

# LAND & LIBERTY

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**Australian Protection.**—In a most illuminating summary of the Australian Trade and Customs Returns, 1926-27, the *Sydney Standard* for November makes the following comment:—

We have only one right method of raising public revenue in this State, and that is for local government purposes.

Its justice and simplicity are apparent to all, and yet ignorance and vested interests have so far combined to prevent logical effect being given to the land values method in the matter of raising revenue for State and National purposes.

Our vaunted educational system has utterly failed to enable the people to think even to a small extent along the lines of logic and common sense. They are blind to the teaching of history. Every blunder of the past is being repeated instead of avoided. The mistakes of the old world have been resurrected in the new.

We can only regret the limits of space in these columns that alone precludes the reproduction of this well-timed exposition of the case against Protection in the dry leaf. It should be broadcast as a campaign document in the fight now with us at home for the Free Trade principle.

**A Defection.**—There is a significant break-away from our fiscal policy by a small section of the Trade Unions in the woollen and iron and steel industries. This is an opening that our "Tariff Reformers" have already duly noted. The *Observer*, 23rd December, in a note of triumph observes: "Mr Snowden's jaunty repeal of the safeguarding duties becomes a fast receding prospect." The wish here is father to the thought, but Mr Snowden is not just the man to let slip this Trade Union backsliding. In a telling and seasonable reply to the enemy in the *Labour Magazine* for January, Mr Snowden faithfully deals with this Trade Union Official's report. We quote:—

"But who can regard a report as serious which makes the assertion that a tariff will stop three-quarters of

the foreign imports of textile fabrics? If the Committee had taken a glance at the effect of safeguarding duties now in operation they would never have made such a ridiculous assertion. Let them refer to the cases of lace, fabric gloves, artificial silk, and see what effect the duties have had in stopping imports.

The Committee's report wholly ignores the repercussions of a tariff on the export trade, which is one-half of the whole production of wool textile fabrics. On the wholly baseless assumption that a tariff on fabrics would find employment for 8,400 operatives, the Committee are prepared to risk the livelihood of 125,000 workers who are now employed on foreign orders. The report might well, indeed, describe the the proposal as an 'experiment.' It would have been more accurate to describe it as a criminal gamble."

**The Real Issue.**—This is good as far as it goes, but the Free Trade issue raised again must lead out as on former similar occasions to a wider discussion of social problems in their relationship to Free Trade in its fullness. It is for those who adhere to the fuller, freer doctrine to see that their bolder conception of what is involved in the struggle shall not be ignored. As Henry George says in his classic on the subject, *Protection or Free Trade*:—

"The making of the tariff question a national political issue must now mean the discussion in every newspaper, on every platform and at every cross roads where two men meet, of questions of work and wages, of capital and labour, of the incidence of taxation, of the nature and rights of property, and of the question to which all these questions lead—the question of the relation of men to the planet on which they live. In this way more can be accomplished for popular economic education in a year than could be accomplished in decades. Therefore it is that I would urge earnest men who aim at the emancipation of labour and the establishment of social justice, to throw themselves into the Free Trade movement with might and main, and to force the tariff question to the front."

These burning, sagacious and appealing words were penned some fifty years ago, but the truth never grows old. A new generation and a new voting power is with us, and the age of an audience is ever the same. Henry George men have this philosophy always at hand, and as we go to press we are pleased to announce that a well-thought-out abridgment of this work, *Protection or Free Trade*, is almost in the printer's hands. This coming service will be appreciated and those who "see in Free Trade not a mere fiscal reform, but a movement which has for its aim and end nothing less than the abolition of poverty," are earnestly entreated and without delay to send in their orders for quantities of

this helpful and inspiring publication. This word is to all who stand for fundamental reform. We hear much of the philosophy of Henry George; the time has come once again to listen to his statesmanship, so to strike one more resounding blow for the freedom and the humanity that is for ever associated with his name.

**De-rating and Safeguarding.**—It is evident that a very skilful and insidious campaign in favour of de-rating and also of the safeguarding of industries is going to be carried from now until the general election. We bracket these two proposals together, because the general propaganda on behalf of them is of the same type. In each case an appeal is made to the sectional interests of some particular district or of some particular trade, and the effect on other districts or other trades is carefully ignored. In both cases a kind of subsidy is promised to manufacturers to be defrayed by indirect taxation which is diffused and spread over the whole community. The benefits to the manufacturer appear to be direct and calculable; the burden placed upon consumers is indirect and the amount imposed on each difficult to ascertain. An illustration of this propaganda is supplied by the long series of articles which the *Daily Telegraph* has been publishing on "De-rating," in each of which pointed attention is drawn to the reduction of rates which each industry in each district is to expect, but no mention is made of the effect of the petrol tax and the other forms of indirect taxation upon the whole body of citizens and particularly upon the poorest.

**Unemployment.**—The analogy between these two nostrums extends still further. In order to make them palatable and desirable to the mass of electors the hope is held out that they will create more employment. The idea at the back of this is that if manufacturers make larger profits they will employ more labour—a proposition which (to say the least of it) is not necessarily true. That manufacturers make larger profits does not necessarily create any additional demand for commodities. In the present cases it demonstrably does not, because the increased profit anticipated is to come out of indirect taxation levied on consumers in general and their purchasing power will be reduced by the amount of the added burden imposed upon them. This applies whether the subsidy takes the form of a protective tariff or a reduction of rates.

It is already evident that the scheme to raise millions of pounds by indirect taxation in order to reduce the local rates on "productive industries" will be an unconditioned gift to brewers, distillers, tobacco manufacturers and concerns like the cement makers that have formed a virtual monopoly. Does anyone seriously believe that in these cases the "grants in aid" will lower prices or that more beer and tobacco will be sold giving more employment to workers in these trades? Will not the certain effect be merely to swell the dividends of shareholders?

**Raising Land Values.**—Even assuming therefore, that the benefit of de-rating can be retained by the producer, it does not follow that any increase of employment will result.

But we do not accept the position that the benefit of de-rating will be retained by either manufacturers or farmers. On the contrary it is quite obvious that if they do receive any immediate benefit, the competition for factories and farms will very rapidly lead to an increase of land values. Where the land is held under a tenancy agreement or lease, the landlord will take the benefit of de-rating into account in fixing the rent upon a renewal. Where the person conducting the business is also the owner of the land, the benefit will accrue to him as landlord and not as producer—

a fact that would become evident if he determined to lease the property.

**No Stimulus to Production.**—The market price at which commodities are sold depends upon the cost of production of the least advantageously situated producer whose production is necessary in order to satisfy the demand. Those producers whose cost of production is highest will include some at least of those who rent their land and who, as we have seen, will be required to pay an enhanced rent. It follows, therefore, that de-rating will not lead to any reduction of the marginal cost of production, or to any diminution of prices. There can, consequently, be no increase of demand or of production. The only persons who will get a permanent advantage are landlords and they will get it at the expense of the rest of the people.

Productive work consists in turning natural products into articles fitted for consumption. An increase of production necessarily means an increased use of land as the source of raw materials. As the de-rating scheme will inevitably involve increased land-values, it is evident that it will directly militate against an increased utilization of land and therefore against increased production and increased employment. The scheme will but aggravate the problem of unemployment.

**"Methods of Social Reform."**—Under this caption "Artifex" in a column article in a recent number of the *Manchester Guardian* writes of a letter he has just received from a young Oxford undergraduate who has been helping in a big lad's club in the very poorest part of South London. In his letter the youth keenly interested in the work, says: "that all such efforts are merely playing with the situation and that something more drastic is needed. This tinkering with individuals is too slow a method. We must alter our whole social system." "Artifex" calmly observes that this is a really interesting and important view and at once brings to bear on it the "guiding principles" of the current philosophy. "The purpose of this life," he considers, "is the production of noble character, and to this end we must begin by improving human beings; it is the individual that counts."

What is there in these and similar reflections for our Oxford undergraduate? Nothing in the nature of a "drastic" remedy for the social evils that baffle his understanding, nor even a suggestion as to any moderate line of approach likely to ease the situation. It is clear that "Artifex," whose name is legion, has nothing to say to his young friend and having nothing to say falls back on the hard-worn comment, pleasingly and easily made about "the young people who are naturally and rightly in a hurry."

**Individual Character.**—Such writing is of no avail, least of all in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*. By all means let us begin by improving human beings. That is what our educational system implies in the open streets as well as in the schools. But if it is the individual that counts let us, in giving him a lift up, try to realize and focus in our own minds how he is held down to lower levels by a sordid struggle for mere existence, which becomes more bitter and soul-racking at every

#### **False Teaching in our Schools and Colleges.**

By Emil Jorgensen. Cloth 3s. 6d., paper covers 2s. (Postage 3d.)

#### **Mr Philip Snowden on Land Value Taxation.**

Reprint of Speeches in the House of Commons; at Hanley; and other declarations, 16 page pamphlet. 1d.

stage of his intellectual and moral progress towards a higher and nobler ambition. If we would help to mould the character of the individual citizen we had better first cut from under his feet the harsh and inhuman economic environment that holds his progress in check. But whatever is to be done for that poor friendless Oxford student? If we had his address he should by next post have a copy of Henry George's *Social Problems*. Has "Artifex" never heard of this work?

**That Universal Panacea.**—In his closing words of little comfort or of sound advice "Artifex" has this to say:—

But they are more in the intellectual and social spheres than in the moral, and it is clearly possible to educate a whole nation without getting rid of all, or indeed most, moral evils. I do not mean to depreciate or undervalue any social efforts. All have their value, and all are worth trying. I would only conclude that anything that is offered as a universal panacea, anything which claims to work quickly and in the mass, above all anything that ignores the individual and individual moral improvement, stands condemned. It ignores the second law of psycho-dynamics.

We do not dispute the contention that a whole nation could be educated without getting rid of moral evils, if education is to silence the individual who wants his searching questions on social problems answered; but it remains true nevertheless, that, as Henry George has well said, there are intellectual princes in our Society who are moral paupers and moral princes who are intellectual paupers. How to make a moral and intellectual prince of the individual appears to be both a political and a religious problem. As for that universal panacea which seems to disturb the mind of "Artifex" it is but an empty phrase full of insufficiency, signifying nothing. The statement recalls Henry George's answer to his friend who wrote saying he approved of the remedy contained in *Progress and Poverty*, but that he could not see how it would cure all the ills of the body politic. Mr. George replied: "Neither do I, but freedom will."

**"The Dynamics of the Problem."**—With economic freedom we can rapidly move towards the Celestial City; without it all other "social effort" is but "tinkering with individuals." There may be in psycho-dynamics, whatever it stands for, an impassable barrier to the open road that leads to freedom, but the dynamics of a tax on land values will provide new openings for the individual and give him a chance to play a man's part in his own elevation and in the elevation of his fellows.

**Purchasing Power, at the Board of Trade.**—In one of the debates in the Commons last month we are indebted to Mr Maxton for recalling a speech of the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister), 12th June. For its "Alice in Wonderland" innocence, no less than its "across the counties" talk to the hard-hearted soft-headed British taxpayer it is worth mentioning. On the Motion dealing with the Civil Estimates, 1928, Sir Philip said:—

We rightly spend enormous sums upon social services, and this must mean the spending of more money across the counter in purchasing goods, and surely it is enormously important that the money the British taxpayer spends should, as far as possible, feed British trade rather than foreign trade. It is desirable in itself, and it leads to less money being required for those services and more money being paid out in trade.

If there be any truth seeking recognition in this

statement, it is that high wages (purchasing power) is the economic salvation of industry. It is the point Mr Maxton was making in his speech, though like the average file leader of opinion on the so-called advanced side of politics he was merely pleading for an increased social service dole from the taxpayers and not vindicating the claim of labour to a fuller life with higher wages, in the boundless opportunities that are held in the grip of land monopoly. But that aspect of the problem is unhappily outside the purview of the chairman of the Independent Labour Party. It is true all the same that the unemployed man at the gate determines the wages of those inside. To-day this man's name is legion, and the only problem to be solved is how to remove him peacefully and effectively into the open field of nature's inexhaustible resources. As Sir James Barrie recently declared "that will take some doing." It will, but as Henry George, who anticipated the objection fifty years ago, replied: "The principle must be embodied in concrete form and presented in practical politics, so that men being called upon to vote for it shall be forced to think and talk about it."

The taxation of land values is the concrete expression of the principle that will raise and maintain wages so to translate purchasing power from the arena of debate into the radical measure that is urgently needed.

**Social Service Expenditure.**—The underlying thought in the remarks of the President of the Board of Trade seems to imply that if the taxpayer himself made the purchases across the counter it would mean less trade. It is a curious piece of economic reasoning to contend that one pound of the taxpayer's money spent in social service will purchase more good than it would if spent directly by the man himself. If the taxpayer cannot purchase some goods he requires because of the demands on his purse by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, how will it better trade if the money taken is spent through social service, or any sort of service, say on the dole, the housing subsidy or by the land monopolist on the watch-out for all that the traffic will bear? If it were only true, if a certain sum of money spent by a man's neighbours can command more general prosperity than it would if spent by himself, then the cure for bad trade and unemployment need trouble us no longer. The wonder is why this simple discovery was not made long ago. But of course we are a slow-going conservative people and do not take readily to new methods, even when they lie all about our feet!

**Home versus Foreign Trade.**—Like a true blue tariff reformer, the President of the Board of Trade does not fail, for the benefit of British taxpayer, to ring the changes on foreign trade. The tariff reform lesson here is that money spent in social service on home trade carries with it a special blessing. It gives a higher return and therefore means lower taxation. But that granted, what becomes of the argument that the more money we spend on social service the better trade will be? It is of course allowed that our tariff reformer would not be true to his preaching if he did not want it both ways. Yet the foreigners must be paid for the goods we purchase from him, and he is paid in exports, or not at all. The Board of Trade can tell how this export trade of his keeps quite a number of British workers (and taxpayers) at work. It surely follows that to the extent that imports are restricted to that extent our export trade will decline. And that being so, it will be cold comfort to the taxpayer to tell him that his money is feeding British trade rather than foreign trade. In the eyes of the tariff reformer any trade connection with the foreigners is to be viewed with suspicion. His mind works in compartments:

he leaves it to the League of Nations to worry over the problem of world economic peace and international brotherhood.

**A Word to the Conservatives.**—Mr Quintin Hogg, son of Lord Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor, had a striking letter in the *Evening Standard* of 31st October last in which he wrote that "Young men and women are impressed by the fact that a very large number of their fellow-countrymen are suffering intense hardship at the present moment through no fault of their own. Unless the Conservative Party shows it to be its policy to relieve that hardship, it will stand about as much chance of success as if it went to the country on the electoral programme of 1867. So long as there is misery in the mines and in the slums, so long as there is unemployment and distress the Conservative Party will have failed to fulfil its mission; and it will stand true to-day, true as ever in the days of Disraeli, 'that the claims for the future are with the suffering millions—and the youth of the country are the trustees of posterity.'"

The spirit of this letter moved one of our colleagues to write to Mr Quintin Hogg making a gift of two works by Henry George for perusal and consideration and a letter of warm acknowledgement has been received in reply. A good service is rendered in bringing *Progress and Poverty* to the notice of every one who, like Mr Hogg, is earnestly seeking the remedy for social ills, and for the distress that every honest man must admit arises through no fault of those who suffer.

## YORKSHIRE MUNICIPAL CONFERENCE ON THE RATING OF LAND VALUES Convened by the Bradford City Council

Thursday, the 28th February, has been fixed as the date of the representative Conference to promote the Rating of Land Values which will be held in Bradford under the auspices of the City Council in terms of its resolution adopted on 16th October last.

