

LAND & LIBERTY

MONTHLY JOURNAL FOR LAND VALUE TAXATION AND FREE TRADE

Thirty-ninth Year.—Nos. 456-457.

MAY-JUNE, 1932.

2d. By post, 2s. per annum.

Published by The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, Ltd.

York Mansion, 94 Petty France, London, S.W.1.

Telegrams: "Eulav, Sowest, London."

Telephone: Victoria 4308-9

THE CRISIS AND THE TARIFFS

The Case for Free Trade in its Fullness

MANIFESTO BY THE UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

In the belief that the abiding cause of poverty and unemployment is the private appropriation of the rent of land and the withholding of land from use at monopoly prices; that the ever-increasing load of taxation falling upon industry has widened the gulf between rich and poor; that the value of land apart from buildings and other improvements belongs to the community and should be taken as public revenue in place of the taxation now burdening labour and capital;

The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, speaking for a well-recognized public opinion, registers its emphatic protest against the action of the Government in suspending the Land Valuation, and postponing the Land Value Tax provided for in last year's Finance Act. The Government is obstructing the operation of the Statute Law which when passed was rightly acclaimed as "the beginning of a great social reform which will some day liberate the land for the people and abolish once and for all the tyranny under which the people in this country have suffered."

It is alleged that the country cannot afford the £1,500,000 already approved by Parliament for assessing the public values of land so that just taxation may be levied thereon; yet the costs of Customs collection alone now exceed £6,000,000 a year. The excuse that the Land Valuation has been suspended on grounds of economy is false and flagrantly dishonest. The truth is that the Government is the ready and obedient servant of the landed interests.

In its Manifesto at the General Election, October, 1931, the United Committee declared:

"The dominating issue is Free Trade or Protection. Long years of unemployment and hard times, and the failure of statesmen and politicians to remove the root cause of the trouble, have given the Tariff advocate his chance. He is making the most of it.

"In the event of the Tory Party winning the Election, neither the Prime Minister nor his associates from other parties will be asked to consider the niceties of any particular Tariff or the question

whether Tariffs may be wise or not. They will be presented with the full Tory programme, and be required to act upon it or leave the Government." It has come to pass.

Mr Chamberlain's Budget is designed to lower the standard of living and entrench special privilege by shifting taxation from the wealthier to the poorer classes. It re-imposes the Tea tax. It ratifies the food taxes included in the General Tariff of February last. It is accompanied by new and heavy impositions of Customs duties under cover of the Import Duties Act. It upholds and develops the system of preferences for the fostering of a spurious and sordid Imperialism. The Budget resolutions have strengthened the powers of the new dictatorship, the Tariff Advisory Committee, extending them to the Free List so that taxes may be imposed on commodities and foodstuffs of any description imported from foreign countries. In a night, Parliament has virtually parted with its control in fiscal matters.

The United Committee denounces the fraud and folly of the Tariffs now being inflicted on the country. A permanent system of Protection is in the making that will close markets at home and abroad, add to prices and ruin innumerable industries. This policy, resulting in the plunder of the consumer, is advanced in the delusion that trade restriction can remedy industrial depression; it is based on the preposterous notion that imports into any country are an injury to the State; it breathes the sentiments of fear and jealousy that embitter international relations and lead inevitably to war.

The Wheat Quota with its £6,000,000 a year subsidy payable to farmers is an undisguised Bread tax. It is a rent-raising Measure. The Minister for Agriculture, Sir John Gilmour, has admitted in so many words in the House of Commons (6th April, 1932) that the benefit of the Quota scheme is destined to go where every similar subsidy has gone, into the pockets of the landlord.

The United Committee pledges itself to work resolutely for the instant and total repeal of the Import Duties Act and all other Tariff and subsidy

legislation; for Free Trade in its fullness—the freedom of production and the freedom of exchange—as the only way to the just distribution of wealth and opportunity. To this end the Committee calls for the support of all progressive citizens in its campaign to liberate natural resources from the bondage of monopoly, to sweep away all tariffs and to secure the public revenue by taxation and rating on the value of land that is everywhere created by the presence and activity of the community.

AFTERMATHS OF WAR. Mr Mellon, the new United States Ambassador, entertained at a Dinner by the Pilgrims in London, 14th April, made the following observations:—

“The economic depression that followed the war was in part the price we paid for war, and must be reckoned apparently as a seemingly unavoidable stage in the sequence of events. He had lived through several crises, and the conclusion he had come to was that they could be traced directly to the dislocation due to wars and their aftermaths. Capitalism had defects, and might be still in its infancy, but it had shown that it could produce an abundance of food and clothing and all the necessities of life, so that our problem was not one involving basic inability to supply the goods needed to satisfy human wants.”

It is about time bankers, economists and authorities in general were getting ahead of that “Dislocation”: it happened so long ago. As a matter of fact, Mr Mellon has got well ahead of it himself when he states that “though capitalism had its defects, our problem was not one involving basic inability to supply the goods needed to satisfy human wants.” In other words, there is no lack of capital to respond to any emergency; and if there should be at any time, through some dislocation, there is all the skill available to produce what is required.

* * *

As Henry George puts it, Book II, Chap. IV:—

“Take wealth in some of its most useful and permanent forms—ships, houses, railways, machinery. Unless labour is constantly exerted in preserving and renewing them, they will almost immediately become useless. Stop labour in any community, and wealth would vanish almost as the jet of a fountain vanishes when the flow of water is shut off. Let labour again exert itself, and wealth will almost as immediately reappear. This has been long noticed where war or other calamity has swept away wealth, leaving population unimpaired. There is not less wealth in London to-day because of the great fire of 1666; nor yet is there less wealth in Chicago because of the great fire of 1870. On those fire-swept acres have arisen, under the hand of labour, more magnificent buildings, filled with greater stocks of goods; and the stranger who, ignorant of the history of the city, passes along those stately avenues would not dream that a few years ago all lay so black and bare. The same principle—that wealth is completely re-created—is obvious in every new city. Given the same population and the same efficiency of labour, and the town of yesterday will possess and enjoy as much as the town founded by the Romans.”

* * *

Ten years ago we were passionately told Great Britain was “down and out” because Europe was in rags; and that until this was remedied there could be no improvement at home. This raised the question of what was preventing Europe making good, now that

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the war had ended. There was no answer except so much legerdemain and another Conference.

* * *

“It may take two, three, or four years to make adjustments that will be fair and efficacious, but the system is started and the Government are anxious to do all they can to help industry. Industry will have to do all they can to help their country. Free Traders were very fond of saying that Protection would make for idleness and inefficiency. Let's risk it. We have been idle and inefficient long enough because we have no money. This is no time for pessimism—the reverse.”—MR STANLEY BALDWIN, *speaking at the Albert Hall, London, 29th April.*

The “risk” has been taken and Mr Baldwin has his answer in these official figures for 1932: Number of registered unemployed: March, 2,567,332; April, 2,652,181; May, 2,741,306. There is also the toll of the men, women and children in receipt of poor relief, numbering 1,188,077 for England and Wales in March this year as compared with 1,100,500 in December and 966,938 in June last year. So much for tariffs to “make work” and cure idleness and inefficiency.

* * *

The Archbishop of York, in an Industrial Sunday Sermon, 24th April, said: “If there is only a certain amount of any material commodity the more one man has the less there is for others. You cannot distribute to the citizens of a country individually more wealth than they are producing, at least, not for very long, and there is a tendency in some quarters in the interest of generous aspirations and ideals to ignore such elementary considerations as this.”

It was this thought on elementary justice that stirred Mr Lloyd George when he cried out: “Who made one man owner of ten thousand acres and the rest of us trespassers in the land of our birth?” Those were the days when the Liberal Party held a dominant and a proud position in the State. The Party fell from popular favour when it was led out to the regulation of poverty instead of emancipation from it.

* * *

Speaking on the Second Reading of the Wheat Quota Bill (House of Commons, 1st March), Mr T. Williams, Labour, said: “If the Minister for Agriculture were to advertise for 5,000 farmers and advise them to recruit six agricultural labourers each, tell the 5,000 farmers to rent 200 acres each and to guarantee to the landlords £1 per acre for rent, making £1,000,000 in all for 1,000,000 acres; if he were to give the 5,000 farmers the same salary as that received by a Member of Parliament, namely, £360 per annum; if he were to give to each of the 30,000 labourers £100 per annum in wages, that

would cost approximately £5,800,000, he would get 1,000,000 acres of land under the plough, he could perpetually pension off 5,000 farmers and 30,000 labourers at bigger salaries than they are reputed to be obtaining to-day, and yet the expenditure would not be so heavy as the expenditure under the terms of this Bill."

In the matter of doles to agriculture (ultimately benefiting landowners with increased rents), Mr Williams in the same debate, gave figures as follows: "We have relieved agriculture of rates (local taxation) equivalent to a grant of £10,000,000 a year. For the past six years we have been making large contributions to agriculture in the shape of the sugar-beet subsidy, equivalent to £30,000,000 or a further £5,000,000 a year. We have passed a further Act which is going to put anywhere from 10 per cent to 100 per cent duty on butter, cheese, milk, eggs, fish, fruit, vegetables and various other commodities. On top of that, we are invited to give, unconditionally (under the Wheat Quota Bill) a further £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 to one small section of the agricultural community."

Sir Edmund Vesty, in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, 19th May:—

"The purchases of British goods by New Zealand and Australia compared to Britain's purchases from those Dominions can only be described as grotesque. The Board of Trade returns for the three months ended 31st March show these are at the rate of:—

	Imports from (per annum)	Exports to (per annum).
New Zealand ...	£46,100,000	£10,400,000
Australia ...	£55,100,000	£16,200,000."

No wonder New Zealand and Australia are so hard up, on the rocks, as the saying is, when they give us so much for so little in return. But, of course, whatever happens, that wooden god of the Rialto, the adverse balance of trade, must not be ignored.

Sir Edmund continues:—

"It is inconceivable what would be the state of affairs in the Dominions at the present time if the figures were reversed, and British manufacturers were asking these Dominions to give them control of their very necessities of life, to squeeze still more out of their people."

If the figures were reversed it is clear that the imports of the Dominions would exceed the value of their exports. This would appear to be good business: it would take on that complexion, but for that Adverse Balance bogey.

Our aviation correspondent, *Daily Telegraph*, 18th April: "Near most towns the value of land steadily rises. The land of an aerodrome near London, bought about four years ago, is already worth two and a half times as much as the price paid for it.

"With the improvement of facilities aviation will increase in popularity. Therefore the provision of aerodromes and landing grounds brings its own reward."

This recalls the daily paper that in a leading article said: "Ireland should be a rich country, for it has a fertile soil and cheap labour."

In moving the rejection of the Canadian Budget (daily paper, 13th April), Mr Ralston, a former Minister, said: "The tariff increases had stifled agriculture, restricted trade and created more unemployment." It is a common enough experience, and now goes by the name of "economic nationalism." This provides each nation concerned with the excuse to blame all the

others; hence the cry that unemployment is due to "World Causes" and that what is urgent is another International Conference.

Here is the latest Tariff gem from Ireland taken from the *News-Chronicle*, 14th May:—

"Within two days of the introduction of new tariffs on foodstuffs the people of the Irish Free State are feeling the pinch. Mr Sean Lemass, Minister for Industry, admitted in the Dáil yesterday that shopkeepers were already putting up the price of home products. He said he had told such manufacturers that he would cut off their supplies. 'Gaol is the place for them,' he added."

If "gaol" is the place for the shopkeepers who put up prices, where may we ask is the place for those who by law make it possible for prices to be put up? As the Mad Hatter would say, their place is in Parliament: As shopkeepers they would not raise prices and would be utter failures!

A TYPICAL LAND SALE

The factors that give land its value were well described at the Auction Mart, London, on 30th May, when 855 acres at Felixstowe, the property of Mr G. M. T. Pretymann, son of the late Mr E. G. Pretymann, who was President of the Land Union, was offered for sale (*Suffolk Chronicle and Mercury* report, 4th June). The area comprises practically the whole of the building land available in the immediate vicinity of the town and includes agricultural land, farmhouses and cottages in addition to several residences. The present actual or estimated income is £3,600 a year. The auctioneer said there were tremendous possibilities for what were really three separate building estates. The land near Felixstowe Station was ripe for development, that against the sea cliffs compared favourably with any block on the sea coast; the land between Grange Road and Garrison Lane must be tempting to builders and speculators. The main factor in the development of the estate was the popularity of Felixstowe as a health and pleasure resort. There was reference to the entertainments for residents and visitors provided by the Town Council. The Cliff Gardens were among the finest of England's seaside resorts. There were the bands and concerts, the public recreation ground, the bowling green, the yachting lake, the reasonable proximity to London—all inherent in this patch of ground.

Thus the auctioneer, having in fact explained that he was not offering land but only a situation, made valuable by many charming natural amenities and every kind of community-created advantage, the sale proceeded. The bids rose from £70,000 to £95,000, but the auctioneer was not satisfied and announced he would have to deal with the sale of the property privately.

So the traffic in the public value of land goes on. The country is impoverished, so it is said. Auctioneers hold out their gains to the land speculators. The Land Union applauds and rejoices that the Land Value Tax it has fought so bitterly is now safely locked up out of harm's way so long at any rate as the present National Government lasts. This report of E. G. Pretymann's solid interest in what has been aptly described as "the plunder of landlordism" seems to account for some of his persistent opposition to Land Value Taxation. Be that as it may, every such public exposure of the system is a powerful argument in support of our agitation.

A. W. M.

Surrey Education Committee are to pay £2,700 for a 7½ acres site at Esher for a new elementary school.—*Evening Standard*, 18th July, 1931.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY AND YOURS

The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values was formed twenty-five years ago: *Land & Liberty* celebrates its 39th birthday next month, June, 1932.

The aim and object of the United Committee, as stated in the constitution, is: "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." Its offices are the headquarters of the British movement and of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade. The Committee is supported entirely by the voluntary contributions of those who uphold its policy.

The office, in its correspondence and its Press Bureau, with its contacts in all parts of the country and in many other lands, has been well named a Henry George College. It is a service that provides information and instruction to an ever-growing public.

As stated in *Land & Liberty*, the demand these past two years for our cheap, popular editions of *Progress and Poverty*, *Social Problems*, *Protection or Free Trade*, *The Condition of Labour* and *Gems from Henry George* has amazed even the bookselling trade and must gratify every adherent of the propaganda. This promising development is in the care of the United Committee as trustee of the Henry George Foundation, established in 1929 by Louis P. Jacobs.

The revenue from the Foundation is not available for the uses of the Committee in its ordinary work, nor for the upkeep of the office in any way. It is available solely for the publication and circulation of Henry George's works.

The Committee gladly accepts this responsibility and its obligations: What is greatly wanted is a complementary endowment for the Committee itself. *While we wait for this recognition we can only rely, as we have done all along, upon friends who know and value the work to equip us with the means to carry on.*

We are in politics with our cause; we are not merely speaking to each other, and the time is at hand for another big advance in public opinion for our ideas. We have the speakers, the writers and the other voluntary workers with the experience; and the proved Agency that can best direct any such adventure.

Unemployment with its miseries is master of the situation, and if not brought to an end soon will overwhelm civilization itself. There is no leadership: There is no vision; and where this is wanting the people perish. It is our responsibility and yours.

The radical cure for Unemployment is known. "The land question is the bottom question. Man is a land animal." Land Value Taxation is the deeper cut that is urgent. This is not everything; but properly applied it can break land monopoly. Without this freedom, the State is at the mercy of the charlatan, the demagogue and the dictator; but in this crisis our practical proposals may not be mentioned. The conspiracy of silence is in evidence, as usual! We believe Henry George's way out is the only way: Let us say so with all our strength.

The Committee earnestly invites the financial support it needs and deserves. This call is urgent and is addressed not only to our people at home, but to the many friends of "*Land & Liberty*" across the seas.

THE EFFECT OF TARIFFS Some Admissions, Fears and Other Testimony

According to the experts the effective result of the tariff is that there will be an immediate increase of £60 in the price of every private motor-car in the Free State. In view of the fact that, although no cars are manufactured here, a 33½ *ad valorem* duty is already levied on all imported cars, the latest impost is regarded as an intolerable burden. It will cause much unemployment and economic distress in a trade that has enormous ramifications all over the country. . . . The general view is that the trade in private cars will be brought to a virtual standstill, and in consequence the price of secondhand vehicles will be increased considerably.

Within the last few weeks prohibitive imposts have been placed on a number of articles that may be regarded as necessities of life for the agricultural community, and the cost of living in the Free State is bound to rise almost immediately.

The only explanation of Mr de Valera's action is that he is determined to reduce imports almost to vanishing point in order that he may be able to show a favourable trade balance and to fulfil his boast that he can make the Free State self-supporting. In the process he will cause widespread distress and inconvenience to all classes of the community.—*The Times*, 7th May—Dublin Correspondent.

"We have to learn that in the long run no nation can enjoy great prosperity at the expense of other nations; and there can be no prosperous part of Europe if a part of Europe goes bankrupt. In other words, no country, as no man, can exist to himself alone."—Mr BALDWIN, at Llandudno, 15th April.

At the General Election, Mr Baldwin's Mad Hatter said he was certain this country could and must live on its own. But that was yesterday!

The German butter duties are to be abolished, it is authoritatively reported. They were imposed to help the German farmers, but have had exactly the contrary effect. The countries hit by them, especially Scandinavia, retorted by buying fewer German wares, particularly agricultural machinery. The result has been to raise the home price in Germany for such machinery, so that what the farmers gained through the butter duties, they lost in their increased outlay on agricultural machines.—Exchange Telegram from Berlin, reported in the *News-Chronicle*, 26th May.

