *Glasgow Herald* and other papers; his Oxford meeting on 18th November had good space in the *Manchester Guardian*; these apart from the local news accounts, such as that of the *Midlands Advertiser* reporting Col. Wedgwood and Mr John Baker, M.P., at Bilston on 21st October. Councillor Brook on 6th November had a column in the *Midland Counties Tribune*.

Rt. Hon. Wm. Graham, M.P., at Burslem

An extensive report appeared in the *Staffordshire Sentinel* of the rousing public meeting in Burslem, 20th November, addressed by the Rt. Hon. Wm. Graham, M.P. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury in the late Labour Government) and presided over by Mr Andrew MacLaren, M.P. Taking as his subject "Taxation, Industry and Land," Mr GRAHAM referred at the outset to three objects of the proposal for the taxation of land values. These, he said, were, first, to break the monopoly in land; second, to alter the incidence of local rates; and, third, to stimulate employment, apart from subsidies or grants from public funds, which in some cases only aggravated the disease they were intended to cure. Analysis of financial questions convinced him more and more that a considerable part of what they called social reform to-day was only plastering the surface of social disease.

Local authorities were everywhere coming to Parliament and asking for contributions from national funds. They wanted that money for town planning, for the provision of open spaces, for dealing with problems of transport, and so on. The local authorities had to find as much as they can from rates before this Government, at all events, would give them any contribution. As the boundaries of towns had extended there had been a rise in the value of the land within those boundaries and a rapid ripening of land outside the towns while the owners slept.

Mr Graham went on to cite instances in Edinburgh and elsewhere in Scotland to show the appreciation in the value of land owing to civic development. This accretion to the value of privately owned land had been brought about by the effort of the community. For the most part the owners of the land had done nothing to increase its value; the community had done all. The fundamental principle of the proposal for the taxation of land values was that what the community had created the community should in freedom enjoy.

On the outskirts of towns the owners of land that was ripening for development had held it up year after year for the increase in value which they knew would attach to it sooner or later. In that process their contribution to local rates had been negligible. The consequence was that vast burdens were being imposed upon industry and commerce, because that increased value of land was going relatively untaxed. While the land was being held up, people in the towns were living in houses which in many cases could only be called hovels, and a considerable part of the money that was being spent on social services actually increased the value of the land that was being held up.

There was very little prospect of a reduction of rates in existing conditions. The Stoke-on-Trent City Council, like other local authorities, was at the mercy of the level of prices, and there did not seem to be much prospect of a reduction in the level of prices so long as they allowed the present monopoly in land to continue. The further tragedy of the position was that, thanks to five or six years of industrial depression, the burdens of local rates for the most part were heaviest where the distress was greatest. For five or six years the iron and steel industry and the other heavy industries had been battling against adverse and sometimes hopeless conditions. In many areas rates were from 15s. to 20s. in the £, and in some cases higher. These rates were paralysing industry and social progress. The only argument of our opponents was: "Industry and commerce will come round in time." But would they

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while the present state of affairs continued? There was very little possibility of that.

"The alternative," Mr Graham said, "is the taxation of land values. I have always thought of the taxation of land values as a great force contributing to a better social and industrial order, and to the readier employment of millions of our people upon an economic basis. The nation will sooner or later have to choose between this class of reform and mere subsidies which have weakened the State and actually enthroned monopoly in our midst."

Answering a number of questions at the close of his speech, Mr Graham explained that if the taxation of land values were adopted, the value of the land would be separated from the value of the improvements upon it. The object was to reduce or extinguish the burden upon improvements, and to place it on the land, in order to make all kinds of improvements as easy as possible.

Col. Wedgwood's Meetings

The meetings being addressed by Col. Wedgwood up and down the country are so numerous that any report doing justice to his speeches would require many columns of our space. He is tireless in bringing our question before the public.

BILSTON

Speaking at Bilston on 21st October,

Col. Wedgwood said unemployment was the whip of the capitalist system to get cheaper labour. So long as they had so many unemployed, so long would the wages of those who had jobs be driven down to bare subsistence level. If they wanted a solution it was no use going to the people who profited by cheap wages. Low wages meant less spending money and less for the purchase of goods. What the country was suffering from, therefore, was not over-production but under-consumption.

The first essential was to make land cheaper. There was no free land in the country. What they wanted was that all land and all minerals under the land should be more accessible than to-day. The Labour Party proposed to value all the land in the country, and upon that valuation they were going to put a tax on the selling value.

He did not believe in buying the landowners out, but in taxing them out. To-day a man who improved his property was penalized by heavier taxes. What they urged was removal of the rates and taxes from the factories and from the improvements carried out on to the land itself. It would then be possible to extend at a reasonable price, and the overhead charges on factories being less they would be able to produce goods at a cheaper rate. They could have made the new Wolverhampton-Birmingham road for nothing if the value of the adjoining land had been taken from the owners by tax rather than from the pockets of the ratepayers.

WIMBLEDON

Speaking at Wimbledon on 6th November,

Col. Wedgwood said if local authorities had power to raise their local taxation upon the value of land in their area, whether that land were used or not, whether the houses on the land were occupied or not, then land would come down in price, and be more easily and cheaply used by labour. Were they to be compelled always to levy rates upon houses and factories, increasing the costs of production and making houses dearer? Or were they, by being given enabling powers, to be able instead to get back into public pockets that land value which they created by their enterprise? Such an extension of

powers would be welcomed by everyone who had to do with local government; it would be essentially democratic: and it would be the most effective blow at the stranglehold in which landlordism held the industry and health of the community.

OXFORD

Addressing the Oxford University Labour Club on 18th November,

Col. Wedgwood said the true co-operative commonwealth at which Socialists, or, indeed, Christians, aimed could only be founded (and thrive) on economic liberty, not on the amelioration and acceptance of the present unfair system. He said that the worker could not bargain with his employer because there were so many unemployed wanting the job, that the existence of involuntary unemployment deprived the worker of liberty and justice. Unemployment—the prevention of useful productive work—was not natural. We should seek to make all land cheaper and some land free.

* * *

In the engaging field of propaganda, the Land Campaign Committee has broken much new ground, and is making opinion for the land value policy that will tell in the future as it is telling now. Mr Verinder and his co-workers may well be gratified with the progress of their enterprise.

A. W. M.

Sir Herbert Samuel, in an address to the Scottish Liberal Federation, Dundee, 28th November, chiefly devoted to national finance, land reform and good will in industry, urged that "a considerable proportion of local rating should be taken from buildings and industries and transferred to land values."

When this change takes place the need for transferring the cost of local services to the National Exchequer will drop quietly out of the programme.

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SHEFFIELD'S TOLL TO LAND MONOPOLY

A Tabular Aid to a Grave Scandal

The accompanying Table is taken from the Appendix to the Report on the Rating of Land Values presented by Councillor A. Barton to the Sheffield City Council. The two final columns have been constructed by ourselves to show the purchase price per acre and to compare the price paid with the previous rateable value. Owing to the pressure on our space we have not been able to publish the text of the Report this month; but it is in print and will appear in our next issue. Meanwhile we refer to the digest that appeared in "Land & Liberty" for October.