The following is the text of the letter now being sent to the Yorkshire local authorities from the office of the Bradford Town Clerk:—

"I beg to inform you that the Council of this City at a recent meeting passed the following resolution, namely:—

"That this Council, being desirous of obtaining powers to levy rates on the site values within its area, hereby decides to call a conference of the county, county borough, and borough authorities of Yorkshire to consider making representations on the matter to the Government.

"Pursuant to the terms of such resolution arrangements have been made for a Conference of such authorities to be held in the Council Chamber, at the Town Hall in this City, on Thursday, 28th February next, at 3.0 p.m., at which the Lord Mayor, Alderman H. Thornton Pullan, J.P., will preside.

"I am accordingly directed to extend a cordial invitation to your Council at appoint representatives, not exceeding three in number, to attend the Conference.

"In the event of the invitation being accepted, I shall be obliged if you will let me know at your early convenience the names of the appointed representatives.

"Yours faithfully,

"N. L. FLEMING, Town Clerk."

The land value policy is thus brought prominently into municipal politics in Yorkshire. Our supporters inside and outside the local councils will be on the alert to make the utmost of the occasion.

## PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY



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The *Manchester Guardian* of 12th December printed an illustration of the new bust of Dr John Dewey, the noted American philosopher and educationist. The bust was made by Jacob Epstein and was recently presented to Dr Dewey by a group of his former students and other friends, and is for the present on exhibition at Teachers' College, Columbia University, in New York. The committee which arranged the gift had as its chairman James Harvey Robinson, the well-known social psychologist, and as its secretary Professor Joseph Ratner, of the Department of Philosophy at Columbia.

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As our readers are aware, Dr Dewey has expressed in eloquent terms his tribute to the name and fame of Henry George in his preface to the book published by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, *Significant Paragraphs from "Progress and Poverty,"* prepared by Professor Harry Gunnison Brown, of the University of Missouri. In this preface, Dr Dewey said it would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who from Plato down rank with Henry George. "His clear intellectual insight into social conditions, his passionate feeling for the remediable ills from which humanity suffers find their logical conclusion in his plan for liberating labour and capital from the shackles which now bind them. . . . No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker. . . . It is the thorough fusion of insight into actual facts and forces, with the recognition of their bearing upon what makes human life worth living, that constitutes Henry George one of the world's great social philosophers."

*Significant Paragraphs from "Progress and Poverty"* is an admirable gift book to invite further study. It may be had from our offices at 2s. in cloth binding or 1s. 6d. in paper covers. Postage 2d. extra.

## NOTES AND NEWS

The King has made a brave fight for his life, and we join in the universal hope that he will soon be restored to former health and strength.

\* \* \*

Our Scottish co-workers were startled and grieved to read in the Glasgow Press on the morning of 20th December a report of the sudden and unexpected illness of Bailie Burt, President of the Scottish League. As we go to press we are glad to learn from Mrs Burt that he is now free from pain and has so far improved that he is able to walk a little without assistance. Mr Burt has exacting duties as a magistrate and as Convener of the Glasgow Tramway Committee he has worked hard for this popular service in recent years. As a Glasgow colleague says, his heart and soul was in this work. We join with hosts of friends in the land value movement, and with many others outside this wide circle, in an expression of sympathy, and trust that even better news of Mr Burt's convalescence will soon be received.

\* \* \*

The Glasgow *Forward* (1st December) noticed with acknowledgments to us the Charter of the Peelmwood Estate in Peeblesshire which dated from 1087 and gave the owner "all the bounds up and down above the earth to heaven and below the earth to hell."

The *Forward* remarks that such charters stopped short at hell because they did not conceive the possibility of the flames of hell being used for heating purposes on earth. In that case hell itself would have been included or, at least, provision made for a way-leave charge on all flames so brought to the surface.

Yet this is just what does happen with the potential fires stored in the coal measures the land owners claim as their property.

\* \* \*

The twelve bells of St. Martin's, the old parish church of Birmingham, have cost £1,025 to re-cast and re-hang. The sum was provided by the Bell Rope Croft Fund, the croft being a portion of land with which the parish was originally endowed in order to provide the cost of new bell-ropes from time to time. Land values in Birmingham have so increased with the passage of time that the cost of re-casting the bells can be met from its yield.—*Observer*, 9th December.

\* \* \*

The speeches delivered by Col. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., at Slough, on 28th November and in Alsager (Crews Division) on 14th December on the Taxation of Land Values were extensively reported in the *Slough Observer* and the *Staffordshire Sentinel*. He could never understand, he said, people asking for a living wage—sufficient to keep body and soul together. Surely they should demand that the worker should get the full reward of his labour and land value taxation was the way to bring that about.

\* \* \*

The Danish Foreign Office Journal for December reviews the results of the census of land under cultivation in Denmark taken on 16th July, 1928. The total area comes to 6,676,800 acres or an increase of about 13,300 acres as compared with the previous year. The tendency is toward more intense cultivation.

Contrast with this progress the fact that arable land in England and Wales decreased by 199,000 acres in 1928. Let it also be remembered that as far as agricultural produce is concerned Denmark is a free trade country. More important still is the fact that, with the approval of all the smaller peasants, land value taxation is now working its way to promote good cultivation

the average rate in the country districts being 4d. in the £ of capital value, equivalent to 6s. 8d. in the £ of annual value. These peasant landowners are at the moment foremost in the fight to prevent a Whig Government in Denmark from increasing the local taxes on incomes in order to reduce the county and parish rates on landed property. By the same token, if these peasants were in Great Britain, they would vote to a man against the imposture the Conservative British Government is enacting in its Local Government Bill.

\* \* \*

The number of workers on agricultural holdings exceeding one acre in extent in England and Wales and Scotland has decreased from 996,081 in 1921 to 393,725 in 1927. *Reply to Question, House of Commons, 21st November.*

\* \* \*

Speaking at a mass meeting in the Queen's Hall, Burslem, on 16th December (a long report appearing in the *Staffordshire Sentinel*) Mr Andrew MacLaren, M.P., said the Local Government Bill was one of the greatest hoaxes ever passed on the public, and he said that advisedly. Why should they attach to a derating Bill the reorganization of the Poor Law and all it involved? It was to divert attention from the real purpose of the Bill, he continued. The Derating Bill was a rates subvention Bill to remove or mitigate the frightful economic consequences of the rating law. Every penny taken off the rates must of necessity go on taxation.

\* \* \*

Rates on Hospitals.—The assessment of Finchley Memorial Hospital has been increased by 500 per cent. It is officially stated that since the enlarged assessment was the work of the Panel of Valuers the Valuation Committee felt obliged to accept it, but would fully support an appeal. Alderman Kingston, Deputy-Mayor of Brighton, where there have also been heavy increases in hospital assessments, last week suggested that the difference should be given back by the Corporation. The assessment of the Sussex County Hospital has been raised from £100 to £1,600.

Generous donors to hospitals maintained by voluntary contributions may well ponder for a moment the above examples of an iniquitous system of local taxation. The madness of so burdening hospitals supported from public funds is no less obvious.

\* \* \*

Our co-worker in Grimsby, Mr George Linskill, writes that the cause of land value rating has lost a good friend in the passing of Councillor J. W. Houghton, of Cleethorpes. Mr Houghton had been a member of the Grimsby Council for 20 years and was a man who devoted himself unsparingly to the public weal. His interest in the land value policy was shown in every campaign undertaken locally by the help he gave financially, and in the Council he used every opportunity to advance our case. His place in the municipal life will not be easy to fill.

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Mrs F. J. Bird has joined her husband, Alderman Bird, as member of the Stoke-on-Trent City Council. She was one of the Labour candidates elected in the bye-election to fill the places of the Aldermen appointed. In her address to the electors, she stated: "Whatever scheme might be brought forward to alter the rating system, I am confident that the only just and sensible solution is the taxation of land values, the taking of rates off houses, and the relief of industry, and securing to the community the land values created by the people."





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### THE REAL STRENGTH OF PROTECTION

In the destruction of political tyranny and the removal of trade restrictions ardent and generous spirits saw the emancipation of labour and the eradication of chronic poverty, and there was a confident belief that the industrial inventions and discoveries of the new era which the world had entered would elevate society from its very foundations. The natural assumption that increase in the general wealth must mean a general improvement in the condition of the people was then confidently made.

But disappointment after disappointment has chilled these hopes, and, just as faith in mere republicanism has weakened, so the power of the appeal that free traders make to the masses has weakened with the decline of the belief that mere increase in the power of production will increase the rewards of labour. Instead of the abolition of protection in Great Britain being followed, as was expected, by the overthrow of protection everywhere, it is not only stronger throughout the civilized world than it was then, but is again raising its head in Great Britain.

It is useless to tell working-men that increase in the general wealth means improvement in their condition. They know by experience that this is not true.

The man of superior powers and opportunities may hope to count his millions where a generation ago he could have hoped to count his tens of thousands; but to the ordinary man the chances of failure are greater, the fear of want more pressing. It is harder for the average man to become his own employer, to provide for a family and to guard against contingencies. The anxieties attendant on the fear of losing employment are becoming greater and greater, and the fate of him who falls from his place more direful.

The truth is, that the fallacies of protection

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

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

Those who imagine that they can overcome the popular leaning to protection by pointing out that protective tariffs make necessary more work to obtain the same result, ignore the fact that in all civilized countries that have reached a certain stage of development the majority of the people are unable to employ themselves, and, unless they find some one to give them work, are helpless, and, hence, are accustomed to regard work as a thing to be desired in itself, and anything which makes more work as a benefit, not an injury.

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

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

The mere substitution of a revenue tariff for a protective tariff is such a lame and timorous application of the free-trade principle that it is a misnomer to speak of it as free trade. A revenue tariff is only a somewhat milder restriction on trade than a protective tariff.

Free trade, in its true meaning, requires not merely the abolition of protection but the sweeping

away of all tariffs—the abolition of all restrictions (save those imposed in the interests of public health or morals) on the bringing of things into a country or the carrying of things out of a country.

But free trade cannot logically stop with the abolition of custom-houses. It applies as well to domestic as to foreign trade, and in its true sense requires the abolition of all internal taxes that fall on buying, selling, transporting or exchanging, on the making of any transaction or the carrying on of any business, save of course where the motive of the tax is public safety, health or morals.

Trade is a mode of production, and the freeing of trade is beneficial because it is a freeing of production. For the same reason, therefore, that we ought not to tax anyone for adding to the wealth of a country by bringing valuable things into it we ought not to tax anyone for adding to the wealth of a country by producing within that country valuable things. Thus the principle of free trade requires that we should not merely abolish all indirect taxes, but that we should abolish as well all direct taxes on things that are the produce of labour; that we should, in short, give full play to the natural stimulus to production—the possession and enjoyment of the things produced—by imposing no tax whatever upon the production, accumulation or possession of wealth (i.e., things produced by labour), leaving every one free to make, exchange, give, spend or bequeath.

A tax on land values is of all taxes that which best fulfils every requirement of a perfect tax. As land cannot be hidden or carried off, a tax on land values can be assessed with more certainty and can be collected with greater ease and less expense than any other tax, while it does not in the slightest degree check production or lessen its incentive. It is, in fact, a tax only in form, being in nature a rent—a taking for the use of the community of a value that arises not from individual exertion but from the growth of the community. For it is not anything that the individual owner or user does that gives value to land. The value that he creates is a value that attaches to improvements. This, being the result of individual exertion, properly belongs to the individual, and cannot be taxed without lessening the incentive to production. But the value that attaches to land itself is a value arising from the growth of the community and increasing with social growth. It, therefore, properly belongs to the community, and can be taken to the last penny without in the slightest degree lessening the incentive to production.

Taxes on land values are thus the only taxes from which, in accordance with the principle of free trade, any considerable amount of revenue can be raised, and it is evident that to carry out the free-trade principle to the point of abolishing all taxes that hamper or lessen production would of itself involve very nearly the same measures which are required to assert the common right to land and place all citizens upon an equal footing.

To make these measures identically the same it is only necessary that the taxation of land values, to which true free trade compels us to resort for public revenues, should be carried far enough to take,

as near as might practically be, the whole of the income arising from the value given to land by the growth of the community.

But we have only to go one step further to see that free trade does, indeed, require this, and that the two reforms are thus absolutely identical.

Free trade means free production. Now fully to free production it is necessary not only to remove all taxes on production, but also to remove all other restrictions on production. True free trade, in short, requires that the active factor of production, Labour, shall have free access to the passive factor of production, Land. To secure this all monopoly of land must be broken up, and the equal right of all to the use of the natural elements must be secured by the treatment of the land as the common property in usufruct of the whole people.

The partial reform misnamed free trade, which consists in the mere abolition of protection—the mere substitution of a revenue tariff for a protective tariff—cannot help the labouring classes, because it does not touch the fundamental cause of that unjust and unequal distribution which, as we see to-day, makes "labour a drug and population a nuisance" in the midst of such a plethora of wealth that we talk of over-production. True free trade, on the contrary, leads not only to the largest production of wealth, but to the fairest distribution. It is the easy and obvious way of bringing about that change by which alone justice in distribution can be secured, and the great inventions and discoveries which the human mind is now grasping can be converted into agencies for the elevation of society from its very foundations. True free trade would emancipate labour.

#### WHAT LAND VALUE TAXATION WOULD DO

In the first place all taxes that now fall upon the exertion of labour or use of capital would be abolished. No one would be taxed for building a house or improving a farm or opening a mine, for bringing things in from foreign countries, or for adding in any way to the stock of things that satisfy human wants and constitute national wealth. Every one would be free to make and save wealth; to buy, sell, give or exchange, without let or hindrance, any article of human production the use of which did not involve any public injury. All those taxes which increase prices as things pass from hand to hand, falling finally upon the consumer, would disappear. Buildings or other fixed improvements would be as secure as now, and could be bought and sold, as now, subject to the tax or ground rent due to the community for the ground on which they stood. Houses and the ground they stand on, or other improvements and the land they are made on, would also be rented as now. But the amount the tenant would have to pay would be less than now, since the taxes now levied on buildings or improvements fall ultimately (save in decaying communities) on the user, and the tenant would therefore get the benefit of their abolition.

In the second place, a large and constantly increasing fund would be provided for common

uses, without any tax on the earnings of labour or on the returns of capital—a fund which in well settled countries would not only suffice for all of what are now considered necessary expenses of government, but would leave a large surplus to be devoted to purposes of general benefit.

In the third place, and most important of all, the monopoly of land would be abolished, and land would be thrown open and kept open to the use of labour, since it would be unprofitable for anyone to hold land without putting it to its full use, and both the temptation and the power to speculate in natural opportunities would be gone. The speculative value of land would be destroyed as soon as it was known that, no matter whether land was used or not, the tax would increase as fast as the value increased; and no one would want to hold land that he did not use. With the disappearance of the capitalized or selling value of land, the premium which must now be paid as purchase money by those who wish to use land would disappear, differences in the value of land being measured by what would have to be paid for it to the community, nominally in taxes but really in rent. So long as any unused land remained, those who wished to use it could obtain it, not only without the payment of any purchase price, but without the payment of any tax or rent. Nothing would be required for the use of land till less advantageous land came into use, and possession thus gave an advantage over and above the return to the labour and capital expended upon it. And no matter how much the growth of population and the progress of society increased the value of land, this increase would go to the whole community, swelling that general fund in which the poorest would be an equal sharer with the richest.

Thus the great cause of the present unequal distribution of wealth would be destroyed, and that one-sided competition would cease which now deprives men who possess nothing but power to labour of the benefits of advancing civilization, and forces wages to a minimum no matter what the increase of wealth. Labour, free to the natural elements of production, would no longer be incapable of employing itself, and competition, acting as fully and freely between employers as between employed, would carry wages up to what is truly their natural rate—the full value of the produce of labour—and keep them there.