Earl De La Warr, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, at Plymouth, last night, said: "Bulb growing is not exploited enough in England, though there is a tariff on bulbs, and the Government will have to ask themselves if they can afford to keep it on. At a meeting of bulb growers in London the growers asked for higher tariffs, subsidies and a grant of capital. I should like to take this opportunity, the first I have had, of saying that I came away from that meeting with a feeling of absolute disgust."—*News-Chronicle*, 14th April.

The *News-Chronicle* of 11th May quoted the following statements:—

"The increase" (of unemployment) "is due entirely to the restrictions in the form of import quotas and currency regulations which are being imposed abroad."—*Daily Mail*, 10th May.

"There must be international co-operation if we were to see a cessation of these hideous processes from which we were suffering."—Mr CHURCHILL in the House of Commons, 10th May.

"Trade has been put into a strait jacket by the restrictions on exchange. . . . All the available evidence leads to the conclusion that any hope that a single country may achieve prosperity apart from the rest of the world would, indeed, be based on an insecure foundation."—THE PRESIDENT OF THE BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS.

"Only whole-hearted international co-operation can save the world from a general financial debacle and possibly even a return to the primitive methods of barter. . . . There can be no real prosperity for this country or any other until these formidable barriers to international trade are broken down."—SIR HARRY GOSCHEN.

Sir Percival Perry, Chairman of the English Ford Company, in an interview in the *News-Chronicle*, 14th May, says:—

"If a country can get much imports in exchange for little exports it is making a good bargain. The 'adverse balance of trade' is usually a bogey used by interested parties to frighten people who cannot think for themselves."

On his return from America, Mr H. GORDON SELFRIDGE stated in an interview (*News-Chronicle*, 11th May): "Tariffs, inflation and the many other suggestions for the revival of industry are futile. It is merely legislating for incompetence. There (in U.S.A.), as in every other country, England included, politics have stifled industry."

If to-day the would-be smuggler finds it worth while, he will build a submarine adapted to his particular business. The swift-going motor-boat will be employed, its only drawback being the noise it makes, thus giving notice of its coming and its whereabouts. The aeroplane, moreover, will have to be reckoned with. . . . One wonders whether, under this new condition of things, the romance of smuggling will come into vogue again.

In those days the people used the word "free trading," and dropped the word "smuggling." It was the delight of so many to defy the fiscal laws, and cheat the King's Customs on a gigantic scale. All sorts and conditions of men—my lords and ladies among them—"smuggled prodigiously."—*Perthshire Constitution*, 26th April.

Smuggling has been greatly increased since tariffs were introduced, and the methods of smugglers from the Continent have had to be brought up to date. Ways of defeating their employment of fast aeroplanes are now being considered by the authorities.

The aeroplanes never land. They come within a few hundred yards of the shore, signals are exchanged, and if the coast is clear, the goods are dropped in their wrappings and immediately picked up by fast motor boats or rowing boats in the more desolate districts. . . . An official at the Home Office expressed the view that it was impossible to have Customs officers guarding the coast every hundred yards or so, and it was equally impossible to build a wall round the coast to keep out smugglers. The formation of a Customs flying force—"Speed Cops of the Air"—may yet be necessary to deal with the situation.—*Star*, 20th April.

Eschewing co-operation, the statesmen have resorted with one accord to the desperate expedient of trying piecemeal to drive out the Beelzebub of declining trade and unbalanced Budgets with the devil of trade restrictions and economies, which promise ere long to reduce everybody's trade and Budgets to zero. It is a case of the dog starving himself to death in the endless pursuit of his own tail.—*Morning Post*, quoted by *Manchester Guardian*, 11th June.

ADDRESSES AT THE FUNERAL OF HENRY GEORGE

The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation of New York has done a notable service in publishing these inspiring Addresses in pamphlet form

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FROM "LAND & LIBERTY" OFFICES.

A PLAIN QUESTION TO FREE TRADERS

Where is the Alternative Revenue?

(Press Letter issued by the Land Values Press
Bureau, 1st June.)

In his speech at Dunfermline, Sir John Simon put a plain question to Free Traders which he said he had never heard them answer. It was as follows: How would they fill the £33,000,000 gap in the Budget that was going to be bridged by the import duties? He objected to any increase in the income tax because "the high direct taxation was a hindrance to industrial enterprise, a drag upon industry and a clog upon employment."

It is difficult to see through this reasoning, except on the principle that the speaker would rather take the money from the poor consumer in indirect taxes than take it directly from the rich. The point to be noted is that in either case the new taxation must be obtained. With Sir John it is a case of one or other.

May I answer as a Free Trader: Why not take the £33,000,000 from a tax on land values—a tax that will not act as a hindrance to industrial enterprise, nor be a drag upon industry and employment? On the contrary, in the words of Sir John Simon's former leader, Lord Asquith and Oxford: "A tax on land values would be a potent promoter of industry and progress."

Speaking at a meeting at Hanley on 25th January, 1928, Lord Snowden (then Mr Philip Snowden) said: "On a very conservative estimate a tax of 1d. in the pound on the capital value of land would produce £20,000,000, and a tax of 5d. in the pound—the rate imposed in Sydney—would bring £100,000,000."

The machinery for this form of taxation is ready to hand, and no one knows better than Sir John Simon that there is a deep and abiding sentiment for the reform in the Parliamentary and municipal life of the country.

(Signed) John Paul, Secretary, United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values.

This letter was published in a large number of newspapers, with a combined circulation of many millions—including the *Glasgow Herald*, the *Nottingham Journal*, the *Oldham Evening Chronicle*, the *Dunfermline Journal*, the *Scottish Farmer*, the *North British Agriculturist*, the *Banffshire Advertiser*, the *South Wales Argus*, the *Wood Green Sentinel*, the *Town Crier* (Birmingham), etc. In the *Sheffield Independent* it was given special prominence in the leading article page under the caption "Millions from the Land Tax."

In the *News-Chronicle*, the reply to Sir John Simon "Tax Land Values," was emphatically stated in brief letters from Messrs Andrew MacLaren, ex-M.P.; T. Atholl Robertson, ex-M.P.; H. G. Chancellor, ex-M.P.; and E. Haselden.

Sir John Simon's challenge was ably answered also by Capt. A. R. McDougal, of Blythe, Berwickshire, in a letter to the *Edinburgh Evening News*, 1st June, in which he wrote: "When one realizes that the ground rents of a portion of London alone have recently been raised from £44,000 per annum to almost £450,000 per annum, one can see the huge toll exacted from industry by those land values and what enormous revenues could be raised from these, at present, untaxed and unrated subjects. . . . The world is now in the position plainly foretold by Henry George 50 years ago in his great books, *Progress and Poverty* and *Social Problems*."



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Published by THE UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE
TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, LTD.

Thirty-ninth Year. Established June, 1894.

1d. Monthly. By Post 2s. per annum.

United States and Canada, 50 cents.

Editorial Offices:

94 PETTY FRANCE, LONDON, S.W.1.

All communications to be addressed to the Editor.

Telegrams: "Eulav, Sowest, London." Telephone: Victoria 4508-9.

Postage on this issue is One Penny.

DOUBLE NUMBER: MAY-JUNE, 1932

PROTECTIONIST CONTRADICTIONS AND INCONSISTENCIES

Special claims are made that Protection is a "scientific policy," and it should therefore be put to scientific tests.

The first requirement of every science is that it be harmonious throughout, and free from self-contradiction of every kind. A scientific policy must show no signs of breakdown when extended to its logical conclusion and must hold together no matter from what point of view it is examined. Let us see if the claims made by Protectionists conform to these conditions.

Here are a few of these claims:—

I.—*That under Protection there will be no rise in prices because the foreigner is eager to pay the tax rather than lose our market.*

If this be true, why does the new Import Duties Act provide a Free List, under which such things as food-stuffs and raw materials are allowed entry tariff free? This is a stupid provision if the foreigner really pays the tax. If this were sincerely believed, the Protectionists who framed the clause would never have provided a Free List, for its provision stultifies the theory that prices will not rise because the foreigner will pay the tax.

Moreover, it must be noticed that if we can make the foreigner pay our tariff taxes, then he can make us pay his tariff taxes, so that before long no nation will be paying its own taxes but only those of other nations—Englishmen paying foreign taxes and foreigners paying English taxes. In any case, if the foreigner pays our tax and sends in his goods, what becomes of "Protection" for our workers?

II.—*That imports should be restricted and exports expanded.*

This proposition is self-destructive. Goods are imported to pay for goods exported, so it is impossible to restrict one without restricting the other or to expand one without expanding the other—unless, of course, our merchants care to export goods without getting paid

for them! Moreover, if we can restrict imports while expanding exports so can the foreigner and all nations will soon be exporting without importing, which is as ridiculous as to think that a man can jump over his own shadow.

III.—*That there is more employment at home if foreign goods are kept out.*

No one can believe this if he looks at the matter from all sides, and Protectionists only look at it from one. The reason why more employment cannot come in this way is that trade being barter, any check to imports correspondingly checks exports, thus reducing employment in the export trade. Moreover, if it be a fact that import of foreign goods puts Englishmen out of work, it must also be a fact that export of English goods puts foreigners out of work, which is to say that international trade is a device for putting everyone out of work the whole world over. Carried a little further, this Protectionist theory involves the added absurdity that if goods imported from France put Englishmen out of work, so goods imported from Scotland put Englishmen out of work and goods imported from Lancashire into Yorkshire put Yorkshiremen out of work. So we are asked to believe that both foreign trade and home trade are curses instead of blessings.

Such are the absurdities that come from failure to grasp the simple fact that trade—whether foreign or home—is simply exchange and that exchange can put no man out of work.

IV.—*That we cannot compete against the products of cheap foreign labour and must protect ourselves against them.*

This is queer logic, for the "cheap labour" complained of is operating in those very foreign countries which enjoy the protection of tariffs. Why should we adopt the very system under which "cheap labour" flourishes?

V.—*That World Free Trade is the ideal, but so long as the world rejects it we must have Protection for England.*

Here again is gross self-contradiction, for this approval of universal Free Trade flies in the face of the previous theory that imported goods put men out of work. It is certain that if all tariff walls were pulled down the volume of imported goods would greatly increase and so, according to the Protectionist theory, would the army of unemployed men. If their theory is pushed to its logical conclusion there would be little work for anyone in a Free Trade world, so great would be the imports into all countries. They cannot be allowed to have it both that World Free Trade is desirable and that imports cause unemployment.

VI.—*That they only want tariffs to use as a bargaining weapon.*

They shut their eyes to the fact that almost every other country has for years been using this "weapon" and it has broken in their hands. The use of this "weapon" by other nations has everywhere been followed by retaliation, so that tariff walls have everywhere risen instead of fallen. Why should they expect the result to be different when the "weapon" is used by ourselves?

VII.—*That a "scientific" tariff will secure a sure home market for home industries.*

But if we can secure a sure home market for our industries by building a tariff wall, so can the foreigner secure it for his industries by building a tariff wall of his own, and in the building of these tariff walls international trade will come to a stop. Once again we are

brought back to the truth that if we will not import we cannot export.

VIII.—*That exclusion of imported goods will ensure bigger output from British factories and cheapen production because of lower overhead charges.*

This is but a variation of previous unverified claims and may in the same way be refuted by turning the proposition round about and looking at it from the other side. If we can increase output, reduce prices, and steal a march in this way, so also can the foreigner, which will enable him to compete both in England and throughout the world just as effectively as he did before, and matters remain where they were.

IX.—*That, to avoid our tariffs, foreigners will build works in England and thus provide more employment here.*

Again, let us look at the matter from both sides. Just as the British tariff may force foreigners to build works here, so may foreign tariffs force Britishers to build works abroad. The British Ford Co., the Dunlop Rubber Co., and many other British firms have, in fact, been forced to do so. Thus it seems that under universal Protection, nationals of every country will be carrying on their work in foreign parts instead of at home, and "providing employment" for foreigners instead of for their own countrymen. In such preposterous absurdities do Protectionist theories land us.

Further samples of such stultifications are:—

That a people gets rich by sending goods away (exporting) and poor by bringing them in (importing).

That the balance of trade is "favourable" when we send away (export) more than we get back (import) and "unfavourable" when we get back more than we send away.

That a people can prosper by isolating itself from its neighbours.

That tariffs are bad for the world in general but good for England in particular.

That £100 of manufactured goods provides more employment than £100 of raw materials.

That restrictions on trade can improve trade.

That a country can sell on the world market without buying anything in return.

To sum up. The theories of Protection involve a perfect stream of contradictions and break down when pushed to their logical conclusion. Lacking self-consistency, they forfeit all claim to rank as scientific.

Free Trade, on the other hand, no matter how far it be extended shows no signs of flaw or crack. A sound principle should be capable of the widest possible application.

Extend the Protectionist principle of restriction till every nation is cut off from its neighbours and we find that with each step towards that goal the idea becomes more and more preposterous, till in the end we revert to the ethics of the jungle and the stone age.

Extend the Free Trade principle throughout the world till all barriers between the nations disappear and with each step towards that goal the better the principle holds together and the greater its benefits to mankind.

But to lay bare the fallacies of Protection is not enough. It is but the negative part of the Free Trade argument. Even the total abolition of Customs Tariffs would in itself leave untouched the abiding cause of poverty and unemployment. As production precedes exchange it is of first importance to remove the barriers that are hindering or stopping production—the barriers interposed by high rents, by the withholding of land from use, and the burden of taxation that is laid upon industry in all kinds of penalties and exactions. The Free Trade principle requires that the public revenue

be obtained without laying any burden upon labour and capital. It upholds the Taxation of Land Values as the means to that end. Free Trade, so understood and fully applied, would overthrow the land monopoly which before all else is responsible for the unjust distribution of wealth and opportunity, and is everywhere the standing obstacle to human progress.

W. R. L.

THE MAD HATTER'S ECONOMICS

By Harold Callender

(Condensed from the "New York Times," 13th March, 1932, and reproduced from the "Readers' Digest," June.)

"In that direction," said the Cheshire Cat, waving its right paw round, "lives a Hatter: and in that direction," waving the other paw, "lives a March Hare. Visit either you like: they're both mad."

"But I don't want to go among mad people," Alice remarked.

"Oh, you can't help that," said the Cat. "We're all mad here. I'm mad. You're mad."—From *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.

"It's this way," said the Hatter, pouring himself a second cup of tea. "Our farmers produce too much wheat, our factories too many manufactured articles, our machinists too many machines. We're so efficient that we're miserable. Surely you understand that?"

"I'm afraid I don't," said Alice. "For if there's plenty of food and other things, everybody should be comfortable."

"Prices have dropped terribly," continued the Hatter. "That's what depresses us so."

"That's no reason to be depressed," said Alice. "I thought people complained when prices were high, so if they're low you should all be happy."

"No," said the Hatter. "We produce so well with machinery that we have less and less need of labour. So the workman can't earn wages and can't buy goods, and the things the factories make can't be sold."

"Then what's the good of making them?" wondered Alice.)

"We are very thrifty," the Hatter went on. "We save and pile up capital with which we build more and more factories, which become more and more efficient. The more efficient they get the more they produce and the fewer men they employ. So their products glut the markets and their machines create unemployment. We put so much capital into making goods that the consumer hasn't enough money to buy the goods when they are made."

"Oh dear!" said Alice. "Doesn't anybody know what to do about it?"

"There are economists," said the Hatter, "who have seen what was happening, and warned us. But they are only scholars who lecture and write books. The practical men who run things have no use for the academic mind. But they know the value of the boll weevil."

"What is it good for?"

"It eats up the cotton crop and keeps prices from falling," explained the Hatter. "Were it not for the boll weevil we should have magnificent crops, and then the South would be ruined."

"But what about the poor North which has too many factories: couldn't your boll weevil eat up some factories, too?"

"No," said the Hatter disdainfully. "Besides, we protect our factories with a tariff."

"Oh, I see!" exclaimed Alice. "Your tariff helps to sell the goods the factories make, doesn't it?"

"Not at all," returned the Hatter severely. "The tariff checks trade by closing markets. We close our markets against other countries; they close their markets against us. Each nation, you see, seeks a favourable balance of trade—that is, it tries to sell more than it buys."

"But what one nation sells another must buy," said Alice. She felt very sure of that. "Then how can they all buy less and sell more at the same time?"

"They can't," said the Hatter. "They just destroy one another's trade and add to one another's suffering. Each nation wants to be self-sufficing, to do without the

help of the others, because if there were a war the nation that could manage with the least imports would have an advantage."

"I hope there's no danger of war," said Alice.

"We have many treaties to ensure peace—the League of Nations covenant, the Locarno treaties, the Kellogg Pact, arbitration treaties without number. But everybody is afraid of war and everybody arms. We are more heavily armed than when the last war started."

"How very strange," said Alice, though she did not want to seem impolite.

"No," said the Hatter. "For nobody has confidence in the treaties. Each knows that *he* will keep them, but he isn't so sure about his neighbours."

"Then what's the good of making treaties?" asked Alice.

"Take another cup of tea," said the Hatter.

"Tell her the story of reparations," said the Dormouse, waking up and rubbing its eyes. "For that's what has caused the most trouble."

"The Germans were obliged to rebuild what had been destroyed," began the Hatter. "That was because they lost the war—"

"I suppose they sent workmen and materials and repaired the damage," interrupted Alice.

"Don't make foolish remarks," said the Hatter. "They were allowed to do no such thing. For that would have deprived French builders of contracts and French workmen of jobs."

"Then the Germans paid to have it done?"

"That was impossible. They didn't have enough money or gold. The only way they could pay was in goods. But the creditors didn't want German goods and put up tariffs against them."