Situation of Sites and Properties Acquired	Date of Acquisition	Area	Purchase Money Paid	At Date of Purchase		Purchase Price per Acre	Purchase Price as Multiple of Annual Rateable Value
				Annual Rateable Value	Year's Rates		
	Year	A. R. P.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£	Multiple
1. Near Forge Lane	1902	14 3 15	6,249 0 0	30 0 0	4 10 0	422	208
2. Hammerton Street (Council School Site) ..	1902	1 1 3	2,050 0 0	2 10 0	0 8 9	1,614	820
3. High Storrs and Dead Lane	1902	12 3 4	3,000 0 0	18 0 0	2 17 8	235	167
4. Dykes Lane. (For Council School Site) ..	1903	1 1 2	1,700 0 0	2 10 0	0 8 4	1,000	680
5. Langsett Road. (Street widening)	1903	(51 sq. yds.)	110 0 0	Nil	Nil	10,439	—
6. Langsett Road, Flora Street, and Barrack Lane. (Street improvements)	1903	—	1,221 0 0	148 0 0	61 13 4	(?)	82
7. City Road. (Street widenings)	1904	2 0 0	2,537 9 0	3 0 0	0 10 3	1,269	846
8. Bernard Road. (For Highways Depot) ..	1906	3 2 21	17,850 0 0	165 0 0	75 12 6	4,917	108
9. Salmon Pastures. (Council School Site) ..	1906	1 0 7	2,231 0 0	Nil	Nil	2,145	—
10. Hanging Water Road. (Addition to Whiteley Woods)	1908	5 0 28	1,500 0 0	11 5 0	1 15 7	290	133
11. Carrfield Farm and Carr Wood.* (For Allotments)	1911	49 0 10	7,145 12 6	99 0 0	18 13 1	146	71
12. Greystones Park. (Gift to City)	1911	11 1 5	3,384 0 0	18 0 0	3 1 6	300	136
13. Hanging Water Road. (Addition to Whiteley Woods)	1912	2 3 15	1,500 0 0	8 0 0	1 6 4	528	187
14. Greystones and Whiteley Wood.* (Addition to Whiteley Woods)	1913	34 2 20	7,826 0 0	78 15 0	19 15 6	228	99
15. Pickmore Road and Fitzgerald Road. (For Tramway Depot)	1917	0 3 3	1,117 0 0	Nil	Nil	1,450	—
16. Hastings Road. (For Playing Fields) ..	1919	13 1 1	6,000 0 0	22 10 0	4 13 10	456	267
17. Piper Lane.* (Housing Site)	1919	42 1 0	10,000 0 0	215 5 0	98 7 3	236	46
18. Belchill Road, Heavygate Road.* (Housing Site)	1919	15 3 17	6,342 10 0	69 5 0	25 13 1	400	91
19. Abbeydale Grange.* (For Secondary School) ..	1919	3 2 22	3,500 0 0	104 0 0	55 13 0	990	33
20. Brushes Estate.* (Housing Site)	1919	69 1 15	22,500 0 0	290 5 0	124 13 4	324	74
21. Winobank Scovfield. (Housing Site) ..	1919	17 2 9	4,085 18 9	24 0 0	5 4 6	238	170
22. Holt House, Abbeydale.* (Secondary School and Playing Fields)	1920	33 0 3	14,000 0 0	306 10 0	198 16 10	424	45
23. Acres Hill. (For Allotments)	1920	20 0 2	3,000 0 0	27 0 0	7 14 0	149	110
24. Redmires.* (Presumably for Housing) ..	1921	42 1 30	5,305 2 6	49 0 0	16 8 8	125	108
25. Hatfield House Lane.* (Housing Site) ..	1921	63 0 12	12,762 10 0	100 10 0	55 3 10	202	127
26. City Road, Manor Estate.* (Housing Site) ..	1921	470 0 0	47,000 0 0	532 2 8	265 6 3	100	86
27. Cricket Inn Road Houses on the Site. (Land purchased for Abattoirs)	1922	10 1 0	7,890 10 0	Nil	Nil	770	54
28. Myers Grove Lane. (Sports Ground)	1923	10 0 20	3,250 0 0	147 0 0	156 7 4	324	74
29. Attercliffe Common.* (Highways Dept.) ..	1923	8 1 0	21,500 0 0	80 0 0	86 13 4	2,606	269
30. Brush House Hill and Barnsley Road (Schools Playing Fields)	1924	19 3 0	4,542 0 0	26 0 0	5 4 0	230	175
31. Cricket Inn Road.* (Abattoir purposes) ..	1925	4 3 14	1,956 0 0	51 5 0	38 7 3	403	38
32. Dykes Hall.* (Housing Site)	1925	17 2 0	9,000 0 0	68 0 0	44 0 4	515	132
33. Darwin Road, Overton Road, etc. (Housing Site)	1925	1 3 17	1,000 0 0	Nil	Nil	540	—
34. Hatfield House Lane. (Council School Site) ..	1925	8 1 15	2,484 0 0	11 0 0	1 6 7	298	226

* Buildings were included in the purchase price in the following cases:—(11) Farm house and outbuildings; (14) house and buildings and three cottages; (17) mansion, farm, cottages, also woodland; (18) Walkley Hall and cottages; (19) mansion, lodge, vineries and stables; (20) mansion, farm and 15 cottages; (22) mansion, cottages and garden; (24) huts of Territorial Forces, but these were not rateable; (25) two houses; (26) several farms, outbuildings, cottages, etc.; (29) an inn; (31) houses; (32) Dyke Hall, etc. Greystones Park (No. 12) was purchased by the late Sir John Bingham and presented to the City.

Notes:—1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 12, 34: These parcels of land belonged to a greater assessment, and the figures in respect of assessment and rating are estimated; (5) Forecourts purchased for street widening, no rateable value. Also no rateable value in the case of (9), (27), (33), the land being unoccupied and not enclosed; (15) Was part of a quarry and brickyard then derelict and was not in the assessment.

The totals of the figures given above show that the City of Sheffield has had to pay £245,540 for 1,010 acres of land on which previous to purchase the yearly rates payable were £1,329. The price works out on the average at 89 years' purchase of the assessed rateable value.

WHAT THE BRITISH LEAGUES ARE DOING

ENGLISH LEAGUE : Frederick Verinder, General Secretary, 376 and 377, Strand, London, W.C.2.

Local Taxation in the British Empire, a new pamphlet by the Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P., will be ready by the time these notes are published. It has an introduction by the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., formerly Secretary of State for the Colonies. Price 3d.; post free, 3½d.; 2s. per dozen; 15s. per 100, carriage paid. A few copies are available in boards at 1s. each. Mr Thomas expresses the hope that "having regard to the valuable information it contains, I hope that this little booklet will be widely read." Orders gladly received at the League Office.