(From Chapters xxi to xxvi of "Protection or Free Trade," by Henry George.)

A resolution condemning the Local Government Bill was carried by the Leeds City Council on 5th December. Alderman Armstrong criticized the absence of any differentiation between prosperous and other industries and said experience of agricultural rating relief had shown that the relief filtered through into the landlords' pockets.

Councillor J. A. Simpson reported a case where a Yorkshire farmer had already been told that his rent would be increased by £40 because of the relief he would receive.—*Leeds Mercury*, 6th December.

## THE NEW YEAR

Once more a Happy New Year to our subscribers and adherents. May good intention wait on resolution and high purpose wait on both! Field work for 1929 now begins for us and in promising ways.

Our Fourth International Conference this summer is a task in itself and must speak for the help and the goodwill of all who firmly hold to the practical policy the Conference is being held to promote. Quite apart from the stimulus it will be to the cause at home and all round the globe the inspiration of meeting old and new comrades in the fight should prove a personal gain to all in attendance. It is for everyone strong enough and daring enough to use it and make the most of it as a rare and special platform erected for service in the wide international field we desire to cultivate. Already we have the assurance of a representative assembly that will figure in the history of the movement as a significant step towards the goal we are striving to reach. There are many, too many, we regret to think who, for one reason and another, will not be present when the members meet at Edinburgh on the opening day; but every loyal adherent of the International Union will be present in spirit, and their moral and material support should not be wanting. Let us unite in making this Edinburgh Conference a further justification of the need for our expanding propaganda, designed to remove every material and legal restriction to international prosperity and peace.

Then again, we in this country must reckon with the General Election to take place this year. We must prepare, and at once, for this battle at the polls. For this purpose alone there is a pressing demand for both money and service. The political Parties are calling for means to cope with their heavy undertakings and responsibilities. We must also appeal to our supporters for new and additional financial backing. This election and its general activities is our opportunity. As Henry George has said to those who do know what this primary wrong is and which we seek to end: "It is to men of this kind that I would particularly speak. They are the leaven which has in it power to leaven the whole lump. . . . To bring it about is simply a work of arousing thought. How men vote is something we need not much concern ourselves with. The important thing is how they think."

These are wise words even in the heat of an election contest where every man taking a part is a partisan for the time being. We may not take this election lightly. It is the occasion for arousing thought and directing it into channels that will swell the main current now flowing freely, and at some points tumultuously, for some great change either for good or evil. We are of those who stand for peaceful progress, for fair play and social justice. We have a remedy for the problem of unemployment, the problem of poverty, that goes simply and directly to the root of the trouble.

As of old time, the appeal for united effort to-day is to "Those who seeing the vice and misery that springs from the unequal distribution of wealth and privilege, feel the possibility of a higher social state, and would strive for its attainment."

J. P.

**A Danish View of British Farming.** By Jakob E. Lange. 1s. (*Postage 1d.*)

**The Basic Facts of Economics.** By Louis F. Post. 2s. (*Postage 2d.*)

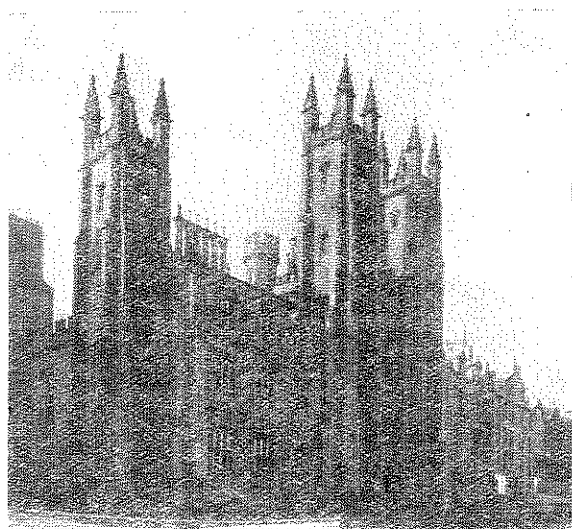
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# Fourth International Conference to Promote Land Value Taxation and Free Trade

New College, Edinburgh, 27th July to 2nd August, 1929

President: Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, New York



THE NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH

With this issue of *Land & Liberty* a Membership Form for the forthcoming International Conference is enclosed. It is for the use of all concerned who are keen to do their best for this Conference, whether they can be present or not. We seek enrolment both from attending members and from non-attending or affiliate members. Both alike are enjoined to give their names and their support, and by their personal association make their influence felt on this great occasion to advance our world movement. This appeal goes to all our readers in every country. It is for them to join and enlist their friends, so that the roll of adherents shall be as large and as representative as possible.

Membership is open to all who accept and approve the objects of the International Union—the promotion of land value taxation and free trade as taught by Henry George. The membership fee is £1, which should be sent with enrolment to the offices of the International Union at 11, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1. It is earnestly desired that this duty be fulfilled without delay. Early enrolment will be of the greatest assistance to the organizers in all the arrangements that have to be made.

The Conference meets in the Assembly Hall and other halls and rooms of the New College, which is one of the best equipped buildings in Scotland for the holding of such conventions. The Assembly Hall accommodates 1,400 people, and the public will be invited to attend when the Conference is in open session. Every effort will be made to attract a big attendance on these occasions, such as at the Service of Addresses on the moral teachings of Henry George, which is planned for Sunday evening, the 28th July. A most important feature also is that the Conference celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *Progress and Poverty*. The full programme of sessions, continuing throughout the week from 27th July to 2nd August, is now being prepared, and the subjects to be discussed or included in the Conference papers will be announced in due course.

The list of members who have actually enrolled to date is as follows:—

• F. G. H. Anderson, M.A., India; Louis F. Bachrach, U.S.A.; Mrs Caroline T. Beach, U.S.A.; Thomas P. Beggs, U.S.A.; E. E. Belfour, J.P., England; James G. Blauvelt, U.S.A.; Miss Janet L. Brownlee, U.S.A.; Miss Lucy B. Buell, U.S.A.; Charles E. Clarke, England; H. G. Chancellor, England; De Witt Clinton, U.S.A.; Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, U.S.A.; C. J. Cowrie, Scotland; Jabez Crabtree, England; E. J. Craigie, Australia; Charles E. Crompton, England; George Crosoer, England; A. Daudé-Bancel, France; A. Davis, Scotland; Charles R. Eckert, U.S.A.; Richard Eyre, U.S.A.; W. H. Faulhaber, U.S.A.; Leigh Feather, England; A. Feldblum, U.S.A.; F. Folke, Denmark; Mrs F. Folke, Denmark; Miss I. Folke, Denmark; Free Trade and Land Values League, Sydney, Australia; I. T. Garrido, Spain; John C. Geddes, Scotland; Ernest G. Geoghegan, Malta; Mrs Henry George, Jr., U.S.A.; Miss Jane George, U.S.A.; Henry George III, U.S.A.; Pavlos Giannelia, Austria; Frank Grant, U.S.A.; Mrs R. E. Graves, U.S.A.; Dr Joseph Green, Scotland; Mrs J. Green, Scotland; Marks Greenberg, England; Halfdan Hansen, Norway; Sir Edgar Harper, F.S.I., England; John Harrington, U.S.A.; Rev. F. Hawkyard, B.Sc., India; A. D. Haxton, Scotland; H. A. C. Hellyer, U.S.A.; Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, U.S.A.; Byron W. Holt, U.S.A.; Mrs Byron W. Holt, U.S.A.; Joseph Hunter, Scotland; F. La Fontaine, Holland; Charles H. Lamb, South Africa; H. H. Law, U.S.A.; W. R. Lester, M.A., England; Mrs August Lewis, U.S.A.; C. A. Lingham, U.S.A.; A. J. Lutton, England; Dr Percy McDougall, England; J. H. McGuigan, England; Joseph McGuinness, U.S.A.; Duncan Mackay, Scotland; John S. McLean, U.S.A.; Carl Marfels, Germany; Maryland Tax Reform Association, U.S.A.; Sam Meyer, France; Madame S. Meyer, France; Fred J. Miller, U.S.A.; Ashley Mitchell, England; Warwick Mitchell, England; J. G. Morrow, U.S.A.; Dr A. Nicolaevesky, France; John Paul, England; Mrs John Paul, England; Augustus C. Pauli, U.S.A.; George Foster Peabody, U.S.A.; John Peter, Scotland; Chester C. Platt, U.S.A.; Mrs Alice Thacher Post, U.S.A.; Hon. Lawson Purdy, U.S.A.; W. H. Renwick, Australia; A. W. Rymer Roberts, England; Prof. F. W. Roman, U.S.A.; G. L. Rusby, U.S.A.; Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, U.S.A.; H. W. Schroeder, U.S.A.; Robert Scott, U.S.A.; John H. Scully, U.S.A.; A. Sevenster, Holland; John B. Sharpe, U.S.A.; Hon. R. A. Sibbald, U.S.A.; G. H. Sinton, U.S.A.; Franklin Smith, U.S.A.; Frank Stephens, U.S.A.; Rev Mervyn J. Stewart, England; Mrs M. J. Stewart, England; Harry Thomas, Australia; George Q. Thornton, U.S.A.; W. B. Vernam, U.S.A.; Fiske Warren, U.S.A.; F. A. E. Waterfield, U.S.A.; W. R. Whitelaw, Canada; Wm. Wright, Scotland.

This first list makes a good start. There are, besides.

very many from whom we have heard that they hope to come to Edinburgh. We await definite word from them and from all others to add their names to the roll, whether they can be present or not. It will be noticed that in the list given above, the United States is specially well represented. This is the result of the preliminary campaign our President has conducted by letter among friends on that side. He is able to convey good wishes for the Conference from Rabbi Wise, who if in Europe at that time will be present and will join in the Service of Addresses planned for the Sunday evening convention.

From Australia we are happy to learn that Mr W. H. Renwick of Melbourne and Mr E. J. Craigie of Adelaide are making the journey specially to be present. Mr Renwick is President of the newly established Henry George Foundation of Australia. Mr E. J. Craigie, Secretary of the Henry George League of South Australia, has been selected as the representative of the Australian Leagues by the Committee the recent Inter-State Conference in Melbourne appointed to deal with the matter. In our two Australian colleagues we have men to speak for the Dominion who are exceptionally qualified by knowledge and experience, gained from many years' splendid active service in the cause.

Attending members are strongly advised to engage accommodation in Edinburgh promptly. On request they will get all help in this connection from the Secretary of the Arrangements Committee, Mr Wm. Reid, 67, West Nile Street, Glasgow. Rooms have been provisionally reserved at various hotels at different tariffs. The large and commodious hostel of the Edinburgh School of Cookery has been placed at the disposal of our members. It is highly recommended as a suitable residence, and for the moderate tariff, ranging from 8s. 6d. per day inclusive, excepting luncheon, which will be served in one of the Conference Halls to 11s. per day according to size of bedroom. The hostel is available for both men and women members. It affords them the opportunity to live under one roof with friends and colleagues from near and far. Early application especially for the rooms at the lowest tariff is essential.

Arrangements have been made with the railway companies whereby tickets available from 26th July to 3rd August will be issued to members of the Conference from any place in Great Britain at the reduced rate of single fare and one-third for the return journey.

The first duty of our co-workers everywhere is to give their moral and financial support to the International Conference as enrolled members. A great and historic gathering is expected. Aim to be there, deciding upon

#### EDINBURGH FOR SUMMER HOLIDAYS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

**Protection or Free Trade.** By Henry George. Paper covers. 1s. 6d. Library Edition. 3s.

**What is the Single Tax?** By Louis F. Post. One of the series of Outlines of Social Philosophies published by the Vanguard Press, New York, and written by request. 123 pages. Price 2s. 6d. (Postage 2d.)

**The New Political Economy.** By John B. Sharpe. A concise argument for Land Value Taxation. 24 pp. 1d.

**The Economic Causes of War and of Industrial Depression.** Pamphlet reprint of Memorandum addressed by the International Union to the World Economic Conference at Geneva. Obtainable in English, German and Esperanto. 2d.

## NATURAL LAW

By Henry H. Hardinge

(From an Address delivered at the Henry George Congress in Chicago in September and reprinted from "Land and Freedom," New York.)

Henry George has based his findings on the natural law of rent—The Ricardian Law—that rent is the difference between the least and the most valuable land in use with the same amount of labour, and he demonstrated beyond contest that rent being as it is the automatic reflector of social benefits, it will also be the automatic absorber of social benefits, and if left in private hands as now, the few will get the benefits that ought to accrue to the many.

George proved that the benefits of invention, discovery and general social advance, increase the value of land and tend to decrease the value of everything else. He proved that the logical result of invention should be to cheapen goods, instead of raising rent.

He proved that rent is an exaction in private hands, not a contribution, and that the reverse should be the case, and he showed conclusively that the major values and organization are to-day reflected in the value of land, as distinguished from all other values, and that the only rational way to socialize the modern mechanism of production is to socialize the thing in which all modern methods are reflected, that is, the high capitalized value of land.

Every imaginable expedient, every artifice, every possible device that selfish ingenuity can marshal will be resorted to by the beneficiaries of privilege to avoid substantial change in our system of distribution which automatically levies private taxes in colossal amounts upon the industrialists of this country. A system that charges about half of everything produced for the mere privilege of producing anything cannot be successfully defended.

Civil government is now and always has been the agent of privilege and the destroyer of equal rights and it always will be as long as the present system of taxation obtains that levies its burdens upon labour-made values instead of law-made values. Heroic action must be preceded by heroic thinking.

The laws of distribution are as natural, as rhythmic, as harmonious, as beautiful and as wonderful as the blending colours of a sunset. They are just as harmonious as the marvellous laws that govern production and infinitely more useful, because we live in a world overstocked with goods on the one hand and charity-mongers on the other, and both out of balance, the one in economics and the other in mental equipment.

Any system that will bring the purchasing power of the worker up to par with the producing power will settle this question and nothing else can.

Only one practical suggestion has ever been made looking to an intelligent and scientific solution of this problem and that is the one made by Henry George in 1879.

Almost half a century ago Henry George wrote the one outstanding classic that has been written upon the subject of political economy. He did for this science what Copernicus did for astronomy, and what Darwin did for biology.

That book to-day rests upon the granite pedestal of truth, face up, open for the thinking world to scan. There it is, matchless in logic, beautiful in diction, perfect in illustration, unchallenged and unchallengeable, unanswered and unanswerable, an everlasting monument to the intellectual and moral integrity of the man who wrote it, and there it will remain forever.

## "THE RETURN TO LAISSER FAIRE"

BY W. R. LESTER, M.A.

In *Land & Liberty* of September, 1926, the writer reviewed Mr J. M. Keynes' book, *The End of Laissez Faire*.\* There now appears Sir Ernest Benn's lively contribution to the same subject with *The Return to Laissez Faire*† as the theme.

It is all very puzzling, and we can only suggest to both these authors that it is beyond the power of man either to "end" or "return to" what has never been tried. For "Laissez Faire," if it implies anything at all, implies a fair field and no favour; the absence of special privileges which enable some to live at the expense of others; free competition based on equality of opportunity and reward according to usefulness. Where have these conditions ever been complied with?