"Then how did they get paid?" asked Alice.

"They lent Germany money with which to pay. Then she had so much capital that she made her factories more and more efficient and produced more goods and employed less people—just like the rest of us. And now she has borrowed so much money that she's broke."

"If reparations are bad, why don't you abolish them?" asked Alice.

"That can't be done," said the Hatter, "because France won't agree and because the Allies must get reparations from Germany in order to pay their debts to America. These debts, too, must be paid in money from the sale of goods. But America has raised her tariff so as to limit the amount of goods she receives."

"Then how are the debts to be paid?"

"Nobody expects they will be paid," said the Hatter. "Yet we must act as though we thought they would be paid. One difficulty is that the debts change from year to year; so that the debtors must pay, not the amounts they borrowed, but much larger amounts."

"How can that be?" asked Alice.

"The debts are payable in gold, but actually the borrowers received goods, the prices of which were then very high. And what they pay back is not gold, but goods. But the prices of those goods have fallen; so in order to settle their gold debt the borrowers have to pay back about 50 per cent. more than they borrowed."

Alice sighed and wondered whether anything *ever* would happen in a reasonable way again. "Can nobody do anything?" she asked.

"Well, nobody *has* done much," answered the Hatter.

"But isn't it important to do something?" urged Alice.

"Of course. It is extremely important. Everybody knows that," said the Hatter.

Then Alice remembered what the Cheshire Cat had said.

The *Jewish Weekly* of 13th May had a half-column favourable review of *Social Justice and the Jew*, by Louis P. Jacobs. This pamphlet is published by the Henry George Foundation, and copies, price 6d. each post free, are obtainable from our offices.

Office supplies of the January-February and the March-April issue of "Land & Liberty" being exhausted, readers will do a great favour who will send us any copies of both or either of these issues.

THE BREAD TAX

By D. J. J. Owen

(Address at Alexandria Park, 9th June, as reported in the "Manchester Guardian.")

The Wheat Quota is simply another name for a subsidy, obtained in this case by a levy on millers and importers and paid ultimately by the consumers. It is a dole to landowners, who will be the ultimate recipients in the form of higher rents or land values. The essence of the scheme is a guaranteed price to wheat farmers. This increased price will not only be paid on marginal wheat land which may be stimulated into wheat production, but also on land already under wheat crops where a stimulus is unnecessary. On all this superior land the guaranteed price will yield a surplus over and above the normal profit. This will be absorbed in advanced rents.

As this wasteful subsidy will come out of consumers' pockets, their purchasing power will be reduced, and the demand for the production of other commodities will be diminished by more than the problematical increase in employment in wheat production.

The following example is suggested by a farming expert: Compare two farms of 100 acres each, one of superior land at 50s. rental per acre, selling eight quarters of wheat per acre, and the other of inferior land at 20s. rental, yielding only four quarters per acre. The subsidy under the quota scheme may be 15s. per quarter. Thus the better farm will receive £6 per acre or £600 in all, whilst the poorer farm will only receive £3 per acre, or £300 in all. The exact opposite of what the subsidy was supposed to do!

Tariffs give a monopoly to owners of land by restricting the area of selection in our purchases. Quotas enhance this monopoly and inflate still further the values of land by adding the element of compulsion to buy.

GEORGE LINSKILL

We have with deep regret to record the death on 11th May of an old friend and supporter, George Linskill, of Cleethorpes. Mr Linskill had spent a lifetime in the firing line in the municipal and trade union politics of the town and district. He never had robust health at any time, but he knew his *Progress and Poverty* and could not think to miss an opportunity to make opinion for the cause he lived to serve. He was not content to wait on opportunity and could provoke a discussion in the Council, on the platform and in the Press, as occasion offered.

We knew our friend and colleague more by correspondence than by personal contact. He was one of those who, working in quiet ways, give strength and character to the movement. There are very many who are indebted to George Linskill for the knowledge they possess on the relationship of industry to land monopoly.

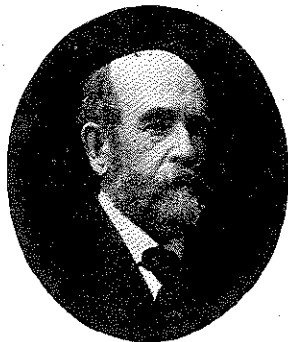
One who knew him well writes: "His was a life of labour and service to a great cause and principle with no thought of material gain or advancement to himself, nor of any malice to those misunderstanding, unreasoning or self-interested opponents. His closing days were clouded with disappointment, yet he believed the dawn was nearest the darkest hour." In spirit and in truth, George Linskill played a man's part in the endeavour to make his fellow workmen realize that the labour question was embraced in the land question. Our sincerest sympathy goes to Mrs Linskill and her family circle.

J. P.

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ARCHIMEDES

By "Twark Main"

This illuminating story appeared in *Land & Liberty*, then named *The Single Tax*, in January, 1895, under the caption *Archimedes*, by "Twark Main." In my recollection it came from an Australian correspondent, not in manuscript, but as printed in another Journal.

My correspondent introduced himself as a friend of the Single Taxer who was the author of the story.—J. P.

(Archimedes, who lived from 287 to 212 B.C., was the most celebrated mathematician and engineer of antiquity. At the Siege of Syracuse he was so engrossed in his researches that he was not aware the city had been captured. Instructions had been given to preserve his life, but a Roman soldier killed him without knowing who he was.)

"Give me whereon to stand," said Archimedes, "and I will move the earth." The boast was a pretty safe one, for he knew quite well that the standing space was wanting, and always would be wanting. But suppose he had moved the earth, what then? What benefit would it have been to anybody? The job would never have paid working expenses, let alone dividends, and so what was the use of talking about it? From what astronomers tell us, I should reckon that the earth moved quite fast enough already, and if there happened to be a few cranks who were dissatisfied with its rate of progress, as far as I am concerned, they might push it along for themselves; I would not move a finger or subscribe a penny piece to assist in anything of the kind.

Why such a fellow as Archimedes should be looked upon as a genius I never could understand; I never heard that he made a pile, or did anything else worth talking about. As for that last contract he took in hand, it was the worst bungle I ever knew; he undertook to keep the Romans out of Syracuse; he tried first one dodge and then another, but they got in after all, and when it came to fair fighting he was out of it altogether, a common soldier in a very businesslike sort of way settling all his pretensions.

It is evident that he was an over-rated man. He was in the habit of making a lot of fuss about his screws and levers, but his knowledge of mechanics was in reality of a very limited character. I have never set up for a genius myself, but I know of a mechanical force more powerful than anything the vaunting engineer of Syracuse ever dreamt of. It is the force of land monopoly; it is a screw and lever all in one; it will screw the last penny out of a man's pocket, and bend everything on earth to its own despotic will. Give me the private ownership of all the land, and I will move the earth? No; but I will do more. I will undertake to make slaves of all the human beings on the face of it. Not chattel slaves exactly, but slaves nevertheless. What an idiot I would be to make chattel slaves of them. I would have to find them salts and senna when they were sick, and whip them to work when they were lazy. No, it is not good enough.

Under the system I propose the fools would imagine they were all free. I would get a maximum of results, and have no responsibility whatever. They would cultivate the soil; they would dive into the bowels of the earth for its hidden treasures; they would build cities and construct railways and telegraphs; their ships would navigate the ocean; they would work and work, and invent and contrive; their warehouses would be full, their markets glutted, and

The beauty of the whole concern would be

That everything they made would belong to me.

It would be this way, you see: As I owned all the land, they would, of course, have to pay me rent. They could not reasonably expect me to allow them the use

of the land for nothing. I am not a hard man, and in fixing the rent I would be very liberal with them. I would allow them, in fact, to fix it themselves. What could be fairer? Here is a piece of land, let us say, it might be a farm, it might be a building site, or it might be something else—if there was only one man who wanted it, of course he would not offer me much, but if the land be really worth anything such a circumstance is not likely to happen. On the contrary, there would be a number who would want it, and they would go on bidding and bidding one against the other, in order to get it. I should accept the highest offer—what could be fairer?

Every increase of population, extension of trade, every advance in the arts and sciences would, as we all know, increase the value of land, and the competition that would naturally arise would continue to force rents upwards, so much so, that in many cases the tenants would have little or nothing left for themselves. In this case a number of those who were hard pushed would seek to borrow, and as for those who were not so hard pushed, they would, as a matter of course, get the idea into their heads that if they only had more capital they could extend their operations, and thereby make their businesses more profitable.

Here I am again. The very man they stand in need of; a regular benefactor of my species, and always ready to oblige them. With such an enormous rent-roll I could furnish them with funds up to the full extent of the available security; they would not expect me to do more, and in the matter of interest I would be equally generous. I would allow them to fix the rate of it themselves in precisely the same manner as they had fixed the rent. I should then have them by the wool, and if they failed in their payments it would be the easiest thing in the world to sell them out. They might bewail their lot, but business is business. They should have worked harder and been more provident. Whatever inconvenience they might suffer, it would be their concern and not mine.

What a glorious time I would have of it! Rent and interest, interest and rent, and no limit to either, excepting the ability of the workers to pay. Rents would go up and up, and they would continue to pledge and mortgage, and as they went bung, bung, one after another, it would be the finest sport ever seen. Thus, from the simple leverage of land monopoly, not only the great globe itself, but everything on the face of it, would eventually belong to me. I would be king and lord of all, and the rest of mankind would be my most willing slaves.

It hardly needs to be said that it would not be consistent with my dignity to associate with the common rank and file of humanity; it would not be politic to say so, but, as a matter of fact, I not only hate work but I hate those who do work, and I would not have their stinking carcasses near me at any price. High above the contemptible herd I would sit enthroned amid a circle of devoted worshippers. I would choose for myself companions after my own heart. I would deck them with ribbons and gewgaws to tickle their vanity; they would esteem it an honour to kiss my glove, and would pay homage to the very chair that I sat upon; brave men would die for me; parsons would pray for me, and bright-eyed beauty would pander to my pleasures.

For the proper management of public affairs I would have a parliament, and for the preservation of law and order there would be soldiers and policemen, all sworn to serve me faithfully; their pay would not be much, but their high sense of duty would be sufficient guarantee that they would fulfil the terms of the contract.

Outside the charmed circle of my society would be

others eagerly pressing forward in the hope of sharing my favours; outside of these would be others again who would be forever seeking to wriggle themselves into the ranks of those in front of them, and so on, outward and downward, until we reach the deep ranks of the workers forever toiling and forever struggling merely to live, and with the hell of poverty forever threatening to engulf them. The hell of poverty, that outer realm of darkness, where there is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth—the social Gehenna, where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched—here is a whip more effective by far than the keenest lash of the chattel-slave owner, urging them on by day, haunting their dreams by night, draining without stint the life blood from their veins, and pursuing them with relentless constancy to their very graves.

In the buoyancy of youth many would start full of hope and with high expectations; but, as they journeyed along, disappointment would follow disappointment, hope would gradually give place to despair, the promised cup of joy would be turned to bitterness, and the holiest affection would become a poisoned arrow quivering in the heart!

What a beautiful arrangement—ambition urging in front, want and the fear of want bringing up the rear! In the conflicting interests that would be involved, in the throat-cutting competition that would prevail, in the bitterness that would be engendered between man and man, husband and wife, father and son, I should, of course, have no part. There would be lying and cheating, harsh treatment by masters, dishonesty of servants, strikes and lockouts, assaults and intimidation, family feuds and interminable broils; but they would not concern me.

In the serene atmosphere of my earthly paradise I would be safe from all evil. I would feast on the daintiest of dishes, and sip wines of the choicest vintage; my gardens would have the most magnificent terraces and the finest walks. I would roam mid the umbrageous foliage of the trees, the blooming flowers, the warbling of birds, the jetting of fountains, and the plashing of pellucid waters; my palace would have its walls of alabaster and domes of crystal, there would be furniture of the most exquisite workmanship, carpets and hangings of the richest fabrics and finest textures, carvings and paintings, and paintings that were miracles of art, vessels of gold and silver, gems of the purest ray glittering in their settings, the voluptuous strains of the sweetest music, the perfume of roses, the softest of couches, a horde of titled lackeys to come and go at my bidding, and a perfect galaxy of beauty to stimulate desire, and administer to my enjoyment. Thus would I pass the happy hours away, while throughout the world it would be a hall mark of respectability to extol my virtues, and anthems would be everywhere sung in praise.

Archimedes never dreamt of anything like that. Yet, with the earth for my fulcrum and its private ownership for my lever, it is all possible. If it should be said that the people would eventually detect the fraud, and with swift vengeance hurl me and all my courtly parasites to perdition, I answer, "Nothing of the kind, the people are as good as gold, and would stand it like bricks, and I appeal to the facts of to-day to bear me witness."

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TARIFFS WILL NOT BRING PROSPERITY

(From *The Labour Press Service* (25th May), issued weekly by the Labour Party Press and Publicity Dept., Transport House, London, S.W.1.)

"The illusion that tariffs would remedy unemployment is now burst," said Mr Herbert Morrison (Minister of Transport, late Labour Government), in a speech at Hackney last week-end. He was referring to the statements now being made by prominent Tories, that the country must not expect its trade troubles to be remedied by tariffs, and he rightly described those statements as "the limit of political cynicism."

The Tory Party must have a poor opinion of the intelligence of the electors. At every election the Tories have told the people that a tariff policy was the one thing needed to restore British industry. On every hoarding were posters showing factories working full-time and the British workers living under prosperous conditions brought about by "keeping out foreign goods." From every Tory platform the same story was told; and every Tory newspaper dished up the story daily.

At the last election the Tory Party secured power by exploiting an alleged "crisis" which even Mr Churchill believes to have been "exaggerated" and "manipulated." The Tory tariff policy was rushed through Parliament, and we were told that everything in the British trade garden was to be lovely; that the immediate effect would be to restore "confidence."

Then came the cold douche of the official figures showing that unemployment was actually increasing under tariffs instead of decreasing.

At once the Tory leaders began to change their tune. Here are a few notes in the new key:—

Lord Stonehaven (Chairman of the Conservative Party), speaking at Ayr on 16th May:—

"I certainly do not believe that to-day the tariff is going to restore prosperity to this country."

Speaking at Stafford on 21st May, Mr Ormsby-Gore (First Commissioner of Works) said the same thing in more diplomatic language. He told his audience that tariffs "had come too late to effect much of a radical cure"; but he still hoped they might "arrest the further decline of many of our industries." And then he warned us that "we were about to enter a phase of the crisis even more difficult and acute than any we had yet experienced."

These statements, following similar statements by Sir Robert Horne, Mr Churchill and other supporters of tariffs prove how utterly bankrupt the Tory Party is so far as constructive policy is concerned. The one plank in the Tory platform was tariffs. That plank has now collapsed, and there is nothing to put in its place.

CURIOUS DOCUMENT.—Ministers have at this moment in their possession a list of 1,500 individuals, in or near London, whose private fortunes would pay off the National Debt. Of course, the list is only interesting, or of value, as indicating the mass of wealth in the country, as one could not have imagined at first sight that the private fortunes of any 1,500 individuals could be to such an extent. As a piece of statistics the document is curious.—*Glasgow Herald*, 30th July, 1831.

Mr A. B. McKay, President of the Scottish Bankers' Association, speaking in Conference at Stirling, 2nd May: "The tremendous increase of crimes of violence against banks and bankers was due to economic ills—unemployment, want and desperation. During the war there was little violence at home, and bank robberies were unknown. Now the whole situation was changed and the bankman's comparative immunity from social ills was at an end."

PROTECTION AND LAND VALUES

By W. R. Lester

(Press Letter issued by the Land Values Press Bureau, 6th May, and published in many newspapers)

It has long been held by economists and land reformers that one of the evil effects of agricultural protection will be artificially to raise the price of agricultural land; and that any better price the farmer, fruit, or vegetable grower may get for his produce to start with will soon be taken from him by the higher price or rent he will be forced to pay for his land. In short, it is held that landowners and not farmers will be the residuary legatees of the benefit claimed by its supporters for agricultural protection.

It is thrown at those who advance this view that they are theorists and nothing more; so it is a satisfaction to them when they find their "theory" being vindicated in practice at the sales of land now being made at public auction and by private treaty. I quote as follows from *The Times* of 4th May: "ESSEX FRUIT FARMS: TENANTS BUYING. The value of Essex land seems to be improving judging from recent sales. . . . The probability of a better market for British produce is weighing with would-be buyers of land." (Italics mine.)

As the Minister for Agriculture, Sir John Gilmour, admitted in so many words in the House of Commons, 6th April, 1932, the benefit is destined to go where similar subsidies have gone, into the pockets of the landlords. Taxation of Land Values is the only way to deal with such a situation.

"TAX LAND VALUES" BUREAU, LONDON

Our readers who have followed the reports of the good work done at the Bureau at 7 St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, London, will learn with regret that, as reported in another column, the year during which it was to be kept open, has now come to a conclusion. The Bureau was a special enterprise made possible through the spirit, the personal interest and the liberality of Mrs Louis P. Jacobs, and in this work she has had the well-appreciated assistance of Mrs Beryl Eastwood as Hon. Secretary. Splendid advantage was taken of the central situation by the use of the electric sign, "Tax Land Values," which brought many a stranger and visitor to seek further information. The result has been the sale of many hundred copies of *Progress and Poverty*, and other works by Henry George; and something like 50,000 leaflets have been distributed. As reported in *Land & Liberty* the Bureau has been a meeting place for keenly interested audiences and repeatedly at these weekly gatherings the room has been packed to overflowing. Then there has been the more intensive educational work through the Economic Classes held on Sundays and led by Mr Andrew MacLaren.