As a result of correspondence with the Co-operative Party (Sheffield Section), a Co-operative Conference will be held in Montgomery Hall, Surrey Street, Fargate, Sheffield, on Saturday, 10th December, at 3 p.m., on the Rating of Land Values. The President of the League (who is to address a "Campaign" meeting at Middlesbrough on the following day) will be the principal speaker.

Councillor Rupert East, of Aylesbury, whose constant efforts on behalf of our cause have identified his name with it in the town, has been made an Alderman by his fellow Councillors. He is the Chairman of the Council's Finance Committee and has had the refusal of the Mayoralty. Heartiest congratulations!

Dr W. Black Jones, of Bulth Wells, has reprinted in leaflet form an admirable letter ("Why Labour Wins") which appeared on 17th November in the *Brecon and Radnor Express*. Dr Jones is one of the staunchest of our Liberal friends.

Two members of the Executive who live in the Parliamentary Borough of Kingston-on-Thames have collected a fund of £4 14s., and are spending it in the purchase of League literature for local distribution.

The failure of the electric light at the House of Commons and the debate on Disarmament interfered seriously with the attendance at the Quarterly meeting on 24th November. In the absence of the President, Mr Geo. Lansbury, M.P., and afterwards Mr M. Connolly, M.P., took the Chair, and Mr A. W. Madsen, B.Sc., opened a discussion on "Unemployment," in a very informing and suggestive paper. After discussion, hearty votes of thanks to Mr Madsen and to the two Chairmen were heartily agreed to.

Members and friends who are looking for an interesting game for their Christmas and New Year parties should write to the League Office for the "Land Game," invented by our late Vice-President, Harry Llewelyn Davies. By the kindness of Mrs Davies, a new supply of the Game has just been received at the office. It is selling rapidly. About 300 Games were sold for the Christmas holidays last year.

LAND VALUES CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Readers of *Land & Liberty* are asked to take note of any meetings in their own neighbourhood, and to do all in their power to help to make them successful. The meetings held during November were of the most encouraging sort.

In spite of the worst possible weather, the Rt. Hon. W. Graham, M.P., reported "a magnificent meeting" at Burslem, with Mr Andrew MacLaren, M.P., in the chair. Col. Wedgwood, on the same evening, had "a packed audience" at the Bow Baths Hall, and Mr B. Riley, M.P., "a very good meeting" in South-East Leeds.

Fri., Dec. 2nd.—Chepstow (Liberal Association), Public Hall: T. Atholl Robertson, F.R.G.S., 7.30 p.m.

" " 2nd.—Hexham (Divisional Labour Party), "Gem" Picture Palace, Hexham: Wm. Whiteley, M.P. 7.30 p.m.

Sun., " 4th.—Reading (Trades and Labour Council), "Olympia," London Street: Ald. F. C. R. Douglas, M.A.

" " 4th.—Armley (W. Leeds Labour Party), Palace Picture Hall, Armley: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. Orchestra, 7.30 p.m. T. W. Stamford, M.P., in the chair.

(Meetings continued)

Sun., Dec. 4th.—Heywood and Radcliffe Labour Party, Seddon Hall, Mellor Street, Radcliffe: B. Riley, M.P. 7.30 p.m.

" " 11th.—Middlesbrough (Labour Party), Victoria Hall, Linthorpe Road: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. 8 p.m.

" " 18th.—Rochdale (Trades and Labour Council): "Hippodrome": Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. 7 p.m.

1928
Sun., Jan. 1st.—Liverpool (Trades Council): Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.

" " 8th.—Portsmouth, North, Labour Party: Rt. Hon. C. P. Trevelyan, M.P.

Wed. " 18th.—City of Leeds Labour Party and Leeds Trades Council: Combined Delegate Meeting: Ashley Mitchell.

" " 25th.—Stoke-on-Trent (Central Labour Party), King's Hall, Stoke: Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden, M.P.

Sun., Feb. 12th.—Burslem (Burslem and Tunstall Labour Party), Queen's Hall, Burslem: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.

" " 19th.—Woolwich (Labour Party), Town Hall: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.

" " 26th.—Edmonton (Labour Party), Town Hall: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., J.P.

Fri., Mar. 2nd.—Bedford (Labour Party), Corn Exchange, St. Paul's Square: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. 7.30 p.m.

Sun., " 4th.—Chesterfield (Labour Party): Wm. Whiteley, M.P.

" " 4th.—Gillingham, Kent (Gillingham Branch, I.L.P.): Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.

Fri., " 9th.—South Bucks (Divisional Labour Party): Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.

Sun., " 11th.—Keighley (Trades Council and Labour Party): Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.

" " 18th.—Buxton, Notts (Divisional Labour Party): Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.

" " 25th.—Stoke Newington (Trades Council and Labour Party), 99, Belgrade Road: A. W. Madsen, B.Sc.

The Shrewsbury meeting announced for 25th November had to be cancelled, as our local friends found it unexpectedly impossible to secure a hall for that evening.

Owing to the regretted illness of Mr W. T. Kelly, M.P., Alderman Douglas is to be the speaker at Reading on 4th December.

SCOTTISH LEAGUE : Wm. Reid, Secretary, 67, West Nile Street, Glasgow, C.1.

When writing the notes for November *Land & Liberty* the hope was expressed that our President, Bailie Peter Burt, would be at the top of the poll in the North Kelvin Ward at the Glasgow municipal elections, 1st November. There were two vacancies.

The result was as follows:—

Peter Burt	4,894
William C. Niven	4,822
Alexander Mathieson	1,965

Bailie Burt and Mr Wm. C. Niven were accordingly returned to the Council, and needless to say we rejoice that our President and veteran champion has been elected to hold his responsible office and exert his commanding influence there for another three years' term.

Word reached us that Mr A. H. Weller had been successful in his fight for election to the Manchester Town Council, and friends here wished to congratulate him.

Unfortunately some of our good friends have fallen by the way. Among those was Ex-Councillor Alexander McGregor who sponsored the latest Land Values resolution in the Glasgow Town Council. Conversely a Conservative who supported that resolution and was defeated last November has been returned for his former Ward this

year. Councillor McGregor was defeated by a candidate who supports our propaganda. If all this needs explanation I will not attempt it. The fight is openly "Moderate" against "Socialist." Sometimes this indicates a big difference, but very often it does not.

Following the Manifesto from large employers of labour in the *Glasgow Herald*, which was a plea for economy in municipal expenditure, Mr A. S. Munsie had an interesting letter in all the Glasgow newspapers with the exception of the *Herald*. He took for illustration a large factory in the vicinity of land recently purchased by the Glasgow Corporation. Basing the Land Value of that factory on the price paid for adjacent land he showed how such enterprises would benefit by having rates transferred to Land Values, as the amount was less than the present rateable value. Another firm among the signatories is reorganizing its resources. Situated between farm land, a dog-racing track, and a railway line it looks as if it deserved a good deal of relief in present rates and doubtless a Land Values assessment would help the firm out of its troubles. After all our propaganda we can only pray for a miracle that will enable the blind to see.