The trouble is that both Mr Keynes and Sir E. Benn have a narrowly restricted conception of what "Laissez Faire" really means, and their mistake is responsible for the opposite and equally erroneous conclusions they arrive at. Needless to say, Sir E. Benn's book is written in his usual concise, racy and entertaining style, holding the reader's attention from first page to last, and we have seldom been privileged to read a more devastating exposure of the delusion so engrained in all political parties that by letting loose herds of meddlesome, though no doubt well-meaning, State officials to work their will in controlling, regulating and obstructing legitimate private enterprise, it is possible to do anything but harm. Did Sir E. Benn limit himself to that case, we would find ourselves in complete agreement with him, but it is when he goes further and would have us believe that all would be well were this official meddling to cease, that we find it needful to enter a protest.

Nothing happens in this world without cause. Cause and consequence rule the universe, and if to-day industry staggers under the monstrous activities of officialdom, we may be sure there is some underlying cause which gains for it public sanction and which Sir E. Benn has overlooked. Conditions must have arisen which in the eyes of honest John Citizen seem to make this activity by the State desirable or even necessary. It is the weakness of his book that from beginning to end the author makes no attempt to lay bare this underlying cause. On the contrary, Sir E. Benn assumes throughout that the obstructive meddlesomeness he complains against has no deeper source than sheer perversity or, at best, ignorance on the part of politicians. But there is more in it than that. There is the underlying something which predisposes the average man in favour of paternalism, and this something is the conviction that without it we would be faced with things too dreadful to contemplate.

No matter how ably Sir Ernest Benn and men of his school may demonstrate that wet-nursing does more harm than good, the general sentiment in its favour will continue, and even grow, unless we deal with the circumstances that are made the excuse for it. This is the crux of the matter. We could wish for nothing better than that Sir E. Benn should use his able pen to establish economic conditions which would place society on such a basis as to render this grandmotherly business unnecessary, and, at the same time, dry up at its source the demand for it. Let him work for "Laissez Faire" or Individualism in all its fullness, and not only denounce interferences with private enterprise which come into being as attempts to palliate a prior injustice which could not exist in the true Individualist State.

But it would seem that this vision of true Individualism and "Laissez Faire" has not yet dawned on him. He denounced interferences only when they take such minor forms as housing subsidies and regulations, sugar subsidies, coal subsidies, unemployment insurance and Factory Acts in general. There he calls a halt. What is it that blinds him to the deeper-lying legalized interference with human rights, which not only is the negation of Individualism but also imposes on the community those secondary restrictions on liberty and enterprise he so severely condemns?

We wish this book had started off with a definition of terms. "Make to thyself a definition of the thing which is presented to thee so as to see what kind of a thing it is," said Marcus Aurelius. It would have added to clarity had Sir E. Benn taken this advice and presented us with definitions of "Laissez Faire," "Individualism" and "Competition." Surely a true Individualist Society would be a society in which men enjoyed equality of opportunity, and one in which each and every citizen could claim right to the full fruit of his toil. Surely it means a society in which every citizen could confidently feel that "what I make is my own"; and surely such a society would not tolerate any law, custom or institution which makes free competition impossible by enabling some to live at the expense of others.

And surely "Laissez Faire" means that having established this true Individualism, the State would confine its activities to upholding and securing individual rights; that is, would confine itself to maintaining a fair field and no favour. Having got thus far, the true Individualist State would reduce to the minimum its secondary activities in accordance with the maxim: "That Government is best which governs least." But in such a community it is evident that no individual citizen could be permitted to exact tribute from his fellows for permission to use the earth. Payment for that permission would be made into the public treasury, and consequently taxation of industry as we now know it would be non-existent. For there could be no more flagrant violation of the principle of equal opportunity on which the true Individualist State is based than that some men should be granted the tremendous "pull" over others of exacting payment from them for use of nature's bounties.

It is because the State permits a few to enjoy this privilege that the masses are reduced to helplessness. The evil results compel the State to step in with its palliatives so as to mitigate the sufferings flowing from its own violation of true Individualism and free competition. In the name of Individualism and "Laissez Faire," Sir E. Benn most superficially confines his strictures to this palliative legislation. He seems blind to its origin. For anything he says to the contrary, he envisages the Individualist competitive society as one in which natural opportunities for self-employment are monopolized so that the common man is reduced to the dire need of hunting for a job on a labour market artificially overcrowded by landless men. The case being thus distorted, "Laissez Faire" is made only to mean abstention from measures intended to deal with the results of this violation of free competition. Only at one point does the author seem to see behind the screen when he refers—apparently with uneasy conscience—to the State-given power of the Duke of Northumberland to levy royalties on coal. But the glimpse is only a passing one, for he goes on at once to say that the merits of such a case depend on how his lordship chooses to use the wealth he wrings from industry!

In perusing this book we are struck by the wealth of true things said, and also struck by the author's

\* The Hogarth Press, London. 2s.

† Ernest Benn, Ltd., London. 6s.

failure to follow them to their logical conclusion. "Good Governments function best in a state of liberty."  
 "Individualism would limit the functions of Government to extracting what is bad." "Government can create conditions under which the individual is able to function to the fullest advantage." "Instead of organizing people, I only want to encourage each and every one of them to develop his native talents."  
 "All these things and much besides would quickly appear on a free market in which we are all at liberty to exercise our capabilities to the full." "My case is against taxation rather than against any particular tax or surtax." "The remedy for unemployment is not to devise new sorts of relief but to study the causes and remove them." "So long as we make production of things more and more difficult it is not only useless but stupid to complain of poverty."

These are the maxims of a true Individualist, but can any single one of them be put into practice in a society such as ours, based as it is on the private ownership and the well protected monopoly of natural resources? If the author would address himself to that question, he would discover that something different from mere negation and protest against "the meddling State" is wanted to provide the conditions he desires "under which the individual would be able to function to the fullest advantage."

In conclusion, it is to be noted that Sir Ernest Benn virtually abandons his case in declaring that "the theoretical argument for public ownership of land is unanswerable." To admit as much is to enthrone the State after all as public owner and controller of all enterprise, and the admission is none the less valid because objection is made that the cost would be too great. The whole subject is dismissed in a sentence, revealing as in a flash what a spurious truncated thing Sir Ernest Benn's Individualism is. It fails to make any distinction between private property in land and private property in things men produce. The people must buy access to the natural resources, whether as taxpayers or as ordinary citizens; and if the cost is too great, let land monopoly flourish. This is Sir Ernest Benn's proclamation. No one will fail to notice how carefully the book most studiously avoids both the theoretical argument and the practical policy of Land Value Taxation, which would emancipate industry by making the rent of land (not the land itself) common property, and establish true Individualism on a sure and lasting basis without any cost at all.

The Newcastle-under-Lyme Board of Guardians met on 17th December when letters were read in reply to a resolution passed at the previous meeting condemning the Local Government Bill. Col. J. C. Wedgwood wrote: "We are being centralized into servitude."

*Reprint of Pamphlets*

By HENRY GEORGE

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## CHEATING THE FARMERS

(In the House of Commons on 29th November Mr Philip Snowden denounced the Local Government Bill as "nothing but a fraud and an imposture." The following statements at question time in the House on 10th December amply justify that view.—ED. L. & L.)

Mr HARDIE (Labour) asked the Secretary of State for Scotland whether he is aware that the occupant of Holmhead Farm, Lesmahagow, who runs a one-ton motor lorry, finds that the increase of petrol tax by 4d. is greater by the sum of £8 than the relief under the de-rating scheme, and whether he intends to give consideration to such cases?

The UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND (Major Elliot): As regards the first part of the question, my right hon. Friend has no information. As regards the second part, the answer is in the negative.

Mr HARDIE: Is it not the business of the Scottish Office to find out whether this is so or not, and is not rather a reflection at the beginning, before the Measure is really completed, that people are going to be incapable of checking what is to be their ratio? Are they going to be left in the position of being unable to understand what they are going to get by de-rating? Cannot they make this calculation?

Major ELLIOT: The hon. Member asked me whether this gentleman had written to the Scottish Office or not. The answer is that he has not.

Mr HARDIE: I have not asked that; the question is quite plain. The occupant of this farm requires a one-ton lorry which he uses on 365 days in the year to take milk into the city, and his average consumption of petrol is four gallons per day.

HON. MEMBERS: Speech!

Mr HARDIE: You do not want your Bill to be shown up. The tax on that, at 4d. per gallon—(Inter-ruption.)

Mr SPEAKER: This is not the time for a speech.

Mr HARDIE: I want to ask if the Scottish Office is ignorant of the fact that the tax of 4d. a gallon on petrol for a one-ton lorry used on 365 days of the year comes to £8 more than he will get from the de-rating on his farm?

Major ELLIOT: The hon. Member appears to have a great deal of information on the subject, which he is taking this opportunity of imparting.

## "OUR" PROSPERITY

"Times are hard," said the Picked Chicken.

"Why," said the Rat, "this is an era of prosperity: see how I have feathered my nest."

"But," said the Picked Chicken, "you have gotten my feathers."

"You must not think," said the Rat, "that because I get more profits you get poorer."

"But," said the Chicken, "you produce no feathers and I keep none—"

"If you would use your teeth—" interrupted the Rat.

"If—" said the Picked Chicken.

"You could lay—"

"I—" said the Picked Chicken.

"—up as much as I do," concluded the Rat.

"Excuse me for living," said the Picked Chicken, "but—"

"If I didn't employ you," said the Rat, "there would be no demand for the feathers which you produce."

"I shall vote for a change," said the Picked Chicken.

BOLTON HALL.



## GERMAN POVERTY

(By BOLTON HALL in a Letter to the New York "Nation," 5th December.)

In an admirable article in the *Nation* of 7th November, page 484, Arthur Feiler says: "The German people is crowded into a territory which produces neither adequate foodstuffs for the population nor sufficient raw materials for its industry." Again, on page 476, Ignaz Wrobel, in a keen analysis of the Germany of To-day, makes this definite statement: "the country is over-populated."

Compared with almost any European neighbour, with the possible exception of France, Germany is not by any means over-populated. She still has 185,889 square miles of territory, and only 62,500,000 inhabitants, or about 328 persons to the square mile (say, one family to each eight acres). Belgium has 648 inhabitants to the square mile, Holland 563.3, and Italy 329. None of these countries raises all the foodstuffs for its population, or produces anywhere nearly sufficient raw materials for its industries.

If decreasing population caused national prosperity, then Ireland should be one of the wealthiest countries of Europe to-day, for her population has dropped from 9,000,000 in 1846 to less than 5,000,000 in 1926. If the over-population theory were correct, there would be no poverty and want in Ireland now. But Irish poverty persists. Spain has only 108 inhabitants to the square mile to Holland's 563 (or to Germany's 328); Spain has the better natural resources; but in which country is the wealth more abundant? The degree of wealth of any country is not dependent upon the number of its inhabitants, but upon the freedom of access to resources by its inhabitants. Germany's drawbacks are not due to natural disabilities, or "over-population," but to laws which restrict labour's access to natural opportunities, and also hamper the interchange of labour products with the rest of the world.

Some of these hampering trade laws are of Germany's own making, and some are imposed by other countries. But for the laws which allow land to be held out for use, or only put into use after an exorbitant price has been paid for the privilege, Germany is herself responsible like every other country in the like case.

## FORESHORE RIGHTS AND LANDLORD PRIVILEGE

A correspondent at Shoreham-by-Sea, near Brighton, sends us an interesting little story.

Many people are owning or renting plots of land on the edge of the foreshore and obliged to protect their bungalows from sea encroachment. Hitherto protection has been attained by havins without any interference from the landlord, but lately the efficiency, with ultimate saving in cost, of sea-walls has been recognized as the best policy. During the recent gales, one of the dwellers found that his havins had been washed out and that his bungalow had been placed in jeopardy. He decided to build a sea-wall, and immediately the owner forced him to sign a 99-years' agreement for a strip of foreshore 66 feet by 20 feet at an annual rent of 30s., i.e., at the rate of £49 10s. per acre! He has been given to understand that the "owner" is within his legal rights, but his policy is obviously detrimental to the occupiers of the whole estate.

The obligation to protect the shore is said to be now in the hands of the Shoreham and Lancing Sea Defence Commission, but they will do nothing to protect the bungalows except in the general policy of groyning done under the direction of an engineer.

The incident recalls the landowner's claim set up

when, in the spring of 1886, Mr Verinder was successfully fighting the cause of some Irish fishermen against a landlord who claimed the ownership of the foreshore, and who was prosecuting the local fishermen for taking seaweed therefrom. He received the following letter from the Board of Trade:—

"In reply to your letter of the 12th inst. (12/4/1886), inquiring whether owners of land bordering on the seashore can claim the seaweed cast by the tide on the shore, and also whether the shore itself would be considered the private property of such owners, I am directed by the Board of Trade to acquaint you that *prima facie* the foreshore of the United Kingdom below high water mark of an average or medium tide are not the property of the owners of the adjoining lands, but are vested in the Crown and have been placed by the Crown Lands Act, 1866, under the management of the Board of Trade.

Strangely in conflict with this official statement of a "*prima facie*" view is the copy of a notice exhibited in the harbour of Beer, South Devon, and sent to Mr Verinder by one of his correspondents a few years ago. It ran as follows:—

"The Shingle, Sand, Rocks, Stone and Seaweed on the Beach and under the Cliffs within the Manor of Beer, are the property of the Trustees of the Rolle Estate. Any person removing the same without permission from the said Trustees or their Agents will be prosecuted."

With respect to Shoreham, it is officially stated in White Paper No 119 of 1913, that in that urban district there are 305 acres of "tidal water and foreshore." How even such property is held to ransom is shown in the action of the "owner" of the narrow strip who places on it an annual value equal to £49 10s. per acre. At 20 years' purchase this would mean very nearly £1,000 per acre. It is a striking illustration of the case for the taxation and rating of land values.

## THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON

FROM THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

3rd December, 1667.

He (Sir Richard Ford) tells me, also, speaking of the new street that is to be made from the Guild Hall down to Cheapside, that the ground is already, most of it, bought. And tells me of one particular, of a man that hath a piece of ground lying in the very middle of the street that must be: which, when the street is cut out of it, there will remain ground enough, of each side, to build a house to front the street. He demanded £700, for the ground, and to be excused paying any thing for the melioration of the rest of his ground that he was to keep. The Court consented to give him £700, only not to abate him the consideration: which the man denied: but told them, and so they agreed, that he would excuse the City the £700 that he might have the benefit of the melioration without paying anything for it. So much some will get by having the City burned: Ground, by this means, that was not worth 4d. a foot before, will now, when houses are built, be worth 15s. a foot. But he tells me of the common standard now reckoned on between man and man, in places where there is no alteration of circumstances, but only the houses burnt, there the ground, which, with a house on it, did yield £100 a year, is now reputed worth £33 6s. 3d.: and that this is the common market price between one man and another made upon a good and moderate medium. (*Braybrooke Edition.*)

Mr. W. R. Lester, M.A., is to speak at a meeting of the Individualist Society at the Book Shop, 84, Charing Cross Road, London, on Monday, 4th March, at 5 p.m.



## A SURVEY OF SOCIALISM

### A Professor's Invective

By ALEXANDER MACKENDRICK

Dr F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., is Professor of History at King's College, University of London. There are passages in his *Survey of Socialism* which, taken by themselves, may affect a reader with a mute despair of ever finding, in the accredited teachers of Society, that sweet reasonableness which we think ourselves entitled to expect. If there is one class in the community more than another, whose minds ought to "move in charity and turn upon the poles of truth," it is surely that sheltered group of educated men whose only obligation to the world is to rid themselves of all bias or prejudice, and to proclaim the truth as they then see it, on the many conflicting issues of rights and duties, of "mine and thine," that divide men in their daily contacts. It is disconcerting in the highest degree to find in this book evidences of class-prejudice and bitterness, with a consequent narrowness of judgment that can only be expected to inflame passion and leave the social problem more difficult of solution than it was.