We ourselves sincerely regret that the year of the Bureau has come to an end. Mrs Jacobs, Mrs Eastwood and all who have so enthusiastically co-operated with them are to be complimented and congratulated on their achievement. The Shop has attracted many passers-by and must have provoked very much discussion that will tell for the advance of the cause it was organized to serve—"The abolition of Poverty and Unemployment through the overthrow of Land Monopoly by the practical application of Henry George's teachings."

Dr C. R. Cooke Taylor, Liberal candidate at the East Dulwich By-election, 8th June, vigorously denounced tariffs in his Election Address and further declared that: "The Taxation of Land Values is still theoretically part of the law of the land, but the action of the present Government has rendered it inoperative. I believe that it is essential to the well-being of this country, both as a means of preventing land speculation and as a measure of justice to the man who puts his land to the best use."

A Free Copy of "Land & Liberty" is an invitation to become a Subscriber. 1d. Monthly; by Post 2s. a Year.

THE FALSE DISTRIBUTION

In his address to the Workers' Educational Association at York, the Archbishop of York gave it as his opinion that "the absence of educational opportunity is the greatest and deepest of the injustices of modern life." With all due respect to the Archbishop: Among the 2,000,000 unemployed men and women of our country, many of whom are lacking the bare necessities of life, there are to be found thousands of highly educated men and women.

No, it is not as the Archbishop said, "the absence of educational opportunity" which "is the greatest and deepest of the injustices of modern life," but the private monopoly of Nature's bounty without which life and liberty are impossible.

To quote Henry George:—

"It is a well-provisioned ship this on which we sail through space. If the bread and beef above decks seem to grow scarce, we but open a hatch and there is a new supply, of which before we never dreamed. And very great command over the services of others comes to those who, as the hatches are opened are permitted to say: 'This is mine'."

The man without book learning but having access to land can earn a living, but the most highly educated, failing the use of land, cannot exist without the permission of some fellow-being.—F. SKIRROW in the *Yorkshire Observer*.

Land reformers who voted for the National Government have already had to put up with a good deal. They have seen the staff of the valuation department disbanded, in the alleged interests of economy, and the national valuation, which is the pivot of land taxation, indefinitely held up. They are now asked to submit while the Land Tax is put on the shelf, not to be taken down again during the present Parliament. It would, indeed, be demanding too much that they should agree to the tax being repealed. In the form in which it was passed, the tax may not have been altogether free from objection, but the principle which it embodied is absolutely sound, and progressives are determined that, though its operation may be delayed, it shall eventually prevail.—*Huddersfield Examiner* (Editorial), 28th May.

ARTHUR C. PLEYDELL

It is with deep regret we have to announce that Arthur C. Pleydell, Secretary of the New York Tariff Reform Association, suddenly passed away at his home in New York, on Monday evening, 30th May. His loss is a decided blow to the Single Tax cause in the United States which he served for many years with marked ability.

In a generous obituary notice, the *New York Times* records that Mr Pleydell was born in Philadelphia in August, 1872, and that as a youth became an ardent disciple of Henry George. In 1902 Mr Pleydell became connected with the New York Tax Reform Association and next year Mr Purdy and he obtained the amendment of the City charter providing for the separation of land value from total value in the New York valuation roll. In 1912 Mr Woodrow Wilson, then Governor of New Jersey, appointed him member of a special State Commission of Taxation.

In 1925, when the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation was established, Mr Pleydell was named one of its Directors and from the first took a leading part in directing its activities. When Mr Purdy was chosen Secretary of the City Tax Department, in 1906, Mr Pleydell was appointed Secretary of the Tax Reform Association and held that position until his death.

Mr Pleydell was well versed in *Progress and Poverty* and could tell without difficulty where any quotation from the book was to be found.

In the death of our painstaking and resourceful friend the Henry George movement has lost one of its most able and devoted advocates. We express our deepest sympathy with Mrs Pleydell and her family in their great sorrow.

J. P.

MONOPOLY GULCH

GOLD IS GOOD, BUT WATER IS BETTER

By A. H. Broomhall

(*Republished from "Land & Liberty," then "The Single Tax," of January, 1896, and "Land Values" of July, 1910*)

"Pard, we've struck it rich at last—just look at them hens' eggs. Here is a dead cinch on a million. Think of them babies away back in the States!"

The speaker was a tall, lank individual, with a reddish beard, pale blue eyes, and a countenance brown and drawn from hardships and exposure. By his side stood a sturdy man of 35; a matter-of-fact individual, who was not fluent of speech, but his eyes shone with the keenest satisfaction.

"Yes, Bill, it seems too good to be true. There's thousands in sight, but if we had all the gold in the hills it would do us no good unless we could find water near by. Shake your bottle and you'll find it empty, and it's miles and miles from here to the nearest drop."

At sunrise Hez and Bill began their search for water, but not a drop could they find. They climbed the steep and rugged sides of the mountain in vain, and were about giving up in despair, when Hez said he believed there was water near but it flowed down the other side of the hills. After a long search his judgment was verified, for on the other side they discovered a limpid stream, which leaped out of a crevice in the face of a perpendicular rock, fell twenty feet or more, and ran swiftly away across a little plateau. This afterwards proved to be the only water within many miles. Each took a drink, filled his bottle, and sat down to rest.

"Well," said Bill, "gold is good, but water is better—hey, boss?"

"Yes," replied Hez, "gold is good for what you can get for it, but when there is nothin' to get it's worth nothin'."

"Let's walk down the creek a bit."

Suiting the action to the word, he rose and followed the stream a few yards, when he started with surprise, and shouted to his companion to follow him. Bill hastened at the word, and they were soon together contemplating a remarkable freak of nature.

The stream disappeared as abruptly as it appeared. There was a rift in the surface of the plateau, into which the creek fell and was lost.

"Well, I'm glad that she stayed up long enough to breathe," said Bill. "But enough is enough, so let's get back to the Gulch and stake off our claims."

Hez and Bill got on swimmingly; true, they had to "tote" their water from Minute Creek, as Bill had dubbed the stream, but they kept piling up the nuggets, and were more than happy.

After they had been in the Gulch a couple of months; a stranger on a good horse rode down the mountain to their shanty and said: "Good morning, gentlemen." He was of medium height, slender and active: his face would have been handsome but his eyes were so close together, and his lips so closely set. It was apparent that he was a man of education and nerve. He looked like a pick-axe and shovel were strangers to him, and that he would refuse an introduction. Hez and Bill cordially told him about the richness of their claims, and that there were more good claims in the Gulch. They also told him of the difficulties in getting water, and of the peculiar appearance and disappearance of Minute Creek. This interested the stranger very much, and he asked if Bill would show him the creek next day.

"Certainly," said Bill, and at sunrise they stood upon the plateau beside Minute Creek. It was a beautiful spot. The little park sloped gently towards the south,

contained about one hundred and sixty acres of good land, and was altogether desirable. While they strolled about, Bill did the talking, and when he suggested that they go back, the stranger declined, saying he believed that he would stay there that night. Bill urged him to come down to the Gulch and stake off a claim. "There's plenty for all," said Bill, "but it won't be many months before the whole valley will be full of prospectors."

"I'll be down in the morning," said his companion, "but I don't believe I'll dig any gold."

When Bill was gone the stranger said to himself: "Here's a million! Let the fools dig—I'll get the gold, or my name is not G. Reed."

* * *

Reed was absent about three months. During that time Hez and Bill worked on, taking out good wages every day, but they were not long alone. They never could tell how Reed happened in the Gulch, nor why it was the Gulch began to fill up so rapidly after he left. He had not been gone a month until the miners were coming in, and when Reed returned there were a hundred men working or prospecting in the hills, living principally off game killed in the mountains and getting water from Minute Creek.

The Gulch proved rich, but not extensive. There were barely a hundred gold claims, all told, but the population grew and to overcome the water difficulty a cistern was dug, and one man who had some burros earned \$16 dollars a day in filling it.

Early in August Reed returned; behind him were a train of burros, loaded with varied merchandise, including oil-cloth, all of which he sold to Bill and Hez, and the other miners, at an enormous profit. He did not tarry long in the Gulch, but took his train and the six men who came with him direct to the cabin on Minute Creek. He found his homestead notice all right and the cabin intact, thanks to the care of Bill and Hez.

There were some surprising articles in the burros' packs. Among them were several Winchester rifles and an abundance of ammunition; also long wire nails, coils of copper wire, wheels, pieces of some peculiar machine, and a long leather belt.

Reed began improving his claim by laying a pipe underground from the bed of Minute Creek down the slope about forty yards where it came to the surface and fell with a graceful curve into a chasm at the head of the trail that wound among the rocks toward Monopoly Gulch. The pipe was so arranged that no water could be taken from it except by catching the stream before it fell into the chasm. He next built a stockade, planting the first posts against the face of the precipice out of which leaped Minute Creek, from thence building across the plateau along each side of the stream, bridging the crevice in which the creek was lost, and then completing the enclosure. His next move was to construct a strong overshot wheel under the fall. Then the strange machine was set and the belt slipped on, and after several barbed copper wires were run about the stockade; an electric lamp swung from a high pole in the centre of the enclosure, and a large wire run through the water pipe. G. Reed was ready for business.

The miners watched the process of enclosing Minute Creek with curiosity, and when all was complete the entire population of the Gulch came to see the "Lightning Factory." All went merrily for a few days. The stockade was made snug and tight. A little tower was built on either corner, and one of Reed's employees stationed at each one of them, armed with a Winchester.

The Sunday following the completion of the fort was extremely hot and dry; the heat in Monopoly Gulch was so intense that the atmosphere looked like a sea of shimmering liquid metal, and the water in the cistern having become too warm and stale to drink, the water

carrier, in response to the general request, started with his train of burros to Minute Creek to bring the thirsty miners a draught of fresh water. As he approached the end of the trail, where the water fell from the pipe, he was tired and thirsty; even the burros showed signs of discomfort from the heat; and it was with unusual eagerness that he turned the corner of the rock that brought the stockade and the water-pipe into view. There was the stockade, cool and quiet in the shade of the precipice and the grove—but no water flowed from the pipe on the trail. The water-carrier, supposing some accident had occurred to the pipe, passed on to the gate of the stockade and called for admittance. He was answered by Reed from the lodge over the entrance:

"Well, what will you have, Mr. Water-carrier?"

"I want water, of course. They are almost famished down at the Gulch, and I'm frightfully thirsty myself. There's not a drop running out of the pipe; hurry up and let me in."

"Why, my dear Mr. Water-carrier, you talk like you owned this place and like you had a right to the water. You seem to forget this is my land, my house; I'm not going to let you in—this is Sunday."

"Come, Mr. Reed, don't keep me waiting, I'm in a hurry. The boys want a fresh drink, and I'm anxious to get back as soon as possible."

"I may as well tell you first as last," said Reed, "that I am not joking. I do not intend to let you in, nor give you a drop of water unless you pay for it. This ranch belongs to me. I've got a good title to one hundred and sixty acres around here, and this water is mine. Neither you nor anyone else can get a drop of water unless you pay for it. You can go back to the Gulch and tell the whole population, that until they agree to give me one-half of all their wages as pay for the water, you get no water. You can tell them, too, that they need not come up here and try to take the stockade. I've supplies enough to last me a year and they haven't water enough to last more than a week. We are well armed, and there's a dozen rows of chain lightning around the stockade, and the man who touches one of them will drop dead on the spot. I have the water, they have the gold. If they divide with me I'll divide with them."

The water-carrier stood beside his burros a long time thinking, then he slowly turned away, and retraced his steps to Monopoly Gulch.

To say that the news the water-carrier brought created a sensation, would be putting it mildly. The miners raved, and with a common impulse, started for the owner of Minute Creek. Above the curses and screams of rage, Bill's voice was heard shouting: "Hold on! Hold on, boys! Don't act like a lot of maniacs, don't be fools, wait and let's talk this over." But Bill's plea was without avail.

Bill and Hez did not follow at first, but seeing they could not stay the mob's mad rush, went with the crowd, hoping to control it, but their more eager companions outstripped them, and when Bill and Hez arrived at the plateau, the mob was firing at the stockade. The fire was not returned—all was still within. The miners rushed on; a huge Kentuckian, far in advance, reached the gate, threw himself against it with all his force, and, as he touched the wires, dropped as if struck by a bolt from the sky.

As the Kentuckian fell Reed's calm, cool voice rang out, "Halt!" The mob stopped as suddenly as it had started, dismayed and puzzled by the collapse of their stalwart leader. No shot had been fired from the stockade, and they did not know the deadly quality of the wires. The water-carrier did not have time to tell them.

"Stand where you are, gentlemen. There is death between you and me. Though I have no desire to harm any of you, I must protect myself and my own. The man who attempts to open the gate or scale the stockade will meet the same fate as your leader. I am deeply sorry that he is injured. I shouted to him to stop, but he did not listen, and I hope you will not be so rash."

At this juncture Bill and Hez pushed through the crowd, hot and panting. As soon as Bill could get a breath he said:—

"Reed, what does this mean?"

"It means business," said Reed.

"Do you call it business to refuse men a drink of water on a day like this," said Bill, "when you have the whole creek-full that you cannot use? You must be crazy, man; open the gate and stop your nonsense."

"Why, Gumption Bill, I'm surprised; I thought you a philosopher."

Bill had come to be known as Gumption Bill because of his calm and impartial way of looking at things.

"I'm not joking. Do you think I would perpetrate a joke like that one by the gate? No, I'm in earnest—I'm simply doing what the law gives me a right to do; I am only asking pay for what belongs to me. I came here and took up a piece of ground that had water on it—you men went to the Gulch and staked off land that had gold in it. You won't let anybody have gold for nothing; why should you expect me to let you have water for nothing? The gold is yours, the water is mine. We've each the same kind of title, and back of them is the whole power of the Government. Every claim in the Gulch is taken, and you have a monopoly of all the gold land there—already several of you have quit work and let your claims out on shares. You make the new-comers give you nine-tenths of all their wages—that is nine-tenths of all the gold they take out—for the privilege of working your claims. You think that is all right; but here you are ready to murder me because I propose to do the same with my water mine that you are doing with your gold mine. Once for all, I tell you my terms: Bring me each day one-half of all the output of gold in the Gulch and you may have all the water you want; otherwise you don't get a drop."

Gumption Bill's jaw dropped; it was a knock-down argument. As Reed had suggested, he was somewhat of a philosopher, and saw the force of Reed's position. He saw the law in the case, but Hez only saw the injustice. His eyes glowed with suppressed rage, but, as usual, he said nothing. A feeling of helplessness seemed to take possession of the crowd, and they stood like a lot of dazed animals, waiting for a word from their master.

Their rage was all gone—Bill's wits came back first, and he essayed to argue the case.

"Reed, you're no better than a murderer or a thief if you keep that water from us, or make us pay for it; we can't live without it. It is like pointing a gun at a man and saying, 'Money or your life.'"

"Right you are," said Reed; "but it is unkind to call me a murderer and a thief. Where is the difference between you gold miners making a man pay you nine-tenths of his wages for the privilege of digging a little gold with which to buy food, and my scheme to make you pay half your gold to get a little water? He can't dig without a mine, and you can't dip without a pool. You're master of the man who makes his living by the labour in the mines, because you own the ground he stands on. Now I propose to make something out of your necessities. How do you like your own medicine? Why did you men come out from the States if it wasn't to get the good mines and good lands so that you could

collect rent off those who come after you? You're a set of cold-blooded monopolists like myself, and you need expect no mercy from me. I've got the drop on you, and I propose to keep it. Now, I'll turn off the current and let the water through the pipe, and you can all get a drink and go back. Take that dead man with you, and to-morrow I want you to send me half of all the gold you dig, or you will all go dry."

The mob was thoroughly tamed, and after a few minutes' parley, moved down to the water-pipe with their dead comrade, and thence slowly marched single file down the trail to the Gulch.

When the last miner disappeared from view, Reed climbed down from the lodge over the gate. "Well," said he, "that is an easy victory. I thought we should be compelled to shoot 15 or 20 of them."

Hez maintained his silence the whole afternoon and Bill respected it. When the hour for the funeral arrived they joined the others at the dead man's shanty and helped to bear him to the foot of the hill, where they laid him to rest. Many a rough eye was dimmed as Bill solemnly said, "Good-bye, pard; you were rough, but always brave and kind; God rest your soul."

Hez spoke at last.

"Men," said he, "what are you goin' to do now? Our dead pard won't need us to-morrow; it is the live devils we must look after. What are you goin' to do? Are you goin' to give your wages to that imp on the hill or are you goin' to fight like men for your own? We left like a lot of curs to-day; are you goin' back like a pack of dogs to-morrow and give him half of all you have? By God, I'm not. I'll die of thirst before he shall have my gold; I've worked for it, and it's mine."

This was like fire to the powder, and the rage of the miners burst out anew; but they did not start for Minute Creek again. The influence of the morning had not wholly waned; they only stormed and swore and argued. After a time Bill succeeded in restoring comparative quiet, and, standing upon a little elevation, he thus addressed the crowd:—

"Men, I've been doing a good deal of thinking to-day, trying to make up my mind what we ought to do, and my mind's made up. I wouldn't suit Hez, nor most of you, but there is but one other thing to do, so we might as well come to bed-rock at once. That imp on Minute Creek has a cinch on us; he not only has the only water in the country, but he has got a good title to it, and he has a right to charge for it. He is surrounded by a dozen rows of chained lightning, and, if necessary, he can bring the whole power of the national government to back him, with a lot of armed detectives besides. If we should drive him out of his fort and take possession of it, he would return with a troop of regulars and shoot every one of us down. This is a free country and a man has a right to do as he pleases with his own. Now, as Reed says, if we can charge rent for a gold mine—that is, the chance to dig—why can't he charge rent for a water mine—that is, a chance to dip? There isn't a blamed bit of difference. If one is right the other's right. He's got the drop, and I'm going to drop to him; and the man that don't drop, might as well get up and git. I can make ten times more and pay half to Reed than I could working back in the States. And how much worse is it for him to take half of all we earn for water, than it is for the landlords of the great cities of the East to take in rent for one squalid room half of all that a whole family can earn, leaving barely enough out of the week's wages to keep their despairing souls in their starving bodies. I'm going to stay and pay water rent, and I advise the rest of you to do the same."