Among other newspaper correspondents are Mr J. Caldwell in the *Ardrossan Herald*, Mr A. J. Mace in the *Citizen*, *Lennox Herald* and *Clydebank Press*, Mr John Cameron in the *Coatbridge Leader*, Mr J. O'D. Derrick in various newspapers, Mr John Peter in the *Edinburgh Evening News*, Mr A. S. Munsie in the *North British Agriculturist* and the *Scottish Farmer*, and short contributions by the Secretary.

Indoor meetings have been continued in the Rooms during November with the following speakers leading the discussions: Mr John Peter on "Value"; Mr A. Campbell, on "The Land and Progress"; Mr Alex. M. Little, on "Management versus Organization"; Mr A. J. Mace, on "Does Machinery cause Unemployment?"

Other meetings addressed include the following, viz.:—

- Nov. 2nd.—Cathcart Branch League of Young Liberals: The Secretary.
 „ 6th.—Polmadie Branch N.U.R.: Mr A. S. Munsie.
 „ 8th.—Co-operative Guild, Gourock: The Secretary.
 „ 13th.—Lochgelly Branch Catholic Social Guild: Mr J. O'D. Derrick.
 „ 16th.—Clydebank Guild of Youth: Mr A. Warner.
 „ 17th.—Hillhead and Partick Liberal Associations: Mr Douglas MacDonald.
 „ 24th.—Falkirk Liberal Association: Mr John Peter.

Other meetings and newspaper correspondence have been reported, but particulars are not to hand. The Secretary will be pleased to be kept informed on such matters.

MANCHESTER LEAGUE: Arthur H. Weller, J.P., Secretary, 5, Cross Street, Manchester.

Meetings addressed by the League's speakers include: Friends' Meeting House, Stockport, A. H. Weller; Alexandra Park Gate (two meetings), E. F. MacClafferty, J. Garner and A. H. Weller; Moss Side Women's Liberal Association, A. H. Weller; Crumpsall W.C.G., Mrs Catterall; Chorlton W.C.G., W. Brennan; Downing Street (Manchester) W.C.G., Mrs Catterall; Macclesfield W.C.G., A. H. Weller; Mossley W.C.G., A. H. Weller; Clitheroe Co-operative Society, A. H. Weller; Flixton M.C.G., A. H. Weller; Tyldesley W.C.G., A. H. Weller.

We greatly regret to announce the death of Mr John Owen, which took place on 24th October, after a long and painful illness. Mr Owen was not as well-known in the movement as his son Mr D. J. J. Owen, but for many years he worked quietly for the cause and could be depended on to assist whenever a call for service was made. A deeply religious man, he was drawn to the movement because of its high moral appeal and he used his influence in his place of worship as well as in the world outside. The sincere sympathy of all who knew Mr Owen goes to the members of the family.

The story of the election in Moss Side West is told elsewhere, but one incident in the contest deserves special mention here. The Secretary addressed a meeting in Birmingham on 12th October in support of the candidature of Mr G. G. Houghton and in return for that small service

a party of four Birmingham friends—including Mrs Houghton and Mr and Mrs Chapman Wright—travelled by car one morning to Manchester and devoted several hours to the election fight in Moss Side West—a total journey of about 180 miles. The visit was not merely helpful, but it was an inspiration to the local workers.

Councillor William Davy, the newly elected Lord Mayor, referred to the taxation of land values in his speech to the City Council in the Manchester Town Hall on 9th November. He said: "It would be sound financial policy to give more consideration to the sources of revenue rather than to curtailing expenditure that was useful. It could be proved beyond doubt that new sources of revenue were to be found. Resolutions advocating the taxation of land values, for example, had passed the Council on more than one occasion, but when the application for the necessary Parliamentary powers had come up for consideration the matter had been allowed to drop. A resolution urging Parliament to introduce legislation to enable local authorities to acquire compulsorily land for public purposes at prices based on rating assessments and without further compensation was passed by the Council in 1919, and it was subsequently adopted by over a hundred local authorities."

An item to be mentioned is that the *Stockport Express* of 22nd September last published a long and verbatim report of the meeting organized by the Manchester Henry George Club, held at the Friends' Meeting House and addressed by the Secretary of the Manchester League.

YORKSHIRE AND NORTHERN LEAGUE: F. Skirrow, Secretary, Compton Buildings, Bow Street, Keighley.

During the past month meetings have been addressed as follows:—

- 22nd Oct. Wm. Thomson, J.P., Keighley Co-op. Society.
 26th „ The Secretary, Bingley League of Young Liberals.
 28th „ The Secretary, Keighley Men's Co-op. Guild.
 1st Nov. A. W. Dakers, Bensham Women's Co-op. Guild.
 13th „ The Secretary, Unitarian Church, Carlisle.
 16th „ Ashley Mitchell addressed the Brightside (Sheffield) Liberal Association.

Members and friends have had letters in the Press as follows:—2nd November, the Secretary, in the *Sheffield Independent*; 3rd November, J. K. Musgrave, in the *Yorkshire Observer*. On the same date the Secretary had a letter in the *Sheffield Telegraph and Star*. "Single Taxer" had a letter in *Keighley News* on 12th November, and "Fésolè" had one in *Bank Officer* for November.

We have been pleased also to see the able letters by "Single Taxer" in the *Yorkshire Observer* of 23rd November and by "Property Owner" in the *Yorkshire Post* of 22nd November.

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

At a meeting of the Management Committee on 10th November the members expressed their great appreciation of the educational work being carried on by Mr G. G. Houghton at meetings and by the wide distribution of enlightening literature. In spite of their non-success at the recent municipal elections both Mr Houghton and Mr Bush propose to continue their contests when vacancies again occur at Sparkhill, and Soho, Smeathwick.

A number of protest meetings are being held by Trading and other Associations against the recent increased assessments, Birmingham being one of the places where the 1st April, 1926, has been fixed for the coming into force of the first quinquennial valuation lists under the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925. Birmingham is among the exceptions in this respect, the vast majority of the assessment committees in England and Wales having decided to fix 1st April, 1929, on which date the new lists will come into force there. Ratepayers in Birmingham are now learning how they will be affected by the revaluation, the assessments being meanwhile at the stage of objection and appeal.

The new Act makes no change in the basis or methods of assessment (excepting as it gives exemption to certain

of machinery, new relief to farm buildings and further relief to agricultural land); it aims in the main to achieve uniformity in practice and provides for a general reassessment every five years. In fact, it works very "efficiently" in charging improvements with the full rate of taxation and in leaving valuable vacant land out of the reckoning. It is reported that this new assessment will add £700,000 to the rateable value of Birmingham, and other things being equal the rate in the £ will be reduced. But this leaves things unaltered so far as the burden on industry is concerned, because the amount of local taxation levied will not be diminished. Real relief and a just distribution can only come through land value taxation, as our members are pointing out at every opportunity; and the working of this new "Rating and Valuation Act" offers conclusive arguments in advancing our case.