It is impossible that one who really understands the economic gospel of Henry George in all its bearings and remoter implications can hold a brief for any political philosophy that involves the ownership and control of industry by the State. Such a reader will be mainly concerned to repudiate Dr Hearnshaw's half-concealed and half-revealed implication that there is an underlying kinship in principle between the policy known as "the taxation of land values" and the theory of State Socialism; but he will also reject with indignation his grotesque misrepresentation of Mr George's doctrine, as when, for example, he imputes to him the "stirring to eruptive activity" of the love of loot, and elsewhere describes the appropriation of ground-rents to the State as "a shameless appeal to the primitive cave-man's lust for loot" (page 224). Can Professor Hearnshaw not see that the offensive word just quoted may be handed back to him as being exactly applicable to the existing system under which the receiver of ground-rents and land values gets something for nothing, reaps where others have sown, and confiscates to his own use the fruits of his fellow-men's labours? How can he gravely write about "the free gifts of Nature" knowing as he does, that His Grace and Sir John lay claim to the entire ownership of these "gifts" with the right to lock them fast for their own future use? And what can he possibly mean by affirming (page 270) that "rent of land, interest and profits of commerce . . . are proper and necessary payments for indispensable services rendered? Interest we know, and profits we know, as the natural remuneration for services rendered, but what conceivable service (we ask) does the landowner *qua* landowner render in exchange for the loot (the word is, of course, Dr Hearnshaw's) that he takes from industry?

The proverbial British love of fair-play demands however, a protest against the series of unlovely epithets that are levelled at the Socialist movement—"the fountains of fury that boil in their breasts," "the fantastic rigmorole," "the diseased imagination," "the predatory passion," "the combination of the incompetent to exploit the competent," "a mass of false doctrine intended to rationalize robbery and justify spoliation, etc., etc. (we need not quote further). Such exceedingly unwise language may recoil upon him who utters it and perhaps with the unhappy result of engendering an extended sympathy with the political

for a sane, humane and charitable Professor to express his carefully considered opinion that the policy of State Socialism is a huge mistake, and would, in his opinion, and as he sees it, fail to deliver the workers and the unemployed from the fell clutch of circumstance that shuts them out from participation in the amenities and higher pleasures of our civilization.

But before closing this foolish concatenation of diatribes we come upon some evidences that Truth has a compelling power that captures the minds of men despite their utmost efforts to shut it out. On page 427 Dr Hearnshaw admits that he does not regard the social world as it stands at present with complacency, and discloses, as lying at the back of his mind, a picture of society as it ought to be and might be, with which we cannot quarrel. On page 441 we read "The indispensable preliminary to any attempt to readjust the distribution of wealth is an immense increase in the production of wealth. If, and only if, the potentialities of modern scientific industry are allowed to realize themselves; if, and only if, the fabulous resources which it is within man's power now to secure and control are actually attained and placed at his disposal; if, and only if, these conditions are fulfilled, will it be possible to formulate a scheme according to which all such necessities of life as can by present-day methods of manufacture or cultivation be supplied in almost limitless profusion at an almost negligible cost, shall be placed at the free disposal of all the members of the community without regard to their riches or rank." And again on page 447 we read, "The first (step) is to secure the removal of all the hindrances which at present hamper the production and exchange of wealth so as to procure the largest possible dividend for the community as a whole."

What more than this do we ask for when we demand, not only on the ground of Justice and Equity, but as a policy of expediency and common sense, the taxation of land values and the untaxing of industry and the products of industry? Would this simple alteration in the method of raising public revenue not have the immediate effect of releasing those "fabulous resources" which are at present held out of the reach of the Capital and Labour that are ready to use them? Would it not "allow," as present conditions do not allow, "the potentialities of modern scientific industry to realize themselves?" Would it not result in an immense increase in the cultivation and manufacture of the necessities of life, and in the placing of them at the disposal of the community "in almost limitless profusion and at almost negligible cost"? And would it not place purchasing power in the hands of those engaged in the stimulated cultivation and manufacture (which should mean all those who prefer work to starvation), and thus literally place the good things of life at the "free" disposal of every one.

We congratulate Professor Hearnshaw sincerely on his having been granted a vision of an ideal and yet easily realizable condition of society, in which equality of access to "the fabulous resources" of the earth is recognized as the basis of all freedom and equity and justice; but we challenge him to show how this condition can be effectively brought about otherwise than by the means so clearly outlined in that epoch-making book *Progress and Poverty*.

Mr Joseph Hyder, Secretary of the Land Nationalization League, acknowledging back numbers of *Land & Liberty* he had requested, writes: "Apart from difference of opinion as to policy, I strongly admire the concentrated enthusiasm of you and your colleagues, and

## HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES

## Local Government (Scotland) Bill

## SECOND READING

(3rd December)

In moving his amendment to the Second Reading,

Mr JOHNSTON (Labour): To-day, the farmer is only rated upon one-fourth, and the owner is rated on three-fourths. Under this Bill the owner is to get a reduction to one-eighth on condition that he hands over half of his share of the public swag to his tenant during the existing tenancy. The landlord in Scotland is to get a share of the public relief on condition that he hands over half of what he gets to the farmer. In England, land without a house upon it pays no rates at all. In Scotland, such land is to be rated at one-eighth, and we arrive at this admittedly curious position, that in Scotland, under the right hon. Gentleman's proposal, the owners of land are to be relieved to the extent of £770,000 per annum, while the relief in respect of occupiers' rates is to be only £110,000. It was admitted by the Secretary of State for Scotland, in reply to a question which I put to him in this House, that £770,000 was going to the owners and £110,000 was going to the tenant farmers on the condition that half of what the landowners receive goes to the tenant farmer during the currency of existing leases.

Of course, when the lease falls in, it is inevitable that the rent will go up, and, when the rent goes up, it will be apparent to everyone, as it is to most people in Scotland now, including the National Farmers' Union, that the whole of this rating relief, so far as agriculture is concerned, will reach the pockets of the owners of land, and will be a subvention to them.

Mr MACPHERSON (Liberal): I would like to ask this very important question. At the end of the existing tenancy, the tenant can no longer get any relief. The landlord can. The landlord can get all the relief after the end of any existing tenancy. If he gets all that relief on a capitalized value of £750,000, it amounts to £17,000,000. That is a calculation which it is for my right hon. Friend to dispute. As we understand the situation, there is not any doubt that all these millions of money will ultimately go into the landlords' pockets.

(4th December)

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr Wm. Watson): It is suggested that the obligation on agricultural owners in Scotland to hand over during existing leases a part of the benefit they get should be continued on the expiration of those leases. The suggestion, of course, is that after parties are free to contract again the landlord is bound to take this into account in considering the amount of rent. The same argument was used in 1896, both in England and Scotland. It was used again in 1923, but the experience of both countries has been that the landlords have not raised the rents.

Mr MACLAREN: That is not true.

The LORD ADVOCATE: Let us take it apart from that. I understand that it was the argument of those who support the taxation of land values that whatever you do, everything will be put on to the tenant. Then what does it matter whether you provide that this handing over of part of the relief to the landlord is to be continued after the lease expires or not? Nay, if you accentuate the putting of that obligation upon the landlord after the lease is come to an end, you will make it all the more probable that that will be hastened. That does not seem to me a suggestion that would be of practical advantage to the tenants.

Sir R. HAMILTON (Liberal): How is money which is given to the landlords, money which increases the capital value of the landlords' holding in land, going to help agriculture? The Lord Advocate may say that the landlord will not ask more rent. Past history teaches us that when you take burdens off land and increase its capital value, you get more rent for the land. Under the rules of normal political economy, you cannot get away from the

fact that if you take burdens off land and increase its capital value, a higher rent will be obtainable for it. My right hon. Friend the Member for Ross and Cromarty (Mr Macpherson) yesterday quoted some figures with regard to the value of this gift to the landlords. He put it, indeed, rather higher than I did, but I believe that calculated on 20 years' purchase, the increase in capital value to the landlords of Scotland is about £15,000,000.

Where is it going? It is going into the pockets of the landlord eventually. The benefit which the landlord immediately gets is to be handed back to the tenant as long as the existing lease is continued. Why should it stop there? I could not understand the argument advanced to-night to show that it should stop there. The Lord Advocate said it would be open to the parties to make a fresh agreement at the end of the period. True, and it would be open to the landlord to say to the tenant, "The rent of this farm which was previously £150 will now be £175 and if you do not like it, I will take another tenant." Then the incoming tenant would be rated at one-eighth of £175 instead of one-eighth of £150.

Mr MAXTON (Labour): The landowners of Scotland and of Great Britain have always regarded the burghs and the counties and the nation as a milch cow from whom they could draw on every occasion. If a water extension, a road widening, a civic improvement, or a public park was required, the landowners of Scotland came in and put on fancy prices. That money had to be borrowed, again, presumably, from the same people. You have to pay a fancy price to the aristocracy as landowner to get your land, and, to get the money to pay the price, you have to go to the same aristocrat as a direct lender, so that he gets you both on the swings and on the roundabouts.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Hillhead (Sir R. Horne) talked about getting down to the very root of the matter. He scrambled about among the branches; he was merely among the leaves; he did not get near to the root of the matter. But when one begins to get down and find the toll that an idle aristocracy, an idle *rentier* class, takes out of the productive work of this nation, one begins to get to the root of the matter. It is because the British worker has to carry a higher overhead charge for decorative figureheads, for idle, leisured people who take no part in the productive process, that our local government and our central government to-day are in their present appalling position.

(4th December)

Mr BOOTHBY (Private Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer): There is one thing which I want to say about agriculture. We have been accused of putting money into the pockets of the landlords. I do not deny that some money will go into the landlords' pockets, and I do not think that it is at all a bad plan. For the last 30 years the landlords of this country have been heavily taxed. I might almost say, without exaggeration, that they have been plundered both locally and nationally by taxation and Death Duties until they have not the capital which they ought to spend upon the land they own. That this scheme will put a certain amount of money into their pockets, as I say, I do not deny; but I do not think that is a bad thing, because I believe they will be able to spend more capital upon the land.

## Local Government (Scotland) Bill

## MONEY RESOLUTION

(5th December)

Mr MACPHERSON (Liberal): My hon. Friend the Member for Orkney and Shetland (Sir R. Hamilton), stated that at the end of an existing tenancy the capitalized value of the amount which will go to the landlord in Scotland will amount to £15,000,000. There has been no attempt to contradict that statement. There is no doubt at all that if you relieve a farm of its rates you increase the capital value of that farm. The moment you take away a burden, obviously, the rental value of the farm goes up. It stands to reason. So reasonable is it, that even the Ministry of Agriculture in England admitted it in a communication to a prospective tenant. I heard an attempted explanation

by the Minister of Agriculture the other day but no explanation could alter these words:—

"In fixing this rate the Ministry have taken into consideration the fact that next year no rates will be payable in respect of agricultural land."

Major ELLIOT: My right hon. Friend says he heard the explanation of the Minister of Agriculture. To us on this side it was perfectly clear. The Minister said he brought in these words to show not that he was raising the rent on account of the remission of rates, but that he had taken the remission into account.

Mr MACPHERSON: The fact remains that these words must mean what they say. The words are perfectly clear. There is no ambiguity about them. They distinctly say that in view of the Government proposals, in view of the fact that there will be no rates chargeable on agricultural land, a higher rent can be charged and that they are going to charge it.

No exegesis of that passage could ever alter the surface meaning, and, if that is what a Government Department says before the Measure has been introduced, what will a Government Department do when the Measure has become an Act? As an hon. Member near me remarks, it is an invitation to all other Government Departments, and to landlords all over the country, to do likewise.

Mr STEPHEN (Labour): Many people believe that rent is robbery, and the handing out of these benefits, which are ultimately going to the landlords, will only give an opportunity for a larger robbery. Evidently the Government believes that by allowing relief to the landlord we shall benefit agriculture.

Sir H. HOPE (Conservative): Of course, as I have said, they asked to be assessed on a twelfth, and I supported them in that, but after they had got the eighth, they acquiesced. We all know that people often have to ask a bigish price in order to get what is called a fair price.

The assertion made that when you reduce assessments you automatically raise rents is quite untrue. On this question, I will give some figures prepared by Sir Josiah Stamp, whom I think the Committee will recognise as an authority worthy of consideration. According to the Report of the Committee of 1925 on the Stabilisation of Agricultural Properties, if the average rent of agricultural land in the years 1911-13 is put at 100, the corresponding level in 1923-24 was 115. Since then the level of rents has fallen slightly, and it will be seen that, notwithstanding the great increase of 46 per cent in the level of agricultural prices for 1911 and the concession in regard to the rates made to the farmers in 1923, the level of rents is only about 10 to 15 per cent above the pre-War level. Therefore, we have definite proof that the lowering of the assessments has not resulted in any increase of rent.

Mr JOHNSTON: Will the hon. Gentleman explain how it was that under the operation of the Corn Production Act rents went up most alarmingly.

Sir H. HOPE: All I can say is that I opposed the Corn Production Act, because I regarded it simply as an artificial means of raising prices. No doubt when prices were raised rents tended upwards, but that has nothing to do with the statement I have made.

Mr WEDGWOOD BENN (Labour): It is very confusing for a plain observer of these Debates to make out what the economic truth may be. We have had a great

many economists explaining what happens in regard to de-rating, and they all explain the matter in an opposite sense. The hon. Member for Forfar (Sir H. Hope) tells us that this de-rating of farms does not mean a gain to the landlords, but the Secretary of the Chancellor of the Exchequer only last night said that there was no doubt that this Bill would put money into the pockets of the landlords.

## Reduction of Housing Subsidies

(12th December)

The House of Commons approved by Resolution an Order, under Section 5 of the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act 1924, to reduce the housing subsidies as from October, 1929. This is a further reduction on that made last year. It means the removal of the subsidy (now £50) on houses built under the 1923 Act and a reduction equal to £25 of the subsidy given under the 1924 Act.

The MINISTER OF HEALTH (Mr Neville Chamberlain), moving the Resolution, said: In July, 1921, the decision was made to shut down the Addison Scheme. At that time the price of a non-parlour house was, on the average, £665. By December, 1922—and during that interval, there had been no new scheme for subsidy—the price had come down to £346 per house. It remained about that price until April, 1923, when the new Housing Bill was introduced with a subsidy which was equivalent to about £75 per house. A month afterwards the price rose from £346 to £368, and by January, 1924, it had gone to £386. The next move was in June of that year, when a further Housing Bill was introduced, with an increased subsidy equivalent to about £160 per house. In a month the price went up by £52 to £438, and by October of that year it had reached the figure of £451—an increase of £65. There it remained for some time, until December, 1926, and what I said to the House at the time was that since it was clear from the figures I had given, that every time the subsidy had been increased the price of the house went up, it was only logical to conclude that the best way of getting the price down was again to reduce the subsidy. In the following quarter—the March quarter—after the cut was made, the price decreased by £23, and came down to £425, and since that time it has more or less steadily fallen until, in the September quarter of this year, it had got down to £360—a decrease of £88 per house. It does seem to me that to anyone who is not blinded by prejudice, there can be only one conclusion that can be drawn from the events I have related. In December, 1926, we had a cut equivalent to £25 in the Exchequer contribution. It is proper, I think, to add to that the corresponding reduction in the contribution of the local authority, that is, half the Exchequer contribution. Putting the two together we have a total cut of £31 10s. Deduct that from £88, which is the fall in the price of non-parlour houses, and you get a net reduction of £50 10s. in the price of houses.