And stay they did. Hez finally cooled and all went

smoothly as before, only Reed got his water rent, but the water-carrier no longer got \$16 dollars a day. All wages were scaled down to help to make up the water rent, and as more men came to the Gulch, it grew harder and harder each day for the poor fellow whose only source of supply was the labour of his hands.

A few months later, immense silver mines were discovered in the vicinity, and a city quickly grew up in Monopoly Gulch. Reed, for a consideration, released the mine owners from their obligation to pay water rent, and accepted in lieu thereof the waterworks franchise of the city. Then arose the great question of taxation.

A young stranger from the States, named Brokaw, said that all taxes should be laid on Reed's water rent, and the rent of the gold and silver mines, franchises and the city lots exclusive of improvements; that Reed's income was an unearned income: that rent of mines and increase in the value of corner lots due to increase of population were unearned incomes, too, and that it would be robbery to tax wages—that is, food, clothing, and homes—until the rental value of the lots, franchises, mines and Reed's water monopoly was exhausted. But nearly every one called Brokaw a fool. And, strange to say, all the miners—even Hez and Bill, who, with many others, had become millionaires, and all the real estate speculators—joined with Reed like brothers to fight the monopoly tax, and finally succeeded in securing a provision in the State constitution taxing all property, real and personal, by a uniform rule. Then they straightway established the uniform rule of taxing small homes at nearly their full value and the mines at a nominal value as compared with their true value. They also uniformly forgot to return their stocks, notes, and bonds, and put Reed's water monopoly upon the duplicate as agricultural land. Following the decision of the Supreme Court of a great State that a franchise is not property; they did not tax franchises at all, and on the anniversary of the adoption of the new constitution they had a banquet, at which a great statesman responded to the toast:—

"America for Americans."

Brokaw, by reason of his position as a reporter for one of the city papers, was present at the banquet, and when the great statesman had finished, though not on the programme, the Single Tax man involuntarily leaped to his feet. His soul was in his face; his voice rang like a clarion. So swift was his action, so commanding his tones, that every guest's attention was seized and held until he had finished.

"'America for Americans,' but not for all Americans! In Monopoly Gulch the water that God gave to all Americans is owned by one man; the gold and silver that he gave to all mankind are monopolised by a few; the land that this city is built upon is owned by a hundred men. Americans cannot lie down to sleep in their own city nor drink a glass of water under their own flag without consent of the men who surround the table. This is law, but it is not justice. We declare against alien ownership of land, with every drop of water and every inch of earth starvation high, though owned by patriotic Americans. Houses like kennels hide in the shadows of the palaces, streets like devil paths in hell, run by avenues that rival in splendour and beauty the boulevards of paradise. We have stolen the cups from the altar of liberty with which to drink monopoly's crimson wine. We cover all our social crimes with the American flag—but on the wall the handwriting appears: 'God hath numbered the kingdom of land monopoly and finished it; it has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Henceforth it shall be administered for all the children of men.' Hark! without this hall the tramp of a mighty host, coming not with fire and sword,

but with ballots in their hands, on their banners 'Peace and goodwill to men,' on every lip the cry: 'America for mankind!'

Brokaw's speech broke up the banquet, but as the banqueters left the hall the band played a medley of national airs, among which were:

"Hail Columbia, happy land."

and

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty."

Mr Montagu Burgoyne presented last Monday a petition to both Houses of Parliament for the enclosure of Epping Forest, containing 12,000 acres, of which 3,000 belong to the Crown.—*The Observer*, 28th December, 1832.

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HENRY GEORGE FOUNDATION

Essay Competition

PRIZES AWARDED

The Essay Competition, conducted under the auspices of the Henry George Foundation, closed for the Second Year on 24th March last.

There were 85 entries. The Trustees were fortunate in having the voluntary assistance of Messrs H. R. Henton, H. E. Nicholls and D. Cuthbertson, who made the preliminary examination and helped in the final judgment. The work was carefully and well done, the results being announced in the *Times' Educational Supplement* of 18th June.

The general standard, as well as the comparative merit of the essays qualifying for recognition, was such that the awards had to be varied. Instead of twelve awards, made up of one each of £20 and £15, three of £10 and seven of £5, the Trustees decided that circumstances required the distribution of the £100 in sixteen awards, namely, four of £10 each and twelve of £5 each. In addition, the Trustees have granted eight consolation awards of £2 each. The following are the names:—

Prize Essayists

£10 Awards.—"Justice, Liberty, Progress" (H. F. Hardacre, Brisbane, Queensland); "John Manders" (A. Blackburn, Brixton, London); "Prudentius" (James Trickett, Rossendale, Lancashire); "Jonathan Scrivener" (R. Batty, East Finchley, London).

£5 Awards.—"Cluny" (Cluny MacPherson, Ashfield, N.S.W.); "Myson Gerald" (J. P. Boyle, Bradford, Yorks); "Latimer" (F. W. S. Howland, Westham, Weymouth); "Taxnone" (Edwin J. S. Harding, Toowong, Queensland); "Romar" (Robert A. Murray, Cathcart, Renfrewshire); "Liberator" (James D. Slater, Rossendale, Lancashire); "Forrester" (W. Waddington, Coventry); "Arthur Nicholas" (Arthur T. Lamsley, Southsea); "Frankland" (George Tulloch, Busby, Glasgow); "Geofred" (George Frederick Robson, Spennymoor, Co. Durham); "Aodh" (Frederick Miller, Bangor, Co. Down); "Nike" (Miss Irene Hubbard, Oxford).

£2 Awards.—"Isca" (David Fryd, Canterbury); "Ex Nihilo Nihil Fit" (R. A. Reed, Devonport); "Alpha" (S. Langford, Covent Garden, London); "Ca Ira" (M. H. Crees, Balham, London); "Peter Lonsdale" (Ernest Ingledew, Forest Gate, London); "Peter Quince" (M. Pettitt, Soham, Cambs.); "Terab" (William T. Barrett, Middlesbrough); "Sage" (S. Allan Johnson, Woodend, Victoria).

The result of the Competition has been communicated by post to all the essayists.

THE COMPETITION RENEWED

The Trustees of the Henry George Foundation (the United Committee) have decided to continue the Competition for another year. As heretofore, there is no entry fee.

Awards are offered amounting to £100 made up as follows: One of £20, one of £15, three of £10 each, seven of £5 each. The Trustees reserve the right to vary these awards.

The closing date will be 27th March, 1933, and essays are invited on the following subject:

The principles of Land Value Taxation and Free Trade and their necessary relationship. Discuss their practical application as the remedy for unemployment and poverty.

The Prospectus with full particulars (Third Year, 1932-33) is obtainable on application to the Henry George Foundation, 94 Petty France, London, S.W.1.

HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES

The Suspension of the Land Value Tax and the Valuation

FINANCE BILL
SECOND READING

(9th May)

Mr CHARLES BROWN (Labour): I beg to move to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, and to add instead thereof the words:

"this House regrets the reversion to the long-discarded and unjust policy of raising an increasing proportion of the national revenue by indirect taxation, and cannot assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which suspends for an indefinite period the Land Value Tax, reimposes a duty on tea, and clears the way for new taxes upon staple foods without affording any relief to the great mass of the people upon whom existing taxation is a crushing burden."

Clause 24 is the Clause which suspends the Land Values Tax, and it is the most blatant piece of political spleen that has been witnessed for a long time. No sooner had this Parliament met than the Chancellor of the Exchequer was bombarded day after day with questions from land and property interests about the immediate suspension of the valuations which had commenced. In the end the right hon. Gentleman meekly gave way. Doubtless when hon. Members go into the Lobby to-morrow night they will gloat over their triumph in regard to the suspension of the Land Values Tax. They may gloat. Their triumph will be temporary, for the day will come when this nation as a whole, either in this House or in some other way, will assert its right to the ownership of the land of these islands.

Mr LUNN (Labour): In the last Finance Bill, as is mentioned in our Amendment, there was a proposal to tax land values. That proposal passed through Parliament, and, in view of the vastly increasing value of land by its development and the activities of the community, we believe that if that scheme were put into operation it would give back to the community large sums of money now taken by private individuals to which, in my opinion, they have no right. The Labour Party have always supported such taxation, the Liberal Party have had it in their programme for 40 years, and Bills containing that principle have passed Second Reading in this House, under Conservative Governments, on half-a-dozen occasions. Hundreds of local authorities have supported the principle, and we believe there is no reasonable argument against it.

Colonel WEDGWOOD (Labour): I deplore that in this Budget we have the final consummation of the death of all hope of the taxation of land values. [Interruption.] It is by no means a laughing matter. That was a hope of increased employment and of improved trade. It has been turned down. Free land made free men. It meant the end of unemployment, it meant cheap labour, and it meant the fruits of labour for the man who worked. We must not wipe out from our minds the fact that, if land was all put to its best use in this country, if land that was not being used was thrown open to the unemployed miners to cultivate chickens or pigeons or anything else, there would be something done to ease the hideous pressure of unemployment. I have always advocated the taxation and rating of land values, not because I wanted revenue or taxes or rates, but because I wanted land, which is essential for production, cheaper than it is to-day.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr Chamberlain): I have been chided by the Opposition because Clause 24 provides for what they term the indefinite suspension of the Land Tax and the valuation. Some of my hon. Friends are equally distressed because the Clause does not go further and provide for the repeal of the Land Tax. The Clause as it is drafted carries out the course which I explained to the House when I first made a statement upon what the Government proposed to do in this connection. I explained that the proposals with regard to the Land Tax had been considered by the Government not upon the merits of the tax, but upon its appropriateness

in the present financial situation of the country. We had to bear in mind that in any case the tax could not have come into operation for some considerable time; moreover, that when it did come into operation it would be productive of a comparatively trifling amount of revenue; and that in those circumstances, while we were imposing sacrifices and additional tax burdens upon a section of the community, it seemed entirely inconsistent and, in fact, undesirable that we should proceed with the expenses of the valuation.

(10th May)

Mr NEIL MACLEAN (Labour): Considerable resentment is felt that this is the second occasion since the war when a Land Tax Clause has been scrapped without giving it on either occasion an opportunity of showing whether it could be workable or not. Since this Clause has not been definitely abandoned, but is merely being continued, I trust that at some future date, when the present Financial Secretary to the Treasury and his chief and those who support him will not occupy the benches opposite, but will be on these benches, and we shall be on those benches, a Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer will restore the Land Tax Clauses to his Budget in a manner that will in some degree make up for the losses of revenue involved by the non-operation of the present Land Tax Clause by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr MORGAN JONES (Labour): Hon. Members opposite must not complain if we draw attention to the fact that, after the nation has spent hundreds of millions of pounds in improving the road services of the country, thereby adding substantially to the value of the land adjacent to those roads, the land still remains un-valued from a social point of view. In days when we are looking right and left for new sources of revenue and taxation, it is nothing short of a scandal that this obvious source should be so carefully and deliberately overlooked by those who are in charge of our national finances.

COMMITTEE STAGE

(26th May)

Lt.-Col. ACLAND TROYTE (Conservative) moved an Amendment having the effect of repealing the provisions for the Land Value Tax and the Land Valuation. He said:

The Lord President of the Council, speaking on 13th June, 1931, said:

"I can say one thing about it—that if we get back to power, that tax will never see daylight."

Speaking on 18th June, 1931, he said:

"I am not alarmed about the Land Value Tax, because I do not believe that tax will ever come into existence. If we come in, it certainly will not."

The present Government, instead of fulfilling expectations we all held, have tried to fob us off by simply postponing the operation of this tax. As long as these provisions remain on the Statute Book, they can be put into force in a very short time. They are causing great uncertainty and difficulties with regard to mortgages and things of that sort. As long as this Measure remains on the Statute Book, those uncertainties and anxieties will remain.

Mr LAMBERT (Liberal-Nationalist): I ask the Government, in their own interests, to repeal the Act. If they do not repeal it there will be constant agitation throughout the country. Every owner of land for development will be in a state of difficulty and embarrassment.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr Baldwin): Had this been a Tory Government we should have repealed the Statute. Had I been a private Member I should very likely have put my name to the Amendment to which hon. Members from Devonshire have put their names, but I occupy a more responsible position, and I have to remember that this is a National Government. The right hon. Member for South Molton (Mr Lambert) asked whether there was any precedent for what we are

doing. I do not know; and I do not care. We have to make our precedents, if they do not exist, as we go along. Let me remind the Committee that the subject of land taxes and land valuation is one of the deepest controversy between Parties. I remember very vividly how we were kept up night after night, and all night, on what was then called the Lloyd George Budget.

With regard to this Act, we all remember what took place in the House of Commons. In the National Government there are five Members who were Members of the Labour Cabinet when this Act became law. The matter has been considered and discussed among us. Members of the National Government, fully conscious of the importance of the cause for which they were returned by the country to serve, are anxious, so far as practicable, without sacrifice of principles, to hold together; to give and take. What is the present effect of this Statute? It is a Statute in coma. For this Parliament there can be no prospect at all of there being a land tax or land valuation, so that apprehension ought to be removed.

Would anyone as a member of a National Government, who had gone through the fight we went through last autumn and were taking part in discussions on finance on the first construction of the National Government with men who fought during that election, like Lord Snowden, and they expressed their reluctance to see the Act finally taken off the Statute Book; do you think that I, going about the country as I did and knowing the force of Lord Snowden's speeches and broadcasts in helping to win seats which we should never have won, was going to say to them, "Oh, no, now we have got a big Tory majority, much bigger than I expected, out you go." Not much. That is why we stand for the Clause as it is in the Bill. We can accept neither a repeal of the Act nor the insertion of the Amendment.

Sir STAFFORD CRIPPS (Labour): This is, of course, quite obviously a compromise. It seems to us that this method of dealing with it is just dishonest. Either it is the intention of the Government not to go forward with the Land Tax or else it is their intention when the times become quieter, if ever they do under a National Government, that these Land Taxes shall go forward. Apparently they are postponing the evil day for another year.

Col. Sir GEORGE COURTHOPE (Conservative): What we ask the Government to do is to remove a contingent liability from the assets of the country at a time when confidence is more needed than ever. What this contingent liability does is to destroy confidence and depress values for the purposes of credit, and in these days no owner of land can maintain his property and utilize it to the best advantage without credit. So long as there is this contingent liability hanging on to every unit of land, there is a distinct added difficulty in either obtaining credit or retaining it when once you have got it. It is a deterrent to obtaining loans on mortgage, as everyone who handles real property of any kind must have found.

Sir P. HARRIS (Liberal): We realize that the majority in this House is against us, but when the financial position has changed, when so-called national emergencies have disappeared and international affairs have become more

normal, we claim full right to use all our energies not only to get the valuation into operation but to levy the taxes for which the Act provided.

(The Amendment was defeated by 298 votes to 71.)

RETENTION OF THE PROVISIONS FOR SUPPLYING PARTICULARS AS TO TRANSACTIONS IN LAND

There followed an Amendment moved by Sir Walter Greaves-Lord (Conservative) and seconded by Dr Morris Jones (Liberal-Nationalist). The object was to suspend Section 28 of the 1931 Act and so prevent the Valuation Department from obtaining particulars respecting sales and leases of land. The Amendment was resisted by the Government and defeated.

HOUSE OF LORDS

A Censure Motion

(14th June)

After the House of Lords had agreed to its Second Reading of the Finance Bill,

LORD STRACHIE moved "That this House regrets that the Finance Bill does not repeal the Valuation and Land Tax imposed by the Finance Act 1931." In the name of "the landed interests," he roundly denounced "this most objectionable clause providing for valuation and a tax upon all land." It was legislation he said, that "has a paralyzing effect on anyone who desires to put more capital into the land."

Lord Hailsham, in his reply, said that a decision to repeal instead of suspend the Land Value Tax and the Valuation would have broken up the National Government.

The motion was defeated by 16 votes to 14.

THE BREAD TAX

And Increased Rent of Land

(House of Commons, 6th April—Debate on the Report Stage of the Wheat Quota Bill)

Mr THOMAS WILLIAMS (Labour), moving recommitment of the Bill: We want to protect the farmer against increased rents or other impositions by landowners, and we ask that instructions may be given to the Committee to take steps to safeguard the nation against any part of this £6,000,000 going into the pockets of the landowners, who are rendering no service to the general community.

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Sir John Gilmour): Those who are taking an interest in the problem will see that the labourer gets his fair and proper share. That can be properly done under the machinery of the wages boards which exist at the present time. When you are giving protection to the labourer, with a possibility of increasing his remuneration, is it conceivable that you can deny to the owner the right of protection against arbitrary treatment, and the right to have a fair and reasonable return for enhanced prosperity?