LIVERPOOL LEAGUE: F. R. Jones, Hon. Secretary, 42, Stanley Park Avenue, N., Queen's Drive, Liverpool, N.

The following gatherings have been addressed by our speakers:—

- 27th Oct. Kirkdale Women's Co-op. Guild. Mr E. J. McManus.
 27th „ Bootle Labour Party Election Meeting. Secretary.
 31st „ Granby Ward Labour Party Meeting. Secretary.
 3rd Nov. Birkenhead Women's Citizens' Union. Mr E. J. McManus.

On 15th November several of our members attended a meeting at the Reform Club addressed by one of the "Land and Nation League" speakers on "English Rural Policy." More than half an hour of the discussion time was occupied by our speakers, who criticised the incoherent Liberal scheme and advanced our policy.

At our own meetings at the White Café, Cook Street, we have been addressed as follows:—

- 26th Oct. Mr E. J. McManus. "The Somers Land Valuation Question."
 2nd Nov. Mr W. Canning. "Historical Aspects of the Land Question."
 9th „ Mr O. Baier. "The Relation of Henry George's Reform to the Greatest Social Problems."
 16th „ Mr W. McGuinness. "A Completion of the Analysis of the Attitude of the Working Man towards Social Problems and Political Parties."

The address of Mr Baier, who is the pastor of the Liverpool Church of Humanity, was somewhat of a challenge. While admitting the efficacy of our reform, when established, completely to alter for the better all material conditions, he doubted if any considerable moral improvement would be the consequence.

In the very keen discussion which followed, it was pointed out that land value taxation would destroy the causes of war and internal dissension in the country which adopted it, and that it would make such a country far more able to resist if war were thrust upon it.

The discussion was very instructive; all members and friends in the district are urged to come to our Wednesday evening meetings at the White Café to derive the benefits of the clash of thought in forming sound views.

WELSH LEAGUE: Eustace A. Davies, 14, Pembroke Terrace, Cardiff.

In connection with the November municipal elections in Cardiff, the Executive of the League sent a circular letter and questionnaire to all the candidates asking them whether they approved of the Land Values Resolution recently passed by the Cardiff City Council, and whether they would be prepared to do all in their power to further the municipal movement for seeking Parliamentary powers for rating Land Values. The text of the Resolution (which reaffirmed that adopted by the Council in October, 1919) was quoted in the letter and reads as follows:—

That in the opinion of the Council the first step towards a reform of the system of local rating is that rates should be levied on land on an assessment based on its full capital value irrespective of the use to which the land is being put and as to whether it is in use or

not; and that the Town Clerk be instructed to enter into communication with County and municipal authorities throughout the country with a view to joint action to secure the necessary amendments to the present law to enable this resolution to be carried into effect.

Explanatory literature was enclosed with the letter.

Favourable replies were received from J. P. Collins (*Central Ward*); Miss Barbara Foxley and A. J. Williams (*Cathays*); W. G. Howell (*Plasnewydd*); Major T. C. Caister, C. F. Sanders and B. F. C. Weston (*Canton*); P. Freeman and C. S. Hallinan (*Grange-town*); H. J. Brown and C. H. McCale (*Gabaifu*).

The municipal election resulted in five gains for the Labour Party. The candidates returned who declared themselves favourable to our policy were A. J. Williams (Labour), W. G. Howell (Liberal), T. C. Caister (Conservative), C. F. Sanders (Liberal), P. Freeman (Labour) and C. H. McCale (Ratepayers' Association).

The following meetings have been addressed: 27th October, New Tredegar Trades and Labour Council, Hon. Secretary; 27th October, Christchurch (Newport) Labour Party, Capt. Saw; 1st November, Women's Co-operative Guild, Newport, Hon. Secretary; 15th November, Grange-town (Cardiff) Womens' Co-operative Guild, Capt. Saw; 22nd November, Grange-town Womens' Co-operative Guild, Capt. Saw.

The Henry George Study Circle resumed its meetings on Thursday, 17th November and will henceforward meet every Thursday at 8 p.m. at 14, Pembroke Terrace, Cardiff. Professor W. J. Roberts of the University College, Cardiff, is again very kindly volunteering his services and we hope for a large and enthusiastic band of students to meet him.

The Executive Committee met at Cardiff on 17th November, Captain Saw occupying the Chair. Usual business matters were dealt with and it was decided to become affiliated to the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade and to pay a fee of 10s. 6d.

We have elected a number of vice-presidents and are pleased to be able to report that at the time of writing the following have accepted: Mr J. E. Emlyn Jones, Cardiff; Mr Will John, M.P.; Mr Arthur Henderson, Junior; Mr P. Wilson Raffan, J.P.; and Mr David Davies of Penarth, our veteran member of the League.

Mr Raffan (our first President) in an appreciative and encouraging note writes: "It is a great pleasure to me to know that despite all difficulties and discouragements, the Welsh League for the Taxation of Land Values continues its excellent work. I consider it a real honour to be one of its vice-presidents, and gladly accept re-election. It is hard to keep working on with little immediate results but in due time we will 'reap, if we faint not.'"

We are pleased to record that Dr Black-Jones and Mr C. A. Gardner have again been active as press correspondents.

Dr Black Jones, in renewing his contribution to the League, states: "It gives me great pleasure in supporting the good work you have done." Dr Black Jones has supported us with 200 copies of his letter appearing in the *Brecon and Radnor Express* for 17th November. His sustained co-operation in the work of the League is most gratifying and we will see that the copies of this informing letter are well placed.

PORTSMOUTH LEAGUE: S. R. Cole, Hon. Secretary, 165, Francis Avenue, Southsea.

The League held its regular monthly meeting on 7th November, Mr H. Thirsk introducing a discussion on "Land Values and the New Assessments." His address was particularly apposite in view of the fact that Portsmouth is one of the places that are now making the first quinquennial assessment under the new Valuation and Rating Act. We quote the report as it appeared in both the *Evening News* and the *Hampshire Telegraph*.

Mr Thirsk said: It was argued that communal needs increase, with progress, and communal expenditure correspondingly increased even when the utmost care and economy were exercised. The real trouble was that rates, as now levied, operated as a penalty on the use of land. Those who employed most labour on their land, made the greatest improvements and best served the community had to bear the heaviest penalty, while those

who having equally valuable land put it to inferior use, employed less labour and rendered less service to the community, has a lesser penalty imposed. Others who kept vacant valuable land, causing a housing shortage, overcrowding, and unemployment, were encouraged by having no rates to pay, although the value of their land was increased by the expenditure of the rates paid by others.