Mr SEXTON (Labour): My memory goes back to a time and a place, not many miles away, when an extension of the docks was required. The barren seashore did not produce anything but grass and reeds. It was valueless apparently, but underneath there was clay and the demand of the people for houses, owing to the extension of the docks, was so great that the price of that land rose from nothing at all to £3,500 per acre. It was all due to the demand of the people for houses and a speculator who was making bricks leased it on a short lease at that figure. In addition, for every thousand bricks he made he paid a royalty of 2s. 6d. to the man who claimed to own the land. I speak as one who has had some 24 years' experience of municipal life, in a city where houses are required and where slums have been demolished, but where slums still exist, namely, Liverpool.

Let me give one or two cases. In one case, we paid £100 a square yard for land for city improvements and for houses. In another case, we paid £5 per square yard or £23,400 per acre for land which, on a 20 years' purchase, was not worth more than £800 or £900 at the outside. You talk about subsidies. Not one penny of this increased value created by the slum dwellers and the joint action of the workpeople and the docks, not one penny of that

*New Pamphlet*

### LAND VALUES AND LOCAL TAXATION

Official Report Adopted by  
the Sheffield City Council

with a brief summary of  
Land Value Taxation in Practice

Price 1d. —Per 100 post free 5s.

Published by the United Committee for the Taxation of  
Land Values, 11 Tothill Street, London, S.W.1.

contributes one farthing to the local rates. We should be asking for a subsidy from the landlords.

Mr MACLAREN (Labour): It is not irrelevant to remind the House that for the last fortnight or three weeks we have heard from the Treasury Box, and from no less a person than the Minister of Health himself, of the devastating effect which rates have upon industry, and how they have brought some industries to the verge of bankruptcy. Here is the question of housing. If we are trying to solve it by subsidies, I would say quite openly, without fear of contradiction, that you will never solve the housing problem by subsidies. Indeed, I go as far as to say I would abolish the housing subsidies at once. I know that may seem a heresy on this side and a novelty on the other side of the

House, but I would at the same time take precautions to cut down any contributory cost that would increase the rent charged to the tenants of the houses.

The statesman and politicians say, "Solve the problem by means of subsidy." You collect money from the taxpayers and send a subsidy to the local authorities, who send it to the builders, and then you send the rate collector to collect rates on the house—a system the like of which you could not find outside a lunatic asylum. If you are to abolish subsidies, then abolish also the rates upon houses which are making them dearer than they ought to be. At Stoke-on-Trent our rates are 20s. in the £; and, so long as you continue this heavy impost there is no alternative left but the subsidy, but it will not solve your problem.

## PUBLIC CONFERENCE ON DE-RATING, SAFEGUARDING AND THE RATING AND TAXATION ON LAND VALUES

Town Hall, Gateshead-on-Tyne, 26th January

(Under the auspices of the Yorkshire and Northern Land Values League.)

We are now in a position to give full details of the representative Conference to be held in the Town Hall, Gateshead, on Saturday, 26th January, 1929.

Mr Ashley Mitchell, the Chairman of the Yorkshire and Northern Land Values League, will take the chair at 3 p.m.

Two Resolutions will be submitted to the Conference in the following terms:—

(a) This Conference, while welcoming the recognition by the Government of the need for a reduction of the burden of rates, does not regard the present proposals as a practical measure of reform, being based upon no equitable principle, arbitrary and partial in application, depriving local authorities of assessable values and leaving them dependent upon subsidies from the Exchequer: the proposal to exempt so-called agricultural land from rating will cause land to be further held for speculation, making it more difficult to secure land for housing and other purposes and causing still further congestion in the towns.

This Conference affirms its opinion that a just and equitable reform of the present rating system can only be obtained by an alteration in the basis of assessment for local rates so that local authorities, by levying a rate upon site values in their areas, may reduce the burden on improvements, afford relief to all overburdened rate-payers and secure for the community those land values which the presence and growth of the community create.

(b) That in the opinion of this Conference, taxes imposed upon imports, whether called safeguarding or Protection, constitute no remedy for unemployment, and that their extension to iron and steel would be economically disastrous. This Conference therefore declares that the existing taxes should be repealed at the earliest possible moment and that the true remedy for unemployment is to secure by means of a tax upon land values that labour and capital may secure easy access to land, the source of all wealth.

The principal speakers in support of the resolutions will be Ald. Andrew MacLaren, M.P. (Burslem); Mr Vivian Phillips (Ex-M.P., West Edinburgh); Ald. F. C. R. Douglas, M.A. (ex-Mayor of Battersea); Councillor H. Maw, J.P. (Darlington) and Mr A. W. Madsen, B.Sc. (London).

Invitations have been sent to Municipal Corporations, Urban District Councils, Rural District Councils, Boards of Guardians, Liberal, Labour, I.L.P. associations, Trade Union Branches, Trades Councils, Chambers of Commerce, Co-operative Societies, Workmen's Clubs, various women's organizations, etc. Altogether about 3,500 invitations have been issued, covering the whole North-Eastern area of England, and a large attendance is expected.

A very earnest invitation is extended to all other Land Values Leagues to be represented wherever possible. The

way in which public opinion is hardening against the Government's fantastic proposals. Rating authorities, employers of labour, business people generally and also working men, are becoming alarmed at the possible effects of the proposals, and the alternative is being eagerly sought. This is a golden opportunity to drive home the Land Values case: the public ear has never been more receptive since 1909-10. A series of Conferences and public meetings between now and the General Election, if such could be arranged, may prove a decisive factor in the future of our movement.

### Public Meeting

In the evening, a Public Meeting will be held, also in the Town Hall, Gateshead, to protest against the Government's policy and to demand true rating and land reform. The chair will be taken at 7.30 p.m. by Mr Ashley Mitchell, and the speakers will be Ald. Andrew MacLaren, M.P., Councillor H. Maw, J.P., Ald. F. C. R. Douglas, M.A., and it is also hoped that at this meeting Mr Wilson Raffan will be able to attend as one of our speakers.

The doors open at 7.0 p.m. There will be a limited number of reserved seats at 6d. each; will those friends and members in the district who can dispose of a few of these please write Mr Lewis C. Smith, 34, Wales Street, Darlington, stating how many they require.

Arrangements have been made for the Conference to be fully reported in the Press and a full report of the Resolutions carried will be sent out to all organizations represented, immediately after the Conference.

To help cover the expenses of the Conference, a delegate fee of 1s. per delegate will be charged.

Every effort has been made to see that all progressive bodies received an invitation, but if any reader of *Land & Liberty* knows of any organization which has not been invited and which would probably send delegates if this were done, will he please forward the address on to Mr Smith to address as above: 34, Wales Street, Darlington.

The Headquarters of the Conference and other meetings for delegates and friends from a distance is the Douglas Hotel (opposite Central Station), Newcastle-on-Tyne. Tariff, bed and breakfast, 8s. 6d. per head.

### TWO HANDY ABRIDGMENTS

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## NEWS OF THE BRITISH MOVEMENT

**THE UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES:** John Paul and A. W. Madsen, Secretaries, 11, Tothill Street, London, S.W.1.

Plenary meetings of the United Committee took place on 16th November and 14th December when by special resolution under its constitution the important decision was taken to incorporate the Committee as a limited company. The requisite legal steps are now being taken to effect this purpose. In future the name will be "The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, Ltd." The Committee is a purely educational association which depends entirely for support upon the voluntary contributions of those who would promote its objects. It was desirable that the Committee should be constituted as a corporate body with its existence made permanent in that form and its objects inviolate. It is a matter that has been under discussion for more than a year, especially in view of the Committee being empowered to administer trusts and bequests for the advancement of the movement. All doubts in that regard have now been set at rest and the Committee is in the position to appeal with all the greater security for the financial support necessary to maintain and extend its activities.

The Memorandum of Association sets forth (among other things) as follows as to the objects of the Committee:—

To promote economic freedom and social justice by publishing, advocating and maintaining the principles and policy of Land Value Taxation and Free Trade as expounded by Henry George.

To secure discussion and consideration of the said principles and their probable effect upon social welfare; to assist in all proper ways to establish the same in practical operation of law; to aid in the education of the public in the science of political economy and sound principles of taxation (according to the published works of Henry George); and for those purposes to establish and maintain such facilities as may be necessary for publishing, lecturing and educational activities, and/or to give aid to individuals or other organizations with similar objects and to do all other acts that may tend to further the objects named.

To undertake and execute any trusts which may lawfully be undertaken by the Association and may be conducive to its objects.

The income and property of the Association, whencesoever derived, shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the objects of the Association as set forth in this Memorandum of Association, and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred, directly or indirectly, by way of dividend, bonus or otherwise howsoever by way of profit, to the members of the Association; provided that nothing herein shall prevent the payment, in good faith, of reasonable and proper remuneration to any officer or servant of the Association, or to any member of the Association, in return for any services actually rendered to the Association.

The Executive of the Committee also met on 16th November and 14th December and agreed upon much work to be done. A satisfactory financial statement was submitted showing good prospects of clearing off the deficiency (£654) with which the year had begun. In the correspondence, a letter from the Henry George Foundation of Australia was specially appreciated. It enclosed a donation for our General Election Campaign Fund and intimated the decision of the Foundation to regard *Land & Liberty* as its official organ in Great Britain.

Bearing on the Bishop of London's Pastoral Letter on "Slums and Homes," which he has requested shall be read in all churches in his diocese on Sunday, 6th January, a letter has been sent from the offices of the United Committee to the 1,200 rural deans and incumbents in London, enclosing the Address by Henry George, *Thy Kingdom Come*. We suggested that a perusal of this pamphlet might throw some new light upon the appalling tragedy of the slums to which the Bishop so earnestly called attention, adding that in his various writings Henry George had shown the

at the same time he had proposed a simple and practicable remedy. The Bishop of London himself said in his appealing statement: "Slum landlordism only exists because existing circumstances make it financially attractive 'Thou shalt do no murder,' 'Thou shalt not covet,' 'Thou shalt not steal.' These Commandments are as applicable to landlords as they are to tenants. Landlords are not entitled to 'contract out' of the Decalogue." The Pastoral Letter appeared in *The Times* of 14th December.

**ENGLISH LEAGUE:** Frederick Verinder, General Secretary, 376 and 377, Strand, London, W.C.2. (Phone: Temple Bar 7830.)

### JANUARY

Tues., 8th.—Horne Hill Congregational Church Men's Society: Sir Edgar Harper, F.S.I., F.S.S., "Taxation of Land Values."

Sun., 20th.—North London Branch N.S.S., St. Pancras Reform Club, 15, Victoria Road, Kentish Town Road: W. R. Lester, M.A., "What is Property?" 7.30 p.m.

A HAPPY NEW YEAR to all members and friends of the English League! It should be a very busy New Year, in view of the rapidly approaching General Election. This election, of exceptional importance because of an enormous increase in the electoral roll, and because of the many social injustices that are clamouring for redress, should be taken as a loud call for new members, new efforts, and "new money" for the movement. The columns of *Land & Liberty* and, indeed, the columns of almost any issue of any daily paper, will supply many facts about our social conditions upon which a talk with a friend, a letter to a local paper, or a speech at a local meeting, can be founded. The Government has very generously supplied in its recent and impending legislation an abundance of texts for talks on the land question. Our colleague, Sir Edgar Harper, has frequently pointed out that the "de-rating" measures of the Government are really measures for "landlord relief." It is interesting to note that Mr Frank Hunt, Chief Valuer to the London County Council, takes the same view. Speaking at the annual luncheon of the Ward of Cordwainer Club, on 21st November, with regard to the Government's de-rating proposals, he "suggested that, if a property was free from rates, the tendency would be for the freeholder to say to the tenant, 'You can pay more rent.' He had not the slightest doubt that the economic tendency of the relief of agriculture and the basic industries would be for this benefit in the end to pass to the landlord." This speech, from a valuer of exceptionally wide experience, who is in no wise speaking as a politician, is a welcome support of the position which the League has held since the first "Landlord Relief Act" of 1896. It was reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, 22nd November, 1928.

A member of the League, who holds a very important official position in West Africa, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of Mr Verinder's *My Neighbour's Landmark*, adds: "I feel that the land question is quite fundamental in Africa, and more harm has been done to African morals, and more has been done to destroy African tribal life, by European land hunger than by European drink. Of that I have not the least doubt. Here in West Africa, however, the African as a general rule has got his land and is not likely to lose it, but he should be trained to understand the value of what he has got that he may keep it." Yes: "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and our correspondent is in a position to help on the good work to which he refers.

The second (English) edition of *My Neighbour's Landmark* is now out of stock and out of print, and it was consequently impossible to fulfil an order for 150 copies, which were to be used instead of "Christmas cards."

Col. Wedgwood had an article on "Safeguarding" (against) in the *Daily Express* of 11th December. His "opposite number" was Sir Henry Page Croft, M.P. (for). An article by Col. Wedgwood on "Cures for Unemployment" appeared in the *Liverpool Evening Express*, etc. Sir Edgar Harper addressed a Labour meeting at Well



Hall on 4th December, on "The True Remedy for Unemployment." He began by pointing out the failure of politicians to investigate the real cause of unemployment. That failure had rendered them unfit to prescribe a remedy. They avoided the question when unemployment was not pressing, but when it could no longer be ignored they come forward with all kinds of proposals for a remedy, such as relief works, Tariff Reform and other similar nostrums.

He explained that the root-cause of all unemployment is to be found in the power of a comparatively few landholders to shut labour off from land—the sole source of wealth—and compel men to work for an "employer." He showed how the present rating system assisted and encouraged landholders to do this, because it exempted all idle land and unused property from rates while they were being held for a rise in price—which rise was caused by the presence, growth and work of the community. These facts themselves pointed to the true remedy for unemployment, viz., the rating and taxing of all land, whether used or not, according to its selling value, excluding all man-made improvements upon it. Such a reform would: (1) bring all idle land into the market; (2) reduce the price of such land in two ways: first, because the rate or tax would inevitably be deducted from the value of the land; and, secondly, because the influx of all unused land into the market at once would produce a slump in the values of that land; (3) enable all enterprising workers to become their own employers. This would increase the demand for labour and compel employers to pay higher wages.

A keen discussion followed, in which it was contended by several speakers that, while the capitalist system remained, unemployment must continue to exist. Sir Edgar replied that the rating and taxation of land values, opening land to labour, would necessarily reduce capital to its proper position as the handmaid of labour.

A vote of thanks was cordially and unanimously carried.

#### LAND VALUES CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

The following meetings have been arranged:—

##### JANUARY, 1929

- Sat., 5th.—Cambridge, Guildhall (Cambridgeshire Trades Council and Labour Party): Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. 5.30 p.m.
- Mon., 7th.—Rutherglen and District Liberal Association, Town Hall, Rutherglen: Ernest Brown, M.C., M.P. 8 p.m.
- Tues., 8th.—Failsforth Industrial Society, Co-operative Hall, Failsforth: Ben. Riley, M.P. 7.45 p.m.
- Fri., 11th.—North Edinburgh Liberal Association: T. Atholl Robertson, F.R.G.S. 8 p.m.
- Sun., 13th.—Govanhill Branch I.L.P., Large Dixon Hall, Cathcart Street, Glasgow: C. G. Ammon, M.P. 7 p.m.
- Mon., 14th.—North Ayr and Bute Trades and Labour Council, Walker Memorial Hall, Kilbirmie: C. G. Ammon, M.P. 7.30 p.m.
- Tues., 22nd.—Hull Co-operative Society (Educational Department), Balmoral Hall, Metropole, West Street, Hull: R. J. Wilson, M.P. 7.45 p.m.
- Sat., 26th.—Hadleigh (Suffolk) Local Labour Party, Town Hall, Hadleigh: Daniel Hopkin, M.A., LL.D. 7.30 p.m.