Mr DAVID GRENFELL (Labour), moving an Amendment to limit the period of operation of the Bill: The right hon. Gentleman defended the claim of the landlord to a share of this subsidy. There is no reason why this House, or the country, or the consumers of bread, should be called upon to pay additional rent to the landlord, and I feel sure that even this House will not agree that the poorest people should be called upon to pay an additional price for every slice of bread they have in order that landlords may draw for an indefinite period higher rents than those they have enjoyed so long. Here is an occasion when for every slice of bread eaten by the poorest people a contribution is to be made, one bite to the farmer and one to the landlord, for every alternative bite enjoyed by the person himself. This is the first time we have heard of the landlords' rights, and I should think that that is sufficient reason for limiting the period. We are told that part of the subsidy is likely, and legitimately, to be taken to enrich the landlords of this country who have derived enhanced interest and value in the land which they have held so long without making a single contribution towards that enhancement. If the landlords and the farmers know that there is always to be a standard price of 45s. a quarter for home-grown millable wheat, the land-

The Prophet of San Francisco. Personal Reminiscences of Henry George. By LOUIS F. POST. Blue Cloth. Library Edition: 7s. 6d.

A Danish View of British Farming. By JAKOB E. LANGE. Paper, 1s.

The Theory of Human Progression. (Abridged by Julia N. Kellogg.) By PATRICK EDWARD DOVE. Paper, 1s. (4d.).

Natural Law in Social Life. By W. R. LESTER, M.A. 3d.

The Story of My Dictatorship. By LEWIS BERENS and IGNATIUS SINGER. 3d.

The New Political Economy. By JOHN B. SHARPE. 1d.
Agriculture and Land Value Taxation. Three Papers by F. C. R. DOUGLAS, M.A., Capt. ARTHUR R. McDONALD of Blythe, and JAMES SCOTT, M.P. Presented at the International Conference in Edinburgh. 1d.

lords will very soon make an approach to their tenants, and we shall see a rent ramp very early in operation in the wheat-growing districts of the country.

Mr PRICE (Labour): In Amendments which we moved previously we suggested that there was a danger, unless there was a safeguard, that landlords would take advantage of the operation of the Measure and increase their rent charges. We were told that there was no need for such a safeguard and that the landlords would not dream of doing anything like that, but the Minister gets up this afternoon and encourages them. He says, "You will be quite justified," and he no doubt expects them to do so.

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL ON LIBERAL POLICY AND TARIFFS

Speaking at an Oxford Union Debate, 3rd June, Sir Herbert Samuel, in a vigorous attack on Protection (*News-Chronicle* report), said:—

The forces which make for tariffs are powerful. There are strong financial inducements; manufacturers have the greatest incentive to raise prices in order that they may grow rich in the name of patriotism and in the cause of the Empire.

The effects of the present tariffs are concealed from the ordinary observer, who does not closely follow economic movements. . . . Protectionists ignore the fact that the general level of prices throughout the world has fallen, and that but for tariffs prices in this country would have fallen.

Tariffs, therefore, have increased the cost of living in this country.

The whole policy of tariffs is misconceived from the beginning. It will not achieve the result aimed at, and a short experience will speedily show the necessity of returning to Free Trade and Liberal ideas.

A resolution "that this House looks to a revival of Liberal ideas as the best means of restoring the welfare of Great Britain, of the British Empire and of the world," was defeated by 184 to 172.

The vote is regarded as indicative of the reaction that has now set in against tariffs.

JOSEPH HYDER

We regret to announce the death on 2nd June, of Joseph Hyder, Secretary of the Land Nationalization Federation. He had continued working up to near the close of his life. Of his 68 years, 44 had been spent as Secretary of the Land Nationalization Federation.

G. C. writes: "Joseph Hyder was an energetic and conscientious worker, and had delivered thousands of addresses upon the injustice of private property in land and upon the economic evils which originate from it. A large proportion of these addresses were delivered in rural districts with the aid of the familiar 'Yellow Van.' This gave the title to Richard Whiteing's interesting novel, though, when the author gained his experience by travelling with the van, the lecturer was not Joseph Hyder but M. T. Simm, of the Lancashire Branch of the Society. Mrs Hyder often accompanied and assisted her husband in these tours. In recent times the Society suffered, like many others, from a decline in income, but Mr Hyder continued his labour at his post vigorously in spite of unfavourable circumstances."

In public speaking, Mr Hyder was ever at his best, and his claim for compensation to landowners was in striking contrast to his fierce denunciation of the tyranny of landlordism. That, of course, was the policy of his Society, and it is what separated him and his organization from the Single Taxers. The Land Nationalization Society wanted State ownership and control of land by purchase. The Single Taxers stand for the liberation of the land from monopoly, State monopoly included. In the Single Tax scheme the rent of land is to be taken in relief of existing taxation. In Mr Hyder's line of approach, the rent was to be earmarked for the landowners. Between the two schools of thought there could be no compromise, and there was none.

NOTES AND NEWS

One of the best short descriptions of the Budget which I have seen is that given in the course of a statement by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values.—*Oldham Evening Chronicle*, 26th April.

There is no economic difficulty in making the post-war payments if the debtor countries are allowed to make them. Great Britain has built up an enormous credit position by the transfer of her excess of exports, visible and invisible, to countries now her debtors. The thing can be done, then. But in that case, the other parties were willing to receive our goods and services. Tariffs, not international payments, are the chief obstacle to improvement, and in placing annulment of the debts first, authorities at home are "hunting the wrong hare." Not only that, but by themselves introducing their own tariff, they have drawn a red herring across the trail which makes hunting the right hare infinitely more difficult.—"NAUTA SINE STELLA," Egypt, in *The Economist*, 28th May.

A further examination at the London Bankruptcy Court, 13th April, of a former M.P. revealed the fact that in 1923 he and another person bought for £43,000 some cottage property from the Duke of Westminster and re-sold it at a profit of £70,000, his share of which was £24,000.

At the annual gathering of the Hotels and Restaurants Association, London, Lord Derby spoke of the many handicaps upon hotel-keepers in the small towns, as well as in London.

"A man tries to improve his hotel," he said. "He puts in more bathrooms, increases the accommodation, tries to make his hotel more comfortable in order to attract business—and at once his assessment is increased and he has to pay additional taxes. That is unfair and ought to be remedied."—*News-Chronicle*, 7th May.

The Times, 4th May: For 154 acres at Great Baddow, known as Great Sir Hughe's Farm, there were inquiries which resulted in a sale before the auction. Fruit is to be grown there. The probability of a better market for British produce is weighing with would-be buyers of land. It is of course understood that the tariffs on produce have nothing whatever to do with this increase in the value of land. It is probably due to "foresight."

The following letter, written by a Canadian farmer in reply to a request for payment of instalments due on his land, was read by Mr P. A. Cooper, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Co., at the annual meeting in London to-day: "Dear Sir,—I got your letter about what I owe you. Now be pacent. I ain't forgot you. Please wait. When I have the money I pay you. If this was Judgment Day and you was no more prepared to meet your Maker than I am to meet your account, you sure would have to go to hell. Trusting you will agree to do this, I am, yours truly, —."—*The Star*, 23th April.

Mr Cameron Corbett, M.P. (now Lord Rowallan), on the Undeveloped Land Duty: "I am convinced that it will do more to assist the acquisition of new open spaces than to endanger those which exist.—*Letter in the "Times," 17th August, 1909, reprinted in "Land & Liberty," then named "Land Values," September, 1909.*

It seems to me that there is a lack of earnestness in the Government to make matters easier for the middleman, who is standing the brunt of the present strain, or the Finance Act of 1931 would be put in force, whereby Land Values would be taxed. This would relieve the situation, as it would bring in a big sum to the Exchequer, and from those who can afford it, without suffering extremes of fleecing. But, we have too many landlords in the Government for such a measure to have a fair chance. Times are extreme, and a measure like this must be insisted upon; this Taxation of Land Values.—Editorial in the *Ayrshire Post*, 21st May.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT

THE UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, LTD. John Paul and A. W. Madsen, Secretaries, 94 Petty France, London, S.W.1. (Telephone: Victoria 4308-9. Telegrams: "Eulav, Sowest, London.")

On another page the text is given of the Manifesto issued in the middle of May by the Committee, along with the appeal for financial support that is so urgent at this time.

The office was busily engaged for several weeks in preparing the Manifesto and organizing its circulation on a large scale. Over 7,000 copies were posted to as many names on our address list of subscribers, known sympathizers, interested correspondents and the many who have applied for literature in recent months. Numerous friends have since obtained parcels for distribution in their own areas or have supplied names and addresses to which the Manifesto has been sent direct by post with covering letter. Across the Atlantic this pronouncement has made its appeal and there came requests for supplies that made it necessary to print so many more.

Recent visitors to the office from overseas have been: Mr Spencer Heath of Baltimore, who is deeply interested in the activities of the British movement; Mr Arthur W. Smith of Wellington, New Zealand; Mr and Mrs A. H. Young of Adelaide, South Australia, who brought greetings to all friends from E. J. Craigie, M.P.; S. L. Gillan of Los Angeles, a member of the Oxford International Conference in 1923; Mr and Mrs Chester C. Platt and Mr Malcolm Platt. Mr and Mrs Platt were members of the International Conferences at Copenhagen, 1926, and Edinburgh, 1929, and at the latter Mr Platt presented his informing paper on *Taxation and Land Speculation in Florida*.

HENRY GEORGE FOUNDATION

Elsewhere in our columns, the important announcement is made that the Trustees of the Foundation (the United Committee) have decided that the next book to be published should be a new and complete edition of *The Science of Political Economy* by Henry George, which has been long out of print. The demand for this book has been insistent for years past and it is gratifying to think that it will soon be in circulation again. It is the companion book to *Progress and Poverty*. It should be in the possession of every Single Taxer who will know how to value it and insist on others studying it to become familiar with its masterly examination. The book will make 448 pages, crown 8vo, handsomely bound in red cloth in harmony with the other books published by the Foundation. The price will be 2s. 6d. or 3s. by post. Publication date will be early in October. Meanwhile orders are invited in advance, and special terms are offered for quantities.

Other publications the Foundation have in hand are: Reprint of *Moses*, address by Henry George; reprint (in co-operation with the International Union) of the Memorandum to the 1927 Geneva Economic Conference, *The Interdependence of the Economic Causes of War and of Industrial Depression*; new pamphlet, *The Master Motive of Human Action*, being passages from *Progress and Poverty*, with dedication to the memory of George Lamb; new pamphlet embodying the two striking articles, *The Story of Archimedes and Monopoly Gulch* appearing in the present issue of this Journal.

During the past ten weeks altogether 4,350 books and 1,930 pamphlets have been despatched from our offices, this including new and renewed orders from the book trade and sales by post or over the counter. Arrangements are now being made for displaying the books again on the railway bookstalls in many towns throughout the country, returns from the previous adventure in this field having proved remarkably successful.

THE ESSAY COMPETITION

The results of the 1931-32 Essay Competition are announced in another column. It will be noticed that the Trustees have decided to renew the Competition for another year. We shall be glad to hear from any of our readers who can co-operate in the distribution of the new Prospectus, especially among schools and colleges and the

many institutions that exist to promote social and economic teaching at day or evening classes. We will gladly post the Prospectus if lists are provided.

SOCIAL GATHERING

On the 27th April the United Committee's rooms were crowded with an interested company who had come together for a social gathering with Mr G. H. Winder as the guest of the evening. Mr Andrew MacLaren presided. Mr Winder's address on "The Failure of Protection in Australia" was a brilliant and searching exposure of the lessons that Australia teaches the world in the comedy and the tragedy of the Protectionist folly. He spoke with all the greater authority as the author of the informing book *The Delusion of Protection*, written from the Australian viewpoint and specially addressed to the Australian people.

ENGLISH LEAGUE: Frederick Verinder, General Secretary, 12-13 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2. (Phone: Temple Bar 7830.)

The Forty-ninth Annual Meeting of the League was held at Pinoli's Restaurant, Wardour Street, London, on 25th May, the President, Mr E. E. Belfour, J.P., in the Chair. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The English League for the Taxation of Land Values reaffirms its emphatic protest against the suspension by the Government of the Land Valuation, and the consequent postponement of the Land Value Tax, provided for in the Finance Act, 1931, thus sacrificing, in the alleged interest of "economy," the means which the Valuation would have afforded for reducing the heavy fiscal burdens upon industry and upon the necessities of life, and of freeing the land for use, thus opening up opportunities of employment to those who are now disemployed;

It further protests against the adoption by the Government of the exactly opposite policy, by the imposition upon this country of a multitude of "protective" taxes, costly to collect and unjust in their incidence, which will strangle home and foreign trade, raise the cost of living, increase unemployment, foster monopoly, promote political corruption and embitter international relations;

The League pledges itself to use all the means in its power for the repeal of this predatory and discredited system of taxation, and for the taxation and rating of all land values with the concurrent abolition of burdens upon industry and its materials, processes and products. It calls upon all men and women of good will to support its efforts by personal service and by contributions to its funds.

The business of the evening was preceded by a dinner, with the Rt. Hon. George N. Barnes, D.C.L., as the chief speaker, who gave the toast, "The Immortal Memory of Henry George." In the course of his fine tribute to Henry George's qualities of heart and of mind, his sympathy, his perception and his courage, Mr Barnes said: "Those of you who have read those wonderful chapters in the concluding part of *Progress and Poverty*, his great book, will know that Henry George was more than a political economist. He did not treat the land question as a mere fiscal question. He was in the best and largest sense of the words, a seer and a prophet, and could draw lessons from the past in order to buttress his opinion for the future. He knew that in a democratic world it is not sufficient merely to formulate a principle or philosophy. He consecrated his life after he had written his book, and went out as a propagandist to the world to get his principle accepted by the mass of the people. Hence the number and the devotion of his disciples in so many lands."

The room in which the Dinner had been held was crowded for the Annual Meeting which followed. A pleasing feature was the presence of a larger proportion of young people than usual, and the proceedings were lively and enthusiastic throughout. Mr E. E. Belfour, J.P., at the end of his Presidential Address, moved the adoption of the Annual Report, which was carried. Mr H. A. Berens, Hon. Treasurer, moved, and Mr George Crosoer seconded, the

adoption of the audited Statement of Accounts, which showed that the net liabilities of the League were £267 9s. 6d., a reduction of nearly £55 since the last annual meeting. The statement was adopted. Mr Berens moved, and Mr T. S. Wicksteed seconded, the adoption of the list of officers and executive proposed for the year 1932-33. This was carried, with the omission of the name of the Rt. Hon. W. Runciman, M.P., a former Vice-President. On the motion of Mr Michael Jacobs, the Secretary was instructed to write to Mr Runciman, informing him of this decision.

The Resolution, text of which has been given, was then moved by Councillor Andrew MacLaren, late M.P. for Burslem, seconded by Mr H. G. Chancellor (Vice-President), and supported by Mr H. B. Winder, of Australia.

It is regretted that space does not permit a report of the excellent and informing speeches delivered in support of this Resolution. Mr MacLaren was in his best form, in spite of the fact that he had left a sick-bed to keep his engagement. Mr Winder showed, by official figures that, so far from "Protection" proving a cure for unemployment, unemployment had increased in Australia *pari passu* with the increase of tariffs. Mr Chancellor maintained his reputation as an advocate of the League's principles.

During the meeting various amounts were promised or collected, amounting in all to £73 4s. 9d. The list is still open, and further subscriptions or donations will be thankfully received.

The Secretary deeply regrets to report the death of two members of the League: the Rev. H. F. de Courcy Benwell, of Colchester, and Francis Soutter, a London Radical Clubman who, in connection with the "Radical," in the early 'eighties, was probably the first man to place *Progress and Poverty* on sale in this country.

June 8th.—S.W. Bethnal Green Junior Liberal Association: Fredk. Verinder, "Taxation of Land Values," 9 p.m.

„ 28th.—Bow and Bromley Labour Party (Women's Section), Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road: Fredk. Verinder, "The Burden of the Rates," 8 p.m.

ANNUAL REPORT

The Annual Report of the Executive was issued with the papers calling the Annual Meeting. A limited number of copies is available to those making request for them. It embodies the reports on the League's work as given in succeeding issues of *Land & Liberty*. The Executive point out that prevailing economic conditions have made their task increasingly difficult. The League's income has been very seriously reduced in recent years, not only by the death of many of its most generous subscribers, but also by the unemployment or impoverishment of many others. . . . The battle between Land Value Taxation and "Protection" is now joined. It will be a hard struggle, for which all the resources of the movement in men and money will be needed. The reaction against the results of the panic votes of last October is already becoming manifest, and it will gather strength as the bitter fruits of "Protection" ripen. Is it too much to ask that our members and friends should make a very special effort, by increased subscriptions, by a more vigorous circulation of literature, by bringing in new members and new money, to enable the League to enter on its Jubilee Year (1933-34) free of debt, and provided with sufficient funds to meet the urgent calls of the next General Election?

SCOTTISH LEAGUE: William Reid, Secretary (*Note new address*), 150 North Street, Glasgow.

We got settled into the new premises at 150 North Street on 28th May. Much time has been consumed in the removal of the bookshop. One American co-worker, Mr Robert Scott, has already called and we will be pleased to have calls from other co-workers on a visit to Glasgow.

Propaganda work continues to be difficult, but we hear of a band of the League of Young Liberals who are featuring the Taxation of Land Values at weekly open-air meetings.

In reply to Sir John Simon's question to Free Traders at Dunfermline as how to fill the £33,000,000 gap in the Budget that the Government were going to take in Import

Duties, a letter signed by the Secretary of the United Committee appeared in several Glasgow newspapers, including the *Glasgow Herald*, to the effect that in the value of land was to be found the answer to this question.

Our own newspaper correspondents have as usual got in some good work since our last communication.