The improvement and use of land was treated as a public offence. Those who had the most improvements in proportion to the value of their land would have their assessments correspondingly increased. Those whose improvements were of little value in proportion to the land value would have little, if any, increase. Slum owners might have their assessments reduced, but vacant land, however valuable, would not be assessed at all. It was held that if land values were rated the rates on improvements could be correspondingly reduced and eventually abolished. That would promote the best use of land, the fullest employment of labour, an increased production of better houses, and an all-round improvement in trade and industry.

The columns of the local newspapers have been full of "letters to the Editor" protesting against the increased assessments on house property and other premises. As often as not the writer is the "victim" complaining about his own particular case and not realizing that the whole system is wrong and unjust. The position was well stated in a letter of another order by "Onlooker" who emphasized some of the extraordinary anomalies and led out to a convincing argument in favour of land value rating. That is the "Valuation and Rating" Act the country needs if the community is to get its revenue without throwing any charge or burden on the homes or industry of the citizens.

HIGHLAND LEAGUE: I. Mackenzie, Hon. Secretary, The Arcade, Inverness.

Perhaps the space for my League news could not be put to better use this month than by quoting from the statement issued by the Board of Agriculture for 1926. It is taken from the *Northern Chronicle* report of 16th November. It will be noticed that there are less men employed and more arable land turned into grass land:—

"The total number of holdings in Scotland exceeding one acre in extent was 76,017, a net decrease of 144 as compared with the number in 1925. In 1925 a decrease of 49 was recorded, while in the years 1924 and 1923 there were increases of 76 and 133 respectively as compared with the preceding year.

"The area of arable land in 1926, which extended to 3,194,535 acres, was less than in 1925 by 34,824 acres, or 1.1 per cent., and was the smallest recorded since the agricultural returns were first collected in 1866.

"The area under permanent grass has increased annually since 1918; in 1926 it was 22,797 acres larger than in the previous year, and was the greatest recorded since 1910. The whole area under crops and grass has been reduced by about 93,000 acres since 1914, while mountain and heath land used for grazing has in the same period increased by nearly 563,000 acres.

"The total number of persons returned as employed on 4th June, 1926, on agricultural holdings exceeding one acre in extent, exclusive in the case of each holding of the occupier, his wife, and domestic servants, was 126,095, comprising 102,978 regular and 23,117 casual workers. Regular workers were more numerous in 1926 than in 1925 by 713, or 0.7 per cent. Casual workers showed a marked increase, the total number, as compared with 1925, being greater by 3,320, or 16.8 per cent."

These salient facts and figures may be useful to students, speakers and writers on the land question in Scotland.

STOCKPORT

The *Stockport Express* of 3rd November had a column and a half report and an editorial on the Town Council debate on the Rating of Land Values on 26th October.

Councillor W. Noble moved: "That with a view to reducing the burden of the rates on industry and housing

by tapping a new source of revenue, steps be taken to obtain powers from Parliament to levy the rates on the unimproved selling value of all the land in Stockport, whether used or not. And that the Town Clerk notify all the various Rating Authorities in Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire, urging them to take similar action."

The resolution was seconded by Councillor Bennett and supported by Councillors Scott-Morton, Bowler and Mrs Henderson. Others voting for it when the division took place were Aldermen Hopkins and Royle, Councillors Fidler, Langley, Hardman, Holland and Gill.

Councillor Noble, in the course of his speech, said: They knew how careful the various committees of the Stockport Town Council were in regard to their expenditure, and they could not find any way of reducing their expenditure. Now they came to a new source of revenue—that they rate land on its true annual value as fixed by its estimated selling value. The value of the land depended on the population, and the population was denied the value of the land. The only way they could demonstrate the value of the land in Stockport was to compare it with values in large towns in other parts of the world. Taking this as a basis, the value of the land in Stockport was £843,750, and a rate of 8s. 6d. in the £ on that would supply all the funds the Corporation needed. If they went in for rating land they could de-rate the houses. There were 7,059 acres in Stockport, and the used portion of the land—practically one-half—paid £357,940 in rates, and the half that was idle paid only £509 15s. 7d. The result was overcrowding in some parts, while in other parts of the town there were big tracts of land unused. By their system of rating they did everything they could to hamper industry.

Although the resolution was defeated (by 31 to 12), Mr Noble succeeded, with the good help of the *Stockport Express*, in giving wide publicity to the question. In the Council he has used every opportunity to advance the land value policy but there, perforce, he has had to suspend an active public career—we earnestly hope, only for an interval. His friends and co-workers much regret the defeat he suffered at the Municipal Elections on 1st November, as retiring candidate for the Reddish South Ward, where he had won his former seat in a three-corner contest as Labour representative. At the election last month he increased his poll, but that did not prevail against the combined Liberal and Conservative vote given to his opponent.

Under the auspices of the Catholic Social Guild, Mr J. O'D. Derrick addressed a largely attended meeting in the Cinema, Lochgelly, on 13th November. The local *Times* gave an excellent report. The keynote of Mr. Derrick's message was in his appeal to his hearers not to go on the false scent denouncing capital while failing to realize that all capital comes from the land and that all capitalistic monopolies are based on land monopolies, a fact admitted by Karl Marx himself.

The address was followed by a letter in the *Lochgelly Times* of 23rd November, emphasizing again the importance of land value taxation. Mr Derrick keeps ever busy with his pen, which he uses to good effect every week in the *Irish Times* as Scottish correspondent. A recent letter from him to the *Irish Independent* quotes the resolution of the Danish small peasants (the Housemen) in favour of land value taxation and free trade and calls on Irish farmers to further the same policy.

TO PROMOTE THE CAUSE

Let your Christmas or New Year's Greetings to your friends be accompanied by one or more of the books and pamphlets advertised in this issue of *Land & Liberty*.

THE INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR LAND VALUE TAXATION AND FREE TRADE

11, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1

In view of the next International Conference to Promote Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, to be held in Edinburgh at the end of July or in the beginning of August, 1929, we renew our earnest invitation to readers of *Land & Liberty* to join the Union, under whose auspices the Conference will be held. We shall be pleased to send membership forms to those who can help in recruiting new adherents.

The condition of membership is approval and acceptance of the objects of the Union, which are: "The promotion of Land Value Taxation and Free Trade as taught by Henry George and the holding of International Conferences." Anyone may enrol on that understanding and is invited to support the Union by such contribution, large or small, as he or she may feel disposed to give; but a contribution is not obligatory and our invitation is cordially addressed in this sense to the many friends in the movement who feel they are subscribing all they can at the moment to their local league or organization.

Besides the personal membership and personal association we here urge upon all, the question of affiliation should be borne in mind. We ask that it be brought before fellow members of national or local leagues and societies that exist to promote our policy. All that is necessary is a formal but simple resolution (adopted in executive committee or at a general meeting) expressing agreement with the objects of the Union and signifying the intention to affiliate. Such resolution, with whatever affiliation fee may be voted, will be gladly put on record.