By COL. JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD, M.P.

THE TRUTH ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT.—The State and Production, Cheaper Capital, Labour and Land, Mr Churchill and Local Rates, How Taxation Affects Price, The Key. New Pamphlet. 10 pages, price 1d.

LOCAL TAXATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Price 3d.

##### FEBRUARY

- Sun., 3rd.—Town Hall, Poplar, 1, Newby Place, High Street, Poplar (South Poplar Labour Party): S. P. Viant, M.P. 8 p.m.
- Wed., 20th.—East Lewisham Labour Party, Ladywell Baths, Ladywell: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. 8 p.m.
- Fri., 22nd.—Romford South Labour Party, Corn Exchange, Romford: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P. 7.45 p.m.

##### MARCH

- Tues., 5th.—Putney Divisional Labour Party: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.
- Thur., 7th.—Dartford, Co-operative Hall: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.
- Mon., 11th.—Colchester, Co-operative Hall: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.
- Thur., 14th.—Bishop's Stortford, Great Hall: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.
- Sun., 17th.—Grimsby, Palace Theatre: Rt. Hon. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.
- Sun., 24th.—Miles Platting I.L.P.: Remie Smith, B.Sc., M.P.

Other meetings are in course of arrangement.

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

Readers everywhere will learn with great regret that Bailie Burt is laid aside with illness. The evening newspapers of Thursday, 20th December, and morning newspapers of Friday, 21st December, conveyed the information that the illness had overtaken him suddenly, while following his Corporation duties. He is being carefully tended at his home at Holly Bank, Bothwell.

The latest land-buying job discussed in the Glasgow Town Council concerns four acres of land in the east end of the City. It is reported as follows in the *Scottish Farmer* of 22nd December:—

Glasgow Town Council has bought four acres of land at Parkhead for a housing scheme. Price fixed by Government valuer was £1,400 per acre. The assessed rental was £10. Is it any wonder that there is an agitation for taxation of land values?

"Bootaght-Auchagower," in criticizing this transaction in the Glasgow evening newspapers, recalls a recent instance where the purchase price was 150 times as much as the rateable value. He mentions that up till 31st July, 1924, the Glasgow Corporation had spent over half a million pounds on land purchase. The amount of rates lost to the City on these sites can be imagined when the above illustrations are taken into account. An instance of £50,000 paid for 49 acres is, I think, not included in the figures up till 1924. That site had a value of less than £2 per acre per annum for rates, and more than £50 per annum for purchase.

These transactions are constantly being recalled and emphasized in the columns of the *Irish Weekly*. In other newspapers the letters of the League's correspondent keep such glaring examples of the "Land Blockade" before the public. Not all of the letters written see the light of day. We get constant complaints of newspapers which can provide room for other sorts of examples of the rating system, but get crowded out when the land values phase is recalled. Still, a good deal does get through.

In the *Scots Observer* Mr J. Caldwell and Mr Alex. Mackendrick have had letters. Mr John Cameron had a long letter in the *Coalbridge Leader* of 15th December on "Protection versus Free Trade." In the *Glasgow Herald* Mr John Gordon and Mr Alex. Mackendrick have contributed. Mr A. S. Munsie, besides keeping in touch with farming papers, had two letters in the *Railway Review*. Mr Alex. Campbell sent one of his letters to the *Scottish Co-operator*. Mr Mungo Fairley and the Secretary have had letters in the *Glasgow Evening Times* and other newspapers. Mr John Peter, M.A., has, as usual, letters to report during the last month in the *Edinburgh Evening*

*News.* No week passes that does not see a letter of Mr A. J. Mace in some newspaper—in the majority of cases Dumbartonshire papers. North of the Forth similar work is done, but the correspondents are either too busy or too modest to keep us in touch with their efforts.

Mr A. S. Munsie and the Secretary have addressed indoor and outdoor meetings on land and rating. Among other indoor meetings the Secretary addressed the Maryhill Branch of the League of Young Liberals on Taxation of Land Values. On Thursday, 20th December, he spoke to the Fish Trade Debating Society on "Protection or Free Trade." In his opening address he tried to show, through the circulation of credit instruments like bills of exchange, that foreign trade only altered the kind and not the volume of employment. In his concluding remarks he showed that the savage found employment; that pastoral people found employment for themselves, trappers did the same thing; fishermen also. Up to the point where land was prescribed miners could find employment for themselves, and people could build houses for themselves if there were no proprietor ready to come along and prevent them from digging the foundations.

We have got the first few Glasgow enrolments for the Edinburgh Conference. Many more are coming on, we know, but we had hoped for 50 enrolments before the New Year.

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

Arrangements for the Conference to be held at Gateshead, Saturday, 26th January, are now well advanced. The Conference Secretary, Mr Lewis C. Smith, 34, Wales Street, Darlington, is looking forward to a good attendance of delegates.

If any of our friends are able to spare an extra donation for this special piece of work it will be a real and most welcome service.

Since our last report the Secretary has spoken at five public meetings in Co. Durham. The meetings were organized by the Labour Party and the Labour candidate, Mr W. Lawther, also addressed the meetings, which were well attended.

The places of meetings were as follows: 26th November, Parish Hall, Wolsingham; 27th November, The Institute, Frosterley; 28th November, Welfare Hall, Willington; 29th November, Memorial Hall, Staindrop; 30th November, Witham Hall, Barnard Castle.

Other meetings were as follows: A. W. Dakers, Stanhope Street Branch, W.C.G., Newcastle; Ashley Mitchell, Bradford League of Young Liberals; John Archer, W.C.G., Milsbridge; Charles Newrick, Labour Meeting, West Hartlepool; Fred Adams, two meetings in Penistone.

Press correspondence has been vigorously carried on during the past month. In three issues of the *Brighouse and Elland Echo* during December letters have appeared, the writers being J. K. Musgrave, Harold Whitaker and the Secretary; Fred Adams had letters in the *Sheffield Independent* and the *Penistone Express*; J. K. Musgrave in the *Telegraph and Argus*; Ashley Mitchell in the *Yorkshire Observer* and *Yorkshire Post*; A. W. Dakers in the *Yorkshire Post*; and the Secretary in the *Keighley News* (2), the *Bradford Telegraph* (2) and the *Huddersfield Examiner*.

In spite of his more than three score years and ten and none too good health, our friend and colleague, John K. Musgrave, is one of the best of our Yorkshire workers for the cause. Letters to the Press, though many, are by no means the only ones he writes in support of economic freedom and a square deal for all.

A special meeting of the Bradford Corporation Finance Committee was held on Tuesday, 4th December, to deal with the preliminaries connected with the proposed Conference of County and County Borough authorities of Yorks to discuss the rating of land values. This is the outcome of a resolution passed by the City Council some weeks previously, moved by Councillor William Leach, in which the Council expressed its desire to rate land values and agreed to ask other Yorkshire authorities to support them with a view to making representations on the matter to the Government. The Conference will take place on 28th February in the Council Chamber of the Bradford City Council.

#### MANCHESTER LEAGUE: Arthur H. Weller, J.P., Secretary, 4, Piccadilly, Manchester.

During the past month the following meetings have been addressed: Manchester Central I.L.P., D. J. J. Owen; Blackburn W.C.G., A. H. Weller; Mottram Labour Party, W. Noble; Manchester Athenaeum Debating Society, E. M. Ginders; Stockport Labour Party, Women's Section, W. Noble; Incorporated Secretaries' Association, Manchester centre, A. H. Weller; Sale W.C.G., D. J. J. Owen; Gorton I.L.P., W. Noble; Union Chapel Brotherhood, Manchester, A. H. Weller.

An article dealing with Industrial Developments, written by the League's President, Mr E. M. Ginders, was printed in the *Stockport Express* of 6th December, and a letter from Councillor William Noble, criticizing a recent speech by Lord Bolton, appeared in the same journal on 13th. In a discussion on the de-rating scheme in the correspondence columns of the *Manchester Guardian*, several letters from the Secretary were published in reply to Mr Woodall, who is well-known in Manchester as an opponent of the League's policy. Mr E. M. Ginders and Mr Andrew MacLaren, M.P., also contributed letters to the *Manchester Guardian*.

On 9th December at the Central Forum, Manchester, a debate on "The fallacies of land values taxation" was opened by Mr M. Woodall, an active opponent of the taxation of land values who is frequently to the fore in the press and at meetings. Advertisements of the debate led to a good number of Georgists being present, but they heard nothing new from Mr Woodall. One of the alleged "fallacies" was that God gave the land to the people, which was countered by the fact that the earth was created first and the people afterwards. There was no monopoly in land, said Mr Woodall, except in the sense that he claimed a monopoly in the coat on his back—and this after stating that land was different from all commodities. All a man had to do, he argued, was to earn money and buy the land he wanted, but how money could be earned without using land was not explained by the speaker.

These specious arguments were ably answered by Messrs Owen, MacClafferty, Lindsay Martin and Brentnall, and also by one or two of those who attend the Forum meetings regularly, but who on previous occasions opposed the League's speakers. Mr Woodall had only two supporters while every other speaker denounced private land ownership in most emphatic terms. The League is much indebted to Mr Woodall for a valuable opportunity for propaganda.

#### HENRY GEORGE CLUB (Manchester): Leonard A. Weller, Hon. Secretary, 98, Sandy Lane, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester.

Councillor William Noble presided over a Club meeting in the Ritz Café, Oldham Street, on 12th December, when Mr E. F. MacClafferty gave an extremely interesting address on "Progress without poverty." In the discussion which followed, many members of the audience—including strangers—took part. After replying to the discussion, a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Mr MacClafferty. The speaker at the January meeting will be Councillor Noble. The Hon. Secretary will be glad to send particulars of these meetings to those who forward their addresses to him.

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

On 5th December Mr G. G. Houghton opened a debate at the Digbeth Institute Debating Society on the subject, "That Economic Justice for the Proletariat is delayed by agitation against Capitalism." Mr Houghton used a number of diagrams based on Post's lectures to prove his contention that land monopoly is the basic injustice.

At a well-attended meeting of the Sparkbrook and Balsall Heath Rating Reform and Land Values League on 11th December the members considered the most appropriate answers to questions put in opposition to our reform. The chair was taken by Mr A. E. Weekes, and among those who spoke were Messrs A. B. Houghton, Chapman Wright, H. Barber, H. Swift, G. G. and Miss Houghton. The members unanimously agreed to carry out in the Balsall Heath ward a house-to-house distribution

of a further 6,000 of the seven-page *Cure for Unemployment* pamphlet.

Mr G. G. Houghton attended the meeting of the United Committee in London on 14th December and had present with him as visitors Mrs Houghton and Mr A. E. Weekes.

**LIVERPOOL LEAGUE: F. R. Jones, Hon. Secretary,**  
21, Highfield Crescent, Rock Ferry, Cheshire.

The first half of our Winter Session terminated on the 17th December with a blackboard lecture by the Organizer on "The Social Problem." The lecturer showed, in an interesting manner, how the private appropriation of land values diminishes the return to producers by restricting opportunity and placing an increasing burden on industry by means of the increased values of land thus brought about.

We have also been favoured with an address by Major Burnie (ex-M.P. for Bootle) entitled "Why I am a Liberal," and on the 3rd December we had an excellent lecture by Miss C. Jones on "The Social System of Ancient Peru." We look forward to hearing Miss Jones again, later in the session.

On Friday, 14th December, a Business Meeting of the League was held at 2, Hatton Garden, with Mr Field in the chair. Suggestions were discussed regarding the best possible use of the £10 recently given for special propaganda purposes and these are being put into effect immediately. It was also decided that the Petition to the Corporation of Liverpool shall be presented not later than March, 1929, and further, that a deputation shall wait upon certain members of the Bootle Council to ask them to raise the question of land value rating in the Council Chamber.

We shall be glad to have the support of members on the 7th January, when Mr Jones will speak at the Fairfield Liberal Club, 86, Shiel Road, and the Acting Secretary will address the Kensington L.L.P. at 70, Shiel Road.

Our weekly meetings will recommence on 14th January with an address on "The Economics of Private Enterprise" by Mr Rattray, and on the 28th there will be an address on Proportional Representation, by a member of that Society.

We gratefully acknowledge the receipt of the sum of £10 from a local gentleman, to enable us to extend our activities in Liverpool.

N.B.—Will correspondents kindly note the Hon. Secretary's new address?

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

At the meeting of the League on 11th December Mr F. Satterthwaite read a paper on "Rating Relief and Unemployment." He set forth very lucidly the case for the taxation and rating of land values and condemned the de-rating proposals of the Government. It was a scheme, he said, which would fail in its general purpose because it did nothing to reduce the charges of the landowners or force land into use. The meeting was held as usual in the John Pile Memorial Rooms. Mr J. H. McGuigan presided.

On 17th January a special meeting is to be addressed by Mr Collins Bailey, who, as reported from time to time in *Land & Liberty*, is one of our active press correspondents in this district.

**HENRY GEORGE CLUB (HALIFAX): H. Whitham, Hon. Secretary,**  
11, Stirling Street, Halifax.

On 4th December we had the privilege of hearing Mr W. R. Lester, who addressed a gathering of local T.O.C. men on Unemployment. In a very successful way he brought out the need for taxation of land values as a necessary reform, upon which to build a sound state of society. His address was well appreciated, and the discussion, which had to be closed and even then continued in groups, proved the value of both the reform and its appeal when put so ably.

The Secretary addressed the Young Men's Class of St Paul's Church here. Time was prolonged, and even then the speaker was asked to go into further detail, at an early date.

Our President, Mr T. U. Kaye, deputized on 9th December at Square Young Men's Class. The meeting was another success. It is gratifying to see the progress of the

taken up, even if no positive result in membership appears. The Secretary spoke on 23rd December at another men's class. He would be grateful for facilities to speak at other meetings of a kindred nature.

Press work has been usefully maintained in the Halifax area. Again we must thank Mr Musgrave, of Bradford, for his help in this respect.

During December twelve letters have appeared on the land value policy in relation to safeguarding, international peace, the mining situation, local taxation, the de-rating scheme, English and Danish farming, etc.

**EDINBURGH LEAGUE: D. J. Downie, Hon. Secretary,**  
29, Eyre Crescent.

A number of our members have been laid aside recently by illness and unable to join with us in our work but in spite of that we had a well attended meeting of our Executive on 3rd December, when satisfactory reports were given in by the Secretary and Treasurer of our various activities during the past year.

Mr William Reid was in Edinburgh on Saturday, 15th December and had meetings with the Secretary and others, when the progress of the local arrangements for the Conference in July next was discussed.

**WELSH LEAGUE: Charles A. Gardner, Hon. Secretary,**  
27, Park Place, Cardiff.

Several hundred copies of the special circular appealing for support, referred to in last month's notes, have been posted to members and prospective subscribers. The response to date is fairly encouraging, but much more remains to be done if the League is to be enabled to get out literature giving local colour to its propaganda.

Mr T. C. Morris, Labour Organizer for Wales, recently placed an order at our office for a quantity of Henry George pamphlets, and took with him a large bundle of our leaflets for distribution at meetings in the Llandilo district being addressed by Mr Daniel Hopkin, the Labour Parliamentary candidate for Carmarthenshire. With the literature taken by Mr Morris was a supply of *Y Tir A'r Bobl*, being the Welsh translation of Henry George's *Land & People*. Mr Morris has already been instrumental in getting a large number of copies of this Welsh translation distributed in the Welsh-speaking areas.

So far we have not had many opportunities of addressing other organizations, but we know that a number of our members, who are active politicians, and frequently appear on Labour or Liberal platforms, often avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded for stressing the importance of our reform. In this connection we would particularly mention our Chairman, Captain Saw, whose services as a speaker in Labour circles are often sought and given.