Here is a Housing illustration that can be used by our speakers and writers to the Press:—

The Chief Sanitary Inspector, Edinburgh, Mr Allan W. Ritchie, has prepared statistics as to the amount of overcrowding which he found in a survey of 1,848 houses situated in various parts of Leith (*Glasgow Herald*, 11th May). The population of the houses is 7,996, giving an average per house of 4.33 persons. One-apartment houses number 138; two-apartment, 1,386; three-apartment, 284; and four-apartment, 40. In 9.74 per cent of the houses there is overcrowding according to the cubic-space standard; in 20.72 there is want of proper sex separation; and in 17.69, in addition to there being more than two persons per room, there is also a want of proper sex separation. The greater part of the overcrowding is in the smaller houses.

What a great people we are. This is a fair sample of housing conditions affecting millions of well-deserving. Yet architects and builders are idle. There is no scarcity of building sites; capital has its salesmen geared up equal to any likely opening, and food is in overflowing abundance. "Oh, no, we never mention him; his name is never heard!"

"TAX LAND VALUES" BUREAU, Mrs Beryl Eastwood, Hon. Secretary, 7 St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2.

This Bureau was established a year ago by Mrs Louis P. Jacobs, through whose liberality these centrally situated premises were secured for the period of twelve months. It has been a year of most useful activity of which everyone connected with the Bureau may be proud, while they of course regret that it cannot continue for a longer period. The year comes to a conclusion on 4th July, when the Bureau closes.

With the coming of the summer weather indoor meetings have been curtailed, but meetings were held on 4th, 11th and 18th May, with a full attendance on each occasion. Our speakers were the Marquis of Tavistock on "Social Credit"; Mr A. W. Madsen, who led a general discussion on Tariff Barriers and International Conferences, and Captain Kelly on "Engineering and Reconstruction of the Country by means of Taxation of Land Values." Captain Kelly came again to the Bureau and met a number of our younger members and helped in the organizing of an open-air campaign.

A special meeting was held on Wednesday, 15th June, to hear the Marquis of Ailesbury, who spoke on "A Landowner's View of the Taxation of Land Values," and provoked a keen discussion. The address was reported in the *Daily Herald* and the *Morning Post*.

The Bureau has published for distribution new leaflets in the form of a questionnaire and entitled "Why Tax Land Values?" Banners have also been made in large coloured letters, "Smash Land Monopoly," for use at open-air meetings.

The Youth Group that has grown out of the work of the Bureau held meetings at Marble Arch (Hyde Park) on alternate Sundays since the beginning of April. Arrangements have now been made for weekly meetings inside the Park, where much larger gatherings can be addressed.

Regular open-air meetings on Thursday evenings have also been organized, and during June were held at Bruce Grove, Tottenham, and twice at Fulham Road, near Waltham Green Station. Friends and supporters in London and district interested in the work of the Young Group are invited to communicate with Mr Leon MacLaren at the address of the English League, 12/13 Henrietta Street, W.C.2.

At the meeting of the Bureau on 15th June there was, of course, a feeling of deep regret that the work from this centre had to come to an end, although all understood that it had been established for one year only. One speaker after another, in behalf of those present and of all who had been stimulated and strengthened through our meetings, expressed to Mrs Jacobs their profound gratitude

for the exceptional opportunity she had provided. Mrs Jacobs in responding said that she had been only too happy in the work and its success had been due to the hearty co-operation of all who had set store by it. She felt they had been amply rewarded in the new contacts made through the Bureau and still more by the new and valuable recruits, especially among the young people who, from now on, were determined to serve the cause with voice and pen.

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

The Annual Meeting of the League will be held in the Hotel Metropole, King Street, Leeds, on Saturday, 2nd July, at 6 p.m., Mr Ashley Mitchell, the President of the League, in the Chair. The room will be available for conversations from 5 p.m.

Following the Business Meeting, a Public Meeting will be held, presided over by Mr Charles H. Boyle, J.P., and beginning at 6.45 o'clock. Addresses on Free Trade and the Taxation of Land Values will be delivered by Messrs Douglas J. J. Owen of Manchester, Mr John Paul (London), Editor of *Land & Liberty*, and Ashley Mitchell, President of the League.

Members are invited to advertise the meetings among their friends and induce as many as possible to attend.

Since our last report, meetings have been addressed as follows: Robert Thomson, Temple Street, Keighley, Wesleyan Brotherhood, 24th April; J. T. Hastings, Labour Club, Carlisle; Ashley Mitchell, Leeds Luncheon Club, about middle of May.

On 6th April, the Secretary started a correspondence in the *Nottingham Evening News* which developed into a discussion on the relative merits of Single Tax *versus* Social Credit. In support of the Single Tax, George Musson, A. W. Dakers, Chapman Wright and the Secretary each contributed several letters.

An interesting discussion took place in the columns of the *Keighley News* from 30th April to 28th May, also on the relative merits of the Social Credit Scheme of Major Douglas and the policy of Henry George as a remedy for unemployment. "Audax," "Impot Unique" and the Secretary stated the case for the Henry George methods.

The Secretary has canvassed the following places for orders for Henry George's works, viz., Colne, Nelson, Burnley, Accrington, Blackburn, Preston, Derby, Mansfield, Nottingham and Leicester. At most of these towns Henry George's books are now on sale at one or more shops.

MANCHESTER LEAGUE: Arthur H. Weller, J.P., Secretary, 4 Piccadilly, Manchester. ('Phone; City 5527.)

The Alexandra Park open-air meetings conducted by the League were started for the season on 2nd June, with Mr D. J. J. Owen as the speaker. The *Manchester Guardian* gave the propaganda good publicity, reporting as follows: Dealing with tariffs and land values, Mr Owen declared that a system of tariffs was neither the right nor the only way to balance the Budget, stimulate production, or increase employment. It would do none of those things, but it would impose restrictions upon the personal liberty of those supposed to be protected, whether it was the manufacturer, who wanted to buy the cheapest raw materials, or the housewife, who wished to spend her diminished income in the thriftiest way. Our rating and land systems acted in the same way as a hostile tariff around all our productive centre. The best sites everywhere were held out of use for speculative reasons, and production was forced on to less economical situations, and the effect of this was the same as in the case of tariffs.

Other meetings addressed by the League's speakers include: Heywood and Radcliffe Labour Party, Mrs Catterall; Chathburn Labour Party, A. H. Weller; Heywood and Radcliffe Labour Party, Wm. Noble; Buxton Labour Party, A. H. Weller; Droylsden W.C.G., G. Wright; Pendleton Adult School (two meetings), D. Catterall; Alexandra Park Gate, D. Catterall and A. H. Weller. Mrs Catterall has also addressed branch meetings of the Women's Co-operative Guild at Cefn, Crompton, Collyhurst, Dean Mount, Hollinwood, Middleton, Oldham, Rochdale, Swinton, Winton, Walkden and Wrexham.

Speaking at a meeting of the Monetary Reform Association on 1st March, Mr E. M. Ginders said that while he was in complete agreement with the need for a rational monetary policy, he knew as a disciple of Henry George that the advantages of that policy would quickly register themselves in the value of land. Unless these public values were taken for public purposes, our industries and the public would reap no permanent advantage from monetary or any other reform.

Writing from Clitheroe on 29th April, Mr John Haworth refers to the Henry George Class having closed for the summer months. "It is our intention," he says, "to get a considerable increase for next session. Politically, our question is at present suffering from suppressed animation. I believe all great and good causes have these periods and are the stronger for them."

Mr J. D. Slater, who is doing similar good work in Waterfoot, conducted a Henry George Class in that town during the past winter months. Some of those who attended were members of the local I.L.P., and when Mr Slater accepted an invitation to address these people on the Taxation of Land Values, he was surprised to meet with very little opposition. His own faith in the Single Tax has been strengthened through the Class meetings. He writes: "The more I read and discuss the question, the more convinced do I become that it is the first necessary step to economic freedom."

Two articles written by the Secretary have recently been printed in a number of Lancashire newspapers.

MANCHESTER HENRY GEORGE CLUB: Miss Peggy Noble, Secretary, 13 Orthes Grove, Heaton Chapel, Stockport.

On 20th April Mr D. Catterall traced the methods by which since Norman times the State has raised revenue. In 1660 the feudal dues were abolished and Excise substituted. This was a wrong turning. Indirect taxation became the chief source of revenue. The next wrong turning was taken when the Government borrowed money in anticipation of the yield of taxation. William III. went to war with France, and the revenue being insufficient, his Finance Minister established the borrowing system in 1693. Thus was started the National Debt. It was time that honest methods were reverted to; the State taking its own—the rent of land—and labour and trade being freed from taxation.

Meetings of the Club were held on 23rd March and 20th April, both having good and useful reports in the *Manchester Guardian*. On the 23rd March the discussion (on housing) was opened by Mr Norman McKellan, secretary of the Manchester House Builders' Association. Mr A. H. Weller followed and emphasized the importance of the land value policy.

LIVERPOOL LEAGUE: F. R. Jones, Hon. Secretary, 21 Highfield Crescent, Rock Ferry, Cheshire. (Office and Meeting Room: 21 Harrington Street, North John Street, Liverpool.)

The following meetings have been addressed by our speakers: Mr O. B. Sweeney (4) at the Everton Co-op. Women's Guild, Walton Co-op. Women's Guild, the Aigburth Labour Club, the Seacombe Co-op. Men's Guild, and the Tranmere Co-op. Women's Guild; Mr E. J. McManus at the Walton Co-op. Men's Guild; and the Secretary at the Liverpool Distributist League and the Oakfield Co-op. Women's Guild.

At our own Meeting Room, 21 Harrington Street, the following addresses have been given: 23rd March, Secretary: "Practical Economic Reform"; 6th April, Mr E. J. Brierley: "Sydney Bridge and the Mersey Tunnel"; 13th April, Mr A. D. Dennis, B.Sc.: "Modern Liberalism"; 20th April, Discussion on summer arrangements; 27th April, Mr John Paul and Mr A. W. Madsen on "Political Prospects."

It was a great pleasure to welcome Mr Paul and Mr Madsen, with Mr F. N. Smith, a new recruit from Northumberland. During their two days' stay in Liverpool a number of informing conversations were held with a view to future activities.

During the summer months we are conducting in our Room at 21 Harrington Street, every Wednesday, 8 p.m.,

a reading circle with *Progress and Poverty* as the text. The book is being read through from the beginning, and on each occasion after the reading an exhaustive discussion takes place on the points raised. Friends interested should attend to improve their knowledge of the book and of economic and social problems generally.

Mr O. B. Sweeney has been making a canvass of the bookshops in Liverpool for the placing of Henry George's books on sale and their advertisement by means of the window display cards as well as the leaflets that the book-sellers place on their counters. In this he has acted as local representative of the Henry George Foundation and in co-operation with the United Committee offices. In the past few weeks he has taken orders for altogether 336 books. In each book there is a slip inviting the reader to communicate with the Foundation if he or she wishes to take active interest in the movement and subscribe to *Land & Liberty*. Mr Sweeney intends to extend his canvass later to the wider area around Liverpool.

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

A meeting of the Portsmouth League was held at the John Pile Rooms, 19th April. Mr A. H. Stokes presided, when Mr A. W. McGuigan gave an Address on the Law of Rent. The lecturer pointed out that with the present system of land tenure and taxation improved production could only increase rent, encourage land speculation, and keep wages at the minimum. Progress on these lines meant an ever-increasing inequality in the distribution of wealth.

Lieut. A. J. Claydon, R.N. (retired) was the speaker at the meeting on Monday evening, 24th May. Subject: "Robbery Legalized." He reviewed the position from an economic and practical standpoint, arguing that the land value policy would compel the landowners to find tenants for land, and that tenants would find security of tenure at reasonable rents. Mr McGuigan occupied the Chair.

In a letter appearing in the *Portsmouth Evening News* of 25th May, Franklin Collins Bailey writes: "Our Budget is in danger again, our Government leaders tell us. What on earth can they tax further to raise the wind? Why not try the only sound means of giving employment to our people at home? Taxes on land values, I emphatically assert, will do this, almost at once."

The *Portsmouth Tribune*, the local Liberal monthly, in its issue for May has a page of editorials dealing with the case for Free Trade in its fullness. It links Land Values Taxation and Free Trade together and speaks to its readers very emphatically in favour of the freedom to produce that must precede the freedom to exchange: "The advocacy of Free Trade as ordinarily understood is not enough; it should include a demand for the reform of the land system."

WELSH LEAGUE: Eustace A. Davies, Hon. Secretary,
27 Park Place, Cardiff.

The Twentieth Annual Meeting of the League was held on 23rd April at the Park Hotel, Cardiff, Mr J. T. Jones, Hon. Treasurer, presiding in the unavoidable absence of the President, Dr D. G. Taylor. There attended 150 members and friends, making this the largest and most successful Annual Meeting held for a number of years.

A Resolution was adopted unanimously, in which it was declared that:—

The League is of opinion that the Budget statement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is of a barren and depressing character and holds out no hope whatever of an early return to industrial prosperity and progress. . . .

Tariffs can only increase Unemployment and bring to the country the financial distress they have brought to Europe, America, Australia, New Zealand and to all parts of the world where the "doomed and damned thing" is in operation.

The Wheat Quota is an undisguised Bread Tax, a reaction to the Corn Laws of the "Hungry Forties," designed to raise rents and benefit the landowners at the expense of the consumers.

Demanding the repeal of the Import Duties Act and other Tariffs, we declare our unswerving adherence to complete Free Trade—the freeing of trade from every

restriction on both the production and the exchange of commodities. We unhesitatingly affirm that there can be no lasting prosperity nor peace in industry until the monopoly in land is overthrown; and that this can best be accomplished by taxation levied on the unimproved value of land, with the corresponding removal of taxes and rates now levied on industry and the earnings of industry.

The Resolution was moved by Dr Black Jones, seconded by Captain F. Saw and supported by Mr C. A. Gardner in informing speeches followed by interesting discussion. Later there was an enjoyable hour for informal conversations when members and friends foregathered for tea.

At the meeting a cordial welcome was extended to Mr Meth Jones who represented Mr Oliver Harris, Secretary of the South Wales Miners' Federation, and took part in the discussion. He endorsed the aims of the League and said he would do all in his power to advance them. He took with him for distribution among his associates a large quantity of *Y Tir a'r bobl* (Welsh translation of *Land and People* by Henry George) and reprint of the special article *Unemployment* by Dr Black Jones.

Previous to these public proceedings, the usual annual business of the League was transacted. The Secretary's Report was approved and the Accounts for the year, showing £3 10s. 5d. balance in hand, were passed.

Election of Officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows: Dr D. G. Taylor, President; Captain F. Saw, Chairman; Mr J. T. Jones, Hon. Treasurer; Mr Eustace A. Davies, Hon. Secretary; and (with these officers) an Executive of 28 members, including 9 ladies. Messrs D. Pugh Jones and C. A. Gardner were re-elected Auditors.

The Annual Report dealt specially with the activities of the League in support of the 1931 Land Values Budget and with its propaganda during the General Election, conducted in co-operation with the United Committee. The Report also expressed appreciation of the services rendered by Professor Roberts of the Cardiff University as reader of the Study Circle that met weekly last winter. The books read were *A Perplexed Philosopher* by Henry George, and *The Digner Movement in the Days of the Commonwealth* by L. H. Berens.

At the Miners' May Day Demonstration, at the instance of Mr Meth Jones, meetings in behalf of the League were addressed by Captain F. Saw at Kenfig Hill, Pontycymmer and Pencoeed and by the Hon. Secretary at Kenfig Hill and Llan-Larran.

League members look forward to the visit of Mr Fred Skirrow who comes to Cardiff on 4th July, and a series of meetings is being arranged. During his stay he will call at the bookshops in Cardiff and district to promote the display and sale of Henry George's works.

BURSLEM AND TUNSTALL

Mr Andrew MacLaren at May Day and other Meetings

After presiding at one of the two Labour demonstrations held in the Hanley Market Square on May Day, Mr Andrew MacLaren was the principal speaker at an enthusiastic evening meeting in the Tunstall Town Hall. The proceedings were well reported in the *Staffordshire Evening Sentinel* of 2nd May. A feature of the meeting was the radical character of the resolution adopted. One could wish that at all May Day demonstrations the relation between unemployment and the land monopoly with declaration of the remedy were so clearly affirmed.

Mr MacLaren said that increasing taxation had brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy. The country had a Budget that no nation could carry much longer. Yet there were those who kept insisting upon the spending of more millions on work schemes. They might spend millions giving unemployed men jobs, but when the jobs were finished they were unemployed again, and the State or local authority was left with the debt incurred. The only person who gained was the landlord, whose land was made more valuable by the work done on it. But by reducing the taxation on industry and leaving it on the value of land

they would give industrialists a better chance. Unemployment was the ghost that chased the politician, but rather than meet the bogey of unemployment in a fundamental way by removing every barrier between the willing hand and the land, the politician played with insurances, and the country had Means Tests and the like.

At the close, the following resolution was put and carried with acclamation:—

"We, electors of the Burslem and Tunstall division, renew our declarations that land monopoly, unjust taxation and tariffs are the direct causes of poverty, unemployment and war. We therefore resolve to combine in the work of reviving political education, making clear to the workers the causes of their poverty and economic servitude. We will persevere in our faith that free production, meaning free land and free trade between nations, will remove unemployment nationally and internationally, and remove the causes of political suspicion."