The National Council for the Prevention of War is holding a National Peace Congress in Manchester on 3rd and 4th December. Mr E. M. Ginders, President of the Manchester Land Values League, and Councillor Arthur H. Weller, J.P., have delegate's tickets representing the International Union. Arrangements have been made for an effective distribution of our "Geneva Memorandum" to all members present and our delegates will doubtless have something to say on the question of land value taxation and free trade as the true road to international peace.

The Geneva Memorandum on the "Interdependence of the Economic Causes of War and of Industrial Depression," when first issued was translated into French, German, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Spanish and Hungarian. One of our friends to whom it has specially appealed is Mr Charles G. Baldwin of Baltimore, who on his recent stay in Europe was a frequent visitor at our offices. At his instance a translation has been made into Russian and stencils have been produced from which all the copies desired can be run off. Mr Baldwin's valuable contribution to our work is much appreciated and we shall take occasion to make good use of the Russian version. Copies are, of course, available to any one making request.

The eloquent address our President, Hon Charles O'Connor Hennessy, delivered at the Henry George Memorial Congress, New York, 13th September, has been issued by the Union in separate pamphlet form. Our readers will be glad to see the text in this month's *Land & Liberty*. The address is in itself an exhortation to join and support the Union and is being well used in that way in conjunction with the new reprint of our Geneva Memorandum, now published (price 2d. or 12s. per 100) as a pamphlet under the title "The Economic Causes of War and of Industrial Depression."

We have been pleased to hear from Mr Max Marfels of Berlin, the son of Mr Carl Marfels who was mentioned in our notes of last month. In his letter Mr Max Marfels writes: "I am with you in drawing a sharp distinction between the post-war effects, frightful as they have been, and the abiding social ills that are due in our opinion to

the one-sided laws respecting the land. The observer who has grasped the land question as Henry George has explained it knows of course that the social problem has been aggravated by the admitted effects of war and still further intensified by the excessive burden of taxation; but the results of land speculation and of the rise in rents are day by day so clear and obvious to him, that the short-sighted view of our whole economic position on the part of parliaments and the business community in general cannot but make him unspeakably sad. I wish to say, therefore, that the knowledge I have gained from your letter and from your pamphlets of what is being done to spread the teachings of Henry George has deeply impressed me."

Our co-worker in Vienna and member of the Committee of the Union, Mr Pavlos Giannelia, is the Vice-President of the League of Austrian Land Reformers. The President is Mr Siegfried Sitte, the son of the well-known Camillo Sitte, the founder of the Town Planning movement. The Austrian League is determined to keep on the sound lines of land value taxation as taught by Henry George. Last year Mr Sitte, by invitation, addressed the "Free German Academy of Town Planning," where, with great success, he explained our principle and policy to an audience composed of elements that had not been too friendly so far. In recent correspondence Mr Giannelia has reported the work of the Austrian League, mentioning also the activities of Mr Serebrenik (the author of *The Economic Problem in Agriculture*—an exposition of land value taxation) and Messrs Bartak, Schneider and Knab. These friends, with Mr Sitte and Mr Giannelia himself, were present and spoke to good purpose at the 1926 Housing and Town Planning Conference, held in Vienna.

In an article on Agricultural Depression in France, the *Times*, 18th November, after remarking that the first main cause of the depression is reduced prices, says: "The second of the farmers' troubles is taxation. Its application to agriculture nowadays is admittedly unjust. It is based on a register of land values which is incorrect and out of date. So long as the rate of taxation was comparatively light, nobody troubled very much about the matter; but the successive increases of the last year or two have aggravated the injustice and made it in some cases intolerable."

"The register of land values" in France, besides being incorrect and out of date, is anything but a valuation of land apart from improvements. French peasants could learn a lesson from the wisdom of the Danish peasants, especially the class of small peasants who in their associations of 80,000 members or more stand steadfastly for land value taxation and free trade, and have done much to get a beginning made with the land value policy in their country.

A South London site occupied by 140 allotments is to be devoted to dog-racing. If any thoroughgoing pessimist should be in need of a text, this will perhaps do.—*Observer* (London), 27th November.

"Black Hawk" quoted by Carl Sanburg in his *Prairie Years of Abraham Lincoln*. "My reason teaches me that land cannot be sold. The Great Spirit gave it to his children to live upon. So long as they occupy and cultivate it they have a right to the soil. Nothing can be sold but such things as can be carried away." Vol. I, p. 151.

"LAND VALUE TAXATION IN PRACTICE"

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From our Offices.

PALESTINE

The Zionist Movement and Land Tenure

In an informing article in the *Jewish Guardian* of 14th October, Mr Elias M. Epstein (Jerusalem), reporting an address he delivered recently at the North London Liberal Synagogue, writes:—

"I wish to speak here of the agricultural settlement which constitutes the basis of Zionist colonization activity. There no man can say of his land, 'I own it. I shall do with it as I please; leave it untilled, rent it to another, or parcel and sublet it.' Ownership of the ground is vested in the *Keren Kayemeth*, the land organ of the Zionist Movement. The land is placed at the disposal of qualified settlers on terms of hereditary lease, on conditions having as their object the elimination or mitigation of the social evils attached to private property in land. In so far as it is available, land is granted to all fit for an agricultural life, whether they possess means or not; irrespective of their class or country of origin, or opinions.

"The size of a farm is determined by a family's normal needs. It will not be larger than it can work itself, so that there is neither temptation nor possibility to lease surplus ground to another and profit from the rent. Neither will it be smaller than a family needs to maintain itself, to exclude the necessity of hiring oneself out to other farmers.

"As science demonstrates how soil can be improved and its yield intensified, the unit of acres per farm can be reduced and room made for fresh settlers. On the other hand, harmful growth of large estates by combination of farms through gift or inheritance is checked. This experiment is still young—the oldest of these villages is barely twenty years old—but provision is made for the passing of a holding to the heirs or legatees of the lessee, in the absence of whom it would be relet to another family. Thus the normal advantages of land ownership—those which redound to the benefit of the community—are retained, while its abuses are obviated.

"The tenant farmer of national land . . . is not restricted in the use of his land. He builds up his home and tills his fields as his personal instincts and capability may dictate. There is no cramping of individuality, which finds expression in one case by a luxuriant flower-garden; in another by specialization in prize poultry; in a third, by high-grade dairy products; and a fourth, special fruit trees.

"As long as he reconciles his interest in it with the general interest, a farmer is master of his own holding; he would find himself restricted only when contemplating its abuse. If he wishes to surrender his farm at any time, he is to be compensated for all he has invested in it.

"Moreover, in so far as there accrues an increased value of the land (as a result not of the expenditure of the settler, but of public development works), that increase accrues to the community. The low rental for the ground charged by the National Fund is on a 2 per cent basis of the value of the land, and this is to be ascertained at regular intervals, so that when the value increases, the rent paid to the public authority rises in proportion.