The Henry George Study Circle will resume the weekly meetings at the office address on Monday evenings at 8 p.m. on 6th January. We extend a cordial invitation to any members or friends interested in economic questions to attend. We are working through Henry George's *Protection or Free Trade?* and very interesting and instructive evenings are spent under the guidance of Professor W. J. Roberts, M.A., who acts as leader of the Circle.

We learn from Councillor D. J. Vaughan of Newport that the question of Land Values Rating will be brought up at an important meeting of municipal and other public bodies in January, and that meantime the matter of arranging for a deputation to wait on the Government has been allowed to remain in abeyance.

We regret that Mr T. E. Davies, our ever-active and vigilant member in Aberdare, has been indisposed for some time; fortunately the later news is that he is now out and about again, and we congratulate him on his recovery. Mr Davies frequently gets his letters in the Press. Recently he submitted a question at a public meeting addressed by Capt. Williams, the Liberal Parliamentary candidate for the Aberavon division, who replied that he was a supporter of the principle of taxing land values.

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## THE INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR LAND VALUE TAXATION AND FREE TRADE

11 Tothill Street, London, S.W.1

It is highly gratifying to learn that two such eminent advocates of our policy as Mr W. H. Renwick, of Melbourne, and Mr E. J. Craigie, of Adelaide, are to be present at the Edinburgh International Conference to speak for the Australian movement. Mr Renwick comes as the President of the newly-established Henry George Foundation of Australia. Mr E. J. Craigie has been selected by the Melbourne Committee appointed to deal with the matter, to represent the Australian Henry George Leagues. Most instructive papers on Land Value Taxation in Australia and on the effects of the protective tariff policy in the Commonwealth are thus assured. It was hoped that Mr A. G. Huie, Secretary of the Free Trade and Land Values League of New South Wales, would also be able to come to Edinburgh; but that will be impossible in view of the great campaign in which the League is now engaged to get the Sydney and District water and sewage rates levied on the value of land, which is already the source of all city and municipal taxation. This would be a crowning victory and at this critical time the N.S.W. League will not want the guidance of their brilliant leader, Mr Huie, to whom the credit is so largely due for the success already achieved, making Sydney the telling example wherever the land value policy is discussed.

The *People's Advocate* of Adelaide, in its November issue, gives the International Conference a prominent advertisement with invitation to its readers to enrol as members. There is a good notice also in the *Liberator* of Auckland, mentioning that the New Zealand League has been asked to supply the Conference with a paper dealing with the progress of land value taxation in the Dominion and with the system of land valuation. In the *Commonwealth* for September, an Australian monthly journal of progressive, religious and social life, a long extract is published from the Memorandum of the Union on the "Economic Causes of War and of Industrial Depression," which was addressed to the World Economic Conference held in Geneva, May, 1927.

Mr F. G. H. Anderson, M.A., who will attend the Edinburgh Conference, is retiring from the Indian Civil Service. He has been in the Land Revenue Department of Bombay for 35 years, and for the last 15 years has been Commissioner of Land Revenue Settlements. He is now seeing through the press a book entitled *Facts and Fallacies about the Bombay Land Revenue System*, which will have much of interest to those who uphold Georgist principles, and also much useful information for those who do not know India. Mr Anderson has long been a good supporter of our movement. His book will be welcome, and even more so his presence at Edinburgh, to give the Conference of his knowledge and experience of the land question in India.

Our colleague, Mr Halfdan Hansen, of Bergen, Norway, writes: "Of course I will be in Edinburgh." With his letter Mr Hansen encloses a number of cuttings of his own articles in local newspapers, advocating land value taxation and free trade. The elections for the municipalities and other local authorities in Norway have just taken place. Mr Hansen was himself a candidate in Bergen and only failed by 14 votes to be elected representative. The prominence given to the land value policy in these elections shows that good progress is being made.

An interesting inquiry about the International Union, its objects and its publications, has come from a correspondent in Beyrouth, Syria. We judge that this is a result of the good work done by Mr P. Giannelia, of Vienna, who translated the Geneva Memorandum into Greek and has since seen to its effective circulation. Copies, for example, were sent to the representative of Greece at the Geneva Conference with invitation to join the Union. Mr Giannelia is now engaged in writing a treatise on the economic blunder of the break up of big estates in Eastern

European countries, relating it to the failure to give effect to land value taxation. Of this contribution to a most important subject, which is in very capable hands, no doubt something will be heard at the forthcoming Conference.

The growing disillusionment in Australia with respect to the protective tariff is well indicated in the manifesto and petition to the Federal Government, which has been signed on behalf of the New South Wales Associations of Graziers, Stockowners, Sheepbreeders, Farmers and Settlers; by the Housewives' Association, the Agricultural Bureau and the Town and Country Union. It is stated that "the tariff is the paramount cause of the high cost of production, making it impossible to export manufactured products; it is the chief cause of the unfortunate increase in the urban population at the expense of the rural; it is increasing the cost of living and of wages without increasing real wages value; it is reducing the purchasing power of the nation and, if persisted in, will in the end defeat its own object."

Dr P. Boffa, M.L.A., a leader of the Labour Party in Malta, wrote in the daily *Malta Chronicle* of 26th November, in reply to a member of the Malta League, Mr Moses Gatt: "There is a legion of first-class world-famed thinkers who maintain that with the present social order of things there is something fundamentally wrong because of the present system of taxation, a system which is obsolete, which creates class cleavage, distinction and struggle and which certainly requires an immediate lookover and a scrupulous overhauling. As a radical remedy Moses Gatt suggests a Tax on Land Values. There is no doubt such a progressive reform, if put into action, would change for the better the present social order of things. It is one of the big important social items the Labour Party has to fight for in the near future."

Mr Ernest G. Geoghegan, member of the Committee of the Union, who sends us this cutting, mentions what others are doing to promote land value taxation—Michele Carnana in the *Herald* and *Mid-day News* and Orlando in *Hal Mar* (Maltese)—while *Il Cotra*, the Labour Party's official organ, keeps the question in the forefront. Another correspondent in Malta is Mario Agius who is greatly interested in the work of the International Union and was glad to have the reports of the Ronda, Oxford and Copenhagen Conferences, besides a number of books and pamphlets for the education of his friends.

We have been glad to hear from Mr Wm. A. Black, secretary of the Single Tax League of Texas, who encloses clippings of informing articles written by him to a number of weeklies. Of these he has more than ninety on his list, well scattered over the State, that give space to his contributions as signed editorials. Answering Professor Brannen of the University of Arkansas Mr Black writes in one of these articles: "A sixteen year old schoolboy would know that any tax on business checks production, adds to the cost of goods and reduces the consuming power of the public. He would also know, if the facts were laid before him, that a tax on land values is not a burden on production, transportation or the consumer; that it helps production and reduces the cost of goods. This high school boy when told the law of rent would know that a tax on land values is merely taking for public use values created by the public and properly belonging to the public."

*Progress* (Melbourne) for November gives the news that Mr Cyril James of Bendigo is standing as candidate for the Country Party at the forthcoming Federal Elections. His constituency is Bendigo. It is for us and all who met him during his memorable visit to Great Britain in 1921 (when he addressed meetings in many centres) to join our Australian workers in wishing success to his efforts. The charm of his personality and the force of his eloquence make him an outstanding man among his fellows. In this fight he will wage war against the tariff, speaking as an uncompromising free trader and land values advocate.

## DENMARK

A Whig Government carries on provisionally in Denmark, depending sometimes on the Conservatives and sometimes on the Social Democrats for support. In a reactionary mood it has staged a proposal to increase the local income tax, so to reduce the county rates now levied on real estate. This would prevent county councils from levying a rate of more than 4 per 1,000 (approximately 1d. in the £) on the capital value of land apart from improvements, whereas at present the land value rate for county purposes may go up to 7½ per 1,000 or even higher. The proposal would also limit the power of the parishes to levy on land value and, with county and parish taken together, would shift a large burden upon the payers of local income tax who in Denmark includes practically every householder. The working people would suffer, the bigger landowners would benefit.

Land value taxation has so far worked its way in Denmark that the vested interests are taking alarm. The rate of tax in the country districts, adding county and parish charges together, now averages 4d. in the £ of capital value. It is not without effect on land speculation. It has kept down the local income tax and reduced the burden that would have fallen on buildings and improvements. These results are appreciated by none so much as the hard working class of small peasant proprietors who as *cultivators* have everything to lose by taxation imposed on incomes and on any product of labour; and have everything to gain by land value taxation. Accordingly they are dead against the proposals of the Government.

Meanwhile action has been taken by the leaders of the land values movement. A joint committee has been called together by Mr F. Folke, the Chairman of the Danish Henry George Union; and in a circular signed by 150 names a meeting is convened in Copenhagen on 5th January. The object is not merely to prevent any step backward from the position so far won, but also to press for the removal of the taxes that still remain on improvements as well as other restrictive taxes imposed either by the local authorities or by the State, taking the revenue instead from the value of land.

Among other matters to be discussed is the appointment of a sub-committee to secure the best possible representation of Denmark at the forthcoming International Conference in Edinburgh.

\* \* \*

The latest of the land value maps now being received at the offices of the United Committee by courtesy of the Central Valuation Department is that for Aarhus, the second largest town in Denmark. Again it is seen what an important service is rendered by these maps in the information they give the public about the relative value of the land within and throughout the area assessed.

## FRANCE AND BELGIUM

The journal to promote land value taxation in France and Belgium, *La Terre*, organ of the Leagues "*pour la R. forme foncière*," has been re-named *Terre et Liberté* and appeared in December under its new title. With this change an important development has taken place. *Terre et Liberté* (Land and Liberty) will circulate within its covers the quarterly bulletin of the French Free Trade League, which is printed also as a supplement to the *Journal des Economistes*. In a word, the ban that the late M. Yves Guyot placed on land value taxation as the necessary complement of free trade has been removed. Land value taxation and free trade are now to be promoted as one policy under joint auspices. Our colleague, M. Daudé-Bancel, Secretary of the

French League for Land Value Taxation, becomes Editor both of *Terre et Liberté* and of the *Journal des Economistes*, and as to the latter takes the place so long occupied by M. Yves Guyot. Closely associated with M. Daudé-Bancel in this work is M. Sam Meyer, whom many of our friends will remember having met at the International Conference in Copenhagen. Both these colleagues are members of the Committee of the International Union and both look forward to being present at the forthcoming Conference in Edinburgh.

The French and the Belgian League for Land Value Taxation (*Ligue pour la Réforme foncière*) work in close contact. M. Meyer was till lately President of the latter, but as he is resident in Paris he has resigned in favour of M. Aronstein, the Secretary and Treasurer being Madame de Wespelaere, at 80 Rue Vondel, Brussels. The office of the French League is at 29 Boulevard Bourdon, Paris IV., with M. Meyer as President and M. Charles Gide, the noted economist, as Hon. President.

The journal *Terre et Liberté* is warmly commended to all students of French. It may be had from either of the above addresses, the annual subscription being 40 francs (say 7s.). The December issue, covering also the months of October and November, has articles and news of greatest interest assembled in its 36 pages. The whole production is exceedingly well done.

In November last, Messrs. Meyer and Daudé-Bancel represented the International Union at a Conference in Paris called by the European Economics Union, a body recently established at The Hague in Holland. They found that the Economic Union proposed only to get the Governments pledged for the next five years not to put tariffs on any articles that are now duty-free. Despite the moderation of that proposal, it was contested by the representatives of French agriculture and was provisionally withdrawn. A Committee was appointed to draft other proposals, the members including Messrs. Meyer and Daudé-Bancel, who hope, as M. Meyer writes, to secure approval for our point of view, which is removal of existing barriers and true free trade.

In Belgium, Messrs. Meyer and Daudé-Bancel have addressed a number of meetings on land value taxation and real success is reported, so much so that centres are likely to be formed, at Charleroi and Liège for example, to carry on the work locally.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### A Set-back in East London

The fight to establish and maintain land value rating in East London has been long and severe. Under the optional powers obtained in the Cape Province Municipal ordinance of 1918 the local taxation was at once altered so that instead of there being an equal rate on land and improvements, a rate of 6d. in the £ (capital value) was imposed on land value and 3½d. on improvements. Later, the rate on land values was increased and improvements were further relieved until in 1926-27 all local taxation was levied on land value alone. A weakness of this local option in the Cape Province is that a poll of ratepayers may be taken at any time to reverse a previous decision. The landed interests have taken advantage of the position by demanding repeated polls. In this way they worked to gain their ends in a wearing down process, spending considerable sums of money on campaign leaflets and exerting all the powerful personal influence at their command. The result of the poll in 1926 came as a shock to them; but they returned to the charge and we regret to learn their tactics have in part succeeded. A poll was taken that has caused a reversion from the levy of rates on land value alone and



East London now imposes 1d. on buildings and improvements for every 2d. levied on the value of land. In the later stages of the struggle, there was no little misrepresentation of the case by imputing extravagance on the Town Council, or mismanagement of public services, to the land values system. An unhappy or ugly feature is also that many capable leaders in the Land Values League felt obliged under pressure to abandon active part in the contest. The set-back, however, can only be temporary. Of that Mr E. J. Evans, Mr C. Venables and their co-workers are confident, since all the rate-payers who have now to pay more where land values are low (to the relief of those who own land of high value) will realize more than ever that this is unjust, and has resulted from the mistake they made in allowing any part of the taxation to be put back on buildings and improvements. Such experience will be the compelling argument when the next poll takes place.

### INDIA

Our correspondent, Mr F. Hawkyard, refers to Mr Anderson's letter (September *Land & Liberty*) and the statement there made that the Cornwallis Permanent Settlement in Bengal, though a deplorable blunder, "was never repeated anywhere else." This Settlement was the decision made by Lord Cornwallis in 1793 that the Province would never raise the assessment of land revenue above the figure "settled" at that time. It gave to landowners and farmers of the revenue all increases in land value since 1794. Mr Hawkyard points out that not only Bengal but also Bihar, Orissa and part of Assam are injured in the same way and the Indian population that is plundered by this direct historic interference with Indian law numbers 89 out of 320 millions. It may be remarked that while Indian land revenue has thus been given away, the "land tax" in India has less than a superficial resemblance to the tax on the value of land, urban and rural, which we advocate. The Indian land tax is a tax on rural land only on an assessment of what is produced, and includes improvements made by the occupier. All these rural land assessments, including improvements, should be swept away as a preliminary to land value taxation and borne in mind in fixing the rate and conditions of the land value tax. With the abolition of the old "land revenue" levy, the pledge not to increase it would be extinct.

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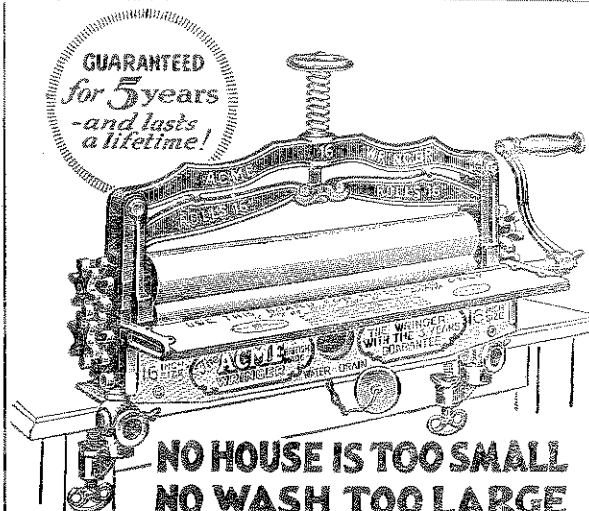
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