"In these settlements there can be no harmful exploitation of the land; no speculation; no forcing up of rents; no battenning on the toil of others by those with astute brains; there can be no harmful exploitation of the individual. If a disaster occurs to one family, the loss is shared by all, as some time ago occurred, when a fire destroyed the harvest of six neighbouring farmers in Nahalal. It is not surprising that mutual help is developed into a system—each volunteers a day's labour

for a sick member of the village, or each lends a horse for so many days if another's animal is hurt. And this willingness to share each other's burdens—not, be it noted, in a spirit of charity from the wealthy to the needy, but, as fellow-men, in a spirit of real comradeship—is not affected by the inevitable differences that arise between them because one ploughs better, another one has the help of his children, or the parents of another burden his domestic budget.

"Centuries ago, the Jewish prophets (who were also peasants) thundered against social unrighteousness, against 'the laying of field to field,' against the strong oppressing the weak by holding in his hands the means whereby his fellow lived.

"We have ceased to bring burnt offerings to the Lord; we have abandoned—each of us in less or greater degree—the old forms of our religion. But have we substituted for them the 'good heart' and humbleness that Micah cried for? In that country, where prophecy attained sublime heights, men and women have rooted out of their hearts the arrogance of selfishness, have cheerfully accepted, nay, insisted upon, a life of fair opportunity to all, equal enjoyment of nature's blessings, and a common share of life's mishaps. Upon the soil of the Land of Israel, Jews have again set up the banner of social justice."

ARGENTINA

M. J. S. writes:—

Revista del Impuesto Unico (Defensa 553, Buenos Aires) for August, 1927 has good news of a series of public debates arranged by the Argentina League at Esmeralda 91. A healthy administration is referred to in the opening of the free gold market, and official resistance to a policy of spoliation in the Patagonia territories. Two specially useful articles are from Tomas Galli on the Function of Capital, and by Luis Denegri, who deals faithfully with pronouncements by Dr Dickmann, the Argentine Philip Snowden.

The Liberation of the Land, by "Candido Semeur"—a pen-name of a distinguished Professor of Buenos Aires University, is reviewed as a valuable new contribution to Geogist literature: as is *The Distribution of the Land*, by our good friend Comm. Luigi Kambo, which is calculated to be of much value not only in Italy but among the large Italian population in South America.

* * *

It is tragic to read the flattened report of Lord Farrer's speech on 26th October as Chairman of the Córdoba Central Railway. This man, bearing the name of a great economist, says merely that (the State and) his Railway "turned the corner" in 1923; and now the only serious trouble is the constant rise in wages, coinciding with resumption of reasonable dividends.

Such a man might becomingly acknowledge the aid of a 7 per mille land value tax in the rural areas of the State served, of a 5 per mille land value rate in the City of Córdoba, of the abolition of upward limit in civic land value rating in Córdoba State, and San Juan State adjacent; even of the efficient State Valuation now organized by Dr Angel Cárcano, the Governor. Had the Single Tax legislation failed in practice in any detail how the "City" would have gloated! But as it succeeds the conspiracy of silence is only broken to refer to the contemporaneous benefit as "turning the corner." Not that Physiocrats need his evidence.

A Free Copy of "Land & Liberty" is an Invitation to become a Subscriber. Monthly 3d.; by Post 4s. per Annum.

NOTES AND NEWS

It was announced on 18th November that the trustees of the Earl of Derby have sold by private treaty to Mr Philip E. Hill a portion of Lord Derby's extensive estates consisting of freehold ground rents secured upon 22,000 houses situate in the City of Liverpool and Bootle and the townships of Kirkdale and Walton. Lord Derby retains the manorial rights and gifts of livings. The purchase price is approximately £1,750,000.

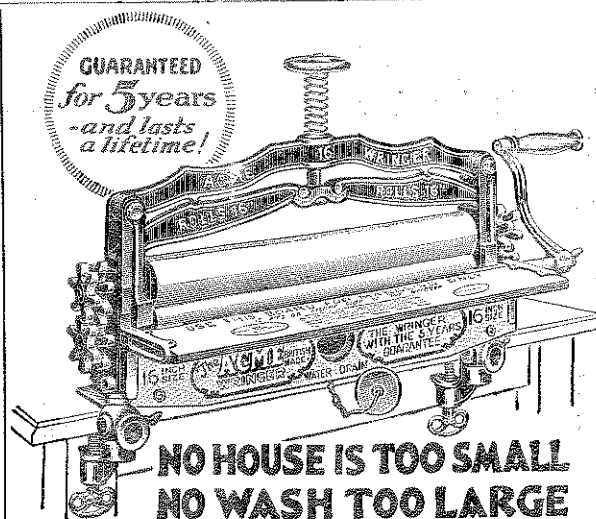
In a note upon this tremendous "rake off" from the value given to the land by the growth of a thriving community, the *Manchester Guardian* gives the information that Lord Derby owned almost the whole of Bootle, excepting the land occupied by the docks. The manor came into the possession of the family in the eighteenth century. In 1847 the then Earl of Derby sold a large tract of the foreshore—some 270,000 square yards—to the Dock Trust for £90,000. The transfer resulted in the construction of the North Docks and the building of the town of Bootle, which, virtually in a single lifetime, rose from a little seaside place into a county borough of more than 80,000 inhabitants.

The Liverpool City Council, at its meeting on 26th October, decided to lease a site in Parker Street comprising 617½ square yards for ninety-nine years, the price being £250 per square yard commuted into a ground rent at the rate of 4½ per cent per annum. A peppercorn rent is charged for the first two years and thereafter the full rent (£7,328) is to be paid. One of the conditions is the erection of a building costing about £60,000.

In a letter to the *Liverpool Post* of 4th November referring to this transaction, Mr E. J. McManus points out that while the selling or market value of the site is about £154,000, the building to be erected thereon will cost about £60,000. "This is but another instance of the greater value of central sites than of the large buildings erected upon them. It throws into relief the fact, too long tolerated, that the owner of a city site can obtain more for giving permission to use it than is received by all the employers and workmen engaged in the making of the building."

An editorial note in the *Liverpool Post* gives some other figures of land values in that city—£330 per square yard recently paid by the Corporation for the opposite corner of Parker Street; £317 per square yard for a plot at the corner of Church Street and Tarleton Street in 1924; and £315 per square yard for a site in Church Street and Williamson Street. These prices are equivalent respectively to £1,597,200 per acre, £1,534,280 per acre and £1,524,280 per acre. In 1924 the Midland Bank paid £283 per square yard for a site in Old Hall Street converted into terms of freehold. This is at the rate of £1,369,720 per acre.

"Unless social reform develops a greater sense of individual responsibility and brings forth greater individual co-operation our social reform measures will never establish a co-operative commonwealth, but will establish a pauper State," said Mr Philip Snowden, M.P., addressing the men's meeting at Whitefield's Tabernacle, London, yesterday.—*Glasgow Herald*, 28th November.



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