LABOUR WOMEN AND THE LAND VALUE POLICY

Mr MacLaren, as prospective Labour candidate for Burslem and Tunstall, attended and spoke at a delegate Conference of Labour women from the Stoke-on-Trent divisions, which was held in the Hanley Town Hall on Saturday, 4th June. In the course of the discussion, which had been mainly devoted to matters of organization, the earnest opinion of the need for a declaration of policy was expressed especially by the Burslem representatives. Mrs Taylor recommended a study of the *Law of Rent* and vigorously advocated the teachings of Henry George. Mr MacLaren followed with a speech on the cause of Unemployment and the Remedy. Mrs Peaty urged the consideration of the Conference of Resolutions that had been circulated in favour of Free Trade and the Taxation of Land Values. This was agreed. The Resolutions were moved by Mrs Anderson Fenn, the district organizer, and carried. The Conference concluded with singing of the "Land Song." The three Resolutions adopted were in the following terms:—

TARIFFS

"This Conference of Labour Women of Stoke-on-Trent strongly condemns the Protectionist policy of the Government. The tariffs now imposed will increase the cost of living, aggravate the problem of unemployment; create new and special vested interests, which can only lead to the corruption of political life, as witness the condition of politics in the United States of America and other tariff-ridden countries, and affirms: There can be no real Free Trade until there is freedom to produce wealth as well as freedom to exchange it. True Free Trade requires the removal of all hindrances to production; the overthrow of land monopoly; and the abolition not only of tariffs, but of all taxation now levied on trade and industry, whether by State or Local Authority.

LOCAL RATING

"This Conference declares that the present basis of assessment for local taxation—namely, the annual rent obtainable for land and premises in their existing condition—is unjust in its incidence and should be replaced by a system under which local revenues in town and country alike shall be raised by rates levied on the true market value of land, apart from buildings and improvements, whether the land is used or not.

"We therefore call upon the National Labour Party to make the Local Rating of Land Values a principal plank in their National and Municipal Programmes, to be advocated at by-elections and at the forthcoming General Election.

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

"This Conference of Labour Women of Stoke-on-Trent affirms that industrial depression, unemployment and low wages are directly traceable to the private appropriation of rent or land value; that the value of land apart from improvements is the creation of the community; and therefore demands that the machinery of the 1931 Finance Act for the Valuation of Land and the Taxation of Land Values be pressed into action at once.

"In view of the fact that Sir John Simon has recently challenged a reply to his question: How is the gap of £33,000,000 in the National Finances to be made up unless

we resort to tariffs? this Conference makes reply in the words of Lord Snowden, speaking at Hanley on 25th January, 1928, as follows: 'On a very conservative estimate, a tax of one penny in the pound on the capital value of land would produce £20,000,000, and a tax of fivepence in the pound—the rate imposed in Sydney—would bring £100,000,000.'

As reported in the *Staffordshire Evening Sentinel* of 10th June, during his visit to Tunstall, Mr Andrew MacLaren spoke at a gathering of the Tunstall branch of the Henry George Society. Alderman E. T. Bird presided. The local branches of the Society were formed by Mr MacLaren at the last General Election, and there are over 120 members in the Tunstall branch.

THE REAL FREE TRADE GOSPEL AT LLANDUDNO

In behalf of the Henry George Foundation and to take advantage of the opportunity for advertising Henry George's books, Mr O. B. Sweeney and Mr E. J. McManus went from Liverpool to Llandudno on 25th May. The occasion was the Conference and Demonstration of the North Wales Liberal Federation. The campaigners had with them 5,000 of the illustrated leaflets issued by the Foundation with special post-free offer of *Progress and Poverty*, *Social Problems*, *Protection or Free Trade* and *The Condition of Labour*; and 5,000 copies also of the United Committee's Manifesto, *The Crisis and the Tariffs—The Case for Free Trade in its Fullness*.

At the morning Liberal Conference in the Town Hall the leaflets were distributed to all the delegates, with the friendly assistance of Mr Hugh Morgan, one of the stewards. The big afternoon Demonstration was held in the Pier Pavilion, the audience numbering some 4,000 people. The Secretary in charge was keen upon having the leaflets circulated within the Pavilion and it was so arranged. With the necessary assistance the leaflets were given out seat by seat to every person present. The visit thus proved most successful. An effective piece of spade-work has been done. We congratulate our colleagues on this enterprise.

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I and II: 4s. 6d.; III: 4s. 0d.; IVa: 1s. 9d.; IVb: 3s. 6d.;
IVc: 6s. 6d.

Personal Paragraphs

M.S., London: "Kindly send me copies of the United Committee's Manifesto and your covering letter. I shall drop them in 'bus or tram, hoping they will be picked up by likely people. Am sending a subscription."

J. C. (Dumfriesshire) writes, 29th May: "Thanks for the pamphlets, and the Manifesto. I read and enjoyed the Manifesto very much. The fact that the country could not afford £1,500,000 for assessing public values of the land yet the awful sums spent in Customs collections show how the landlords can and will fight to the bitter end. You are to be congratulated on such a document."

Mr J. M. Atkinson is the new Secretary of the Henry George League of Victoria, 18, George Parade, Melbourne. *Progress* of 1st March, reporting and welcoming the appointment, speaks highly of Mr Atkinson's devotion and abilities. As an indefatigable writer to the city and country Press and an eloquent speaker at public meetings, he has long rendered inestimable aid to our cause.

In sending a donation R. O'R. (Poplar) writes, 28th May: "Congratulations on your fine Manifesto. Even the Tories may be driven to tax Land Values yet. Disillusion on the 'blessings' of Protection is growing fast. I see Snowden's Bill is staying on the Statute book; it's a consolation prize."

F. G. J. (Leeds) writes: "Conversation overheard the other day. First man: 'Who was Henry George?' Second man: 'Henry George was the pseudonym of a well-known woman writer.'"

[This recalls one of the racy stories that appeared in *The Public* under the caption "Lobsters I Have Met." In some railway compartment the discussion turned on social problems, and one drummer present said he knew what to do. In the course of conversation a quiet man asked him if he had read Henry George. The reply was: "Yes, I should think I have." The quiet man said: "What do you think of his *Twenty Years of Married Life*?" "Fine," was the answer, "my wife and I just revelled in that book." "And what do you think of his *Fifty Leagues under the Sea*?" It was even a finer book, and he had written Henry George complimenting him on this work!—Ed., L. & L.]

The Secretary of a Yorkshire City Labour Party writes, 27th May: "Will you kindly send me 36 copies of Manifesto which you offer to send for the asking. I require them for the Central and North Divisional Labour Party Executives."

M. G. B. (Southampton) writes, 18th May: "Many thanks for your Manifesto, which I found very interesting indeed. I regret I am unable at the moment to forward a donation, but you can be sure I shall continue to propagate the great teaching."

J. H. McM., Dundee, on 15th May: "I received your timely and well-expressed Manifesto. Every intelligent student of political economy will be with you in saying that the unemployment crisis is not foreign but home-made. The abiding cause of poverty is the misappropriation of land values. But the old order is changing, thanks to your Committee and to others who have promoted and spread the teaching of Henry George. Your Manifesto is just what is urgently needed at this time. A first-class speech could readily be based upon it." (The writer sent with his letter copies of articles appearing in the local Press from his pen.)

J. A. (Huddersfield) writes, 27th May: "Would to God I could respond to the appeal of your Manifesto. But with poor health and lightness of purse I yet rarely miss a single day without writing and sending out something relative to it to one person and another, because I have a dead sure conviction that it is the world's only hope."

Mrs E. C. Evans, U.S.A., whose correspondence with Professor Einstein was reported in our previous issue, writes: "Thank you so much for the copies of *Progress and Poverty* and *Social Problems*. The edition is such a nice one and less cumbersome than the heavy, old-fashioned copies we have in our library."

In acknowledging a gift of Henry George's works for the Tulloch Free Library, Dunoon, J. C. writes: "I was pleased to receive your letter and also the five volumes by Henry George. Of course I am personally delighted to have the complete set for the Library. I was also glad to find that you have placed Mark Rutherford's article on the same page as Professor Einstein's enthusiastic account of a first reading of *Progress and Poverty*. Though there are fifty years between the two appreciations, the

letters accentuate each other. I hope Professor Einstein may be induced to say more on the subject."

In sending 4s. for literature sold, Miss C. A., Hull, a Junior Prize Winner in last year's Essay Competition, writes, 7th June: "My mother is a member of the Labour Group of the Hull City Council, and at a women's meeting held last Monday referred to the Taxation of Land Values in which we are very interested. The audience was invited to purchase pamphlets and I am pleased to forward you the result."

A. M. (Yorkshire), 24th April: "Our task at present is to hold the fort and keep the flag flying. We have no forces to spare at present to send out on any reconnoitering expedition. *Land & Liberty* is up to the standard again. I am sending copies round to possible new subscribers. I think you have done wonders in the past twelve months. You are in touch with the realities."

W. M. Southam (Ottawa) writes, 11th May: "My brother H. S. and I wish to express our thanks for the thoughtfulness of the Committee in sending us a complimentary copy of the new edition of *Social Problems*, in special binding, by Henry George. They look very attractive, and we will long hold them as a commemoration of the splendid work your Committee is doing for such a worth-while cause."

E. J. M. (Liverpool), writing on 21st February: "I spoke to about 200 women at a Birkenhead Co-operative Guild, and again to about the same number of men at a Wesleyan Guild Forum. The presentation of the real Free Trade argument appeared to me to evoke a much greater interest than formerly. If my experience is general the 'vanguard' may be able to move their camps forward." In his letter, this correspondent wished us to pass on four suggestions to active workers in the movement. We gladly do so. The suggestions are: (a) Get into organizations willing to provide a platform for our speaker; (b) Increase Press correspondence, especially in those newspapers, mainly the small provincial Press, where there is reasonable prospect of letters being accepted for publication; (c) Establish study circles; and last, but not least, (d) Increase the annual subscribers to *Land & Liberty*."

Sir Henry Ballantyne, 10th March: "I have been in business over 60 years and Chairman of Liberal Associations for 45 years. I think I am entitled to take things easy. Please send me 50 copies of *Protection or Free Trade*, and I will try to get them judiciously distributed."

John Burtneck (Latvia), 9th February: "Your favour of 14th January was duly received together with the literature, for which please accept many thanks. I should not like to miss the next International gathering of the Single Taxers. As a popular treatise *The Story of My Dictatorship* appears to be specially valuable and I hope to see it in a Lettish translation some day. Although International Money Orders are taboo for the present I wish you would send me an application form for membership of the International Union."

H. H. (Walsall): "I am more than pleased with *Progress and Poverty*, and I want to know if you will send me two more; and will you send me *Protection or Free Trade*, *The Condition of Labour*, *Social Problems* and *Gems from Henry George*. I have told a good many of our members in the Young Socialists' League, and they promised to send for *Progress and Poverty*. I enclose postal order for five shillings for the books."

J. H. M. (Portsmouth), 21st April: "My congratulations on the March-April issue of *Land & Liberty*. Please forward me three dozen copies with account."

K. B. (New Zealand), sending his subscription, writes: "Of one thing you can be sure. As soon as I can afford it you will get more money; do not be afraid of asking for more money. I do know that it is needed for *Land & Liberty*. I send you and your co-operators in the work my most sincere thanks."

W. P. (Clydebank) writes: "Trade in Clydebank at present is a complete wash-out. There are dozens of shops to let. See the men walking about idle that were never idle in their lives before; they take it very hard. The younger men don't seem to worry much. Everyone keeps crying out they have no money, and yet night after night they line up to get into the picture houses. It's a bit of a mystery to me."

In sending a donation, H. H. P. (Sussex) writes: "I am sorry to hear *Land & Liberty* is feeling the stress of hard times, but surely the leaders in the movement near and far could be appealed

Personal Paragraphs

to to save the situation if they were made alive to it. God bless you in the work."

W. B. H. (Yorks.) writes: "Things are not so good in business up here. The tariffs which were going to make things hum have not come up to Protectionist expectations at all."

At the request of Mr Joseph F. Duncan, Secretary of the Scottish Farm Servants' Union, 125 copies of *Land & Liberty* for March-April were sent to him for distribution among that number of his members, with accompanying circular recommending the journal.

A. H. P. (Cambridge), 21st April: "The new *Land & Liberty* is excellent, and my feeling is one of gratitude to you who write, collect and arrange the contents. I sometimes wonder how the comments would affect at the first sight the ordinary Free Trader who does not know and understand Land Value Taxation."

Mr Harold S. Buttenheim has recently been elected a member of the Board of Directors of the Franklin Society for Home Building and Savings, New York, of which the Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy is the President. Mr. Buttenheim is the Editor of the *American City*, a journal of wide circulation and great influence among administrators and students of municipal government in the U.S.A. Our readers will recall the striking article we reprinted (in our January-February issue) from that journal by G. N. Gardiner on City Planning and Land Values. Among Mr Buttenheim's many interests is his active membership of the Henry George League of New Jersey. His visit last summer to the United Committee's offices is a very pleasant memory. In *Garden Cities and Town Planning* (London) for June-July, 1932, in a long letter Mr Buttenheim argued convincingly the case for Land Value Taxation.

The *Yorkshire Observer Budget*, Friday, 8th April, contains a character sketch and portrait of Fred Skirrow, the Secretary of the Yorkshire and Northern Land Values League. It is a page given over week by week to "Men of Moment," and tells an interesting story of the lifework of Mr Skirrow; how as a youth he went to the backwoods of Canada, returning to Yorkshire to engage in the fight for Land Value Taxation and real Free Trade.

F. H. (India), in sending three subscriptions to the International Union, writes: "In this benighted land the economic darkness deepens. Formerly the I.C.S. men had power to hold India to a low tariff and land revenue policy. Now that India's educated classes control policy the pace is strong for high tariff protection and land revenue reduction. With every good wish for your continued welfare and for the cause."

The Hon. Treasurers of the United Committee acknowledge receipt of anonymous donation of one shilling from post-mark Glasgow.

W. G. Stewart (Reading, Pa., U.S.A.) writes, 2nd May: "Great Britain seems as lacking in hopeful leadership and prospects as is the United States, but the clouds will pass even if we must have a real storm. Keep up the good work."

Edward Polak (New York) writes: "If I may offer a suggestion, I would like to make it, that five hundred Single Taxers pledge themselves to give away or sell at least one book each month together with free pamphlets to start with and afterwards to give or sell the books. This would ensure at least 6,000 books per year with little or no expense to the Henry George Foundation. I give away at least five books each month and perhaps 50 pieces of literature in the form of pamphlets. I receive many appreciative letters and have made many converts. Think it over; it might work out in England. I am proposing it here and expect to see it adopted. *Land & Liberty* could carry this proposal to its readers."

In a letter (13th August, 1931) to Rev. William Drury, the General Secretary of the Roads Improvement Association, Wallace E. Riche, wrote: "The Association will lend its support to the Taxation of Land Values, as it believes it is a reasonable and fair tax. It is interesting to recall that the Association some 25 years ago propounded a policy under which a substantial share of the increased value of land due to road construction and similar public works improvements, should be paid to the State to provide a fund for road development. It certainly is not fair that landowners should reap unreasonable profit from the construction of roads towards which they have made no contribution."

J. E. G. (London) writes, 28th May: "The stars are shining behind the clouds and the sun too, for that matter, although

we do not see so much of his glorious 'disc' these days. The Tariffists are not singing quite so loudly and the fear of still more taxation and the almost certainty of a deficit are all giving furiously to think."

F. N. S. (Northumberland), in a letter to a correspondent: "Some time ago I received from the United Committee offices six copies of Mr Lester's *Unemployment and the Land*. To make the fullest possible use of them I distributed them on loan for three days at a time, collected them, and then redistributed them. Some of the copies are now held together by all manner of adhesive paper. I wish you could see them."

"Selling literature here (in this mining area) seems definitely out of the question, but I've managed to dispose of four copies of *Progress and Poverty*, and as time goes on and Henry George becomes more widely read, I have no doubt that he'll just eat into the souls of other people just as he did into mine and in the process eat away much that is erroneous."

P. R. Williams (Secretary, Henry George Foundation of America, Pittsburgh), 11th April: "We are always glad to be of any assistance we can in the splendid work you are doing in Britain."

Our correspondents who write to the Press are invited to send clippings of their letters as they appear, naming the newspaper and the date. In recent weeks we have been glad to notice much activity in this field of endeavour. Mr W. R. Lester's letter on "Protection and Land Values" was widely published. A prolonged correspondence took place in the *Nottingham Evening News* with letters from F. Skirrow, A. W. Dakers, G. F. Musson, W. M. Lloyd, and Chapman Wright. The *Keighley News* for two weeks running had a whole page of letters contributed, among others, by W. Thomson, J. Booth, F. Skirrow, "Audax" and "Impot Unique." A. H. Weller had special articles on "The Great Pretence" (that Tariffs will lead to Free Trade) and on "Getting a Living" in a number of Lancashire papers. Other letters were: A. Blackburn, *Catholic Times* and other papers; J. Bush, *Town Crier*; A. N. Batty, *News-Chronicle*; "A.C." *Evening Times*, Glasgow; "Physicrat," *Herts Observer*; O. B. Sweeney, *Birkenhead News*; and F. C. Bailey, *Evening News*, Portsmouth.

A. W. (Liverpool), 24th April: "The last issue of *Land & Liberty* with its articles by several authoritative writers deals in a most able manner with current affairs here and in the international field. I enclose herewith 2s. 6d. as a small contribution to the furtherance of your work. There will be nothing to prevent my making further financial contributions as and when economic circumstances permit."

A. M. (Glasgow) writes, 27th May: "I sent Sir Iain Colquhoun, the Lord High Commissioner of the General Assembly for the year, a copy of *Thy Kingdom Come and Moses*, by Henry George. Does anyone in London outside the U.C. know where we are or where we are drifting?"

Lee Francis Lybarger (Penna), 29th January: "I want to thank you for being remembered with your Greetings for 1932. I have been a follower in Henry George's footsteps from high-school days on. I should appreciate a copy of your publication *Land & Liberty*. The present time is undoubtedly the greatest opportunity for presenting our cause we have ever had. Land value taxation is the only offer ever been proposed that can abolish poverty and prevent industrial depression."

J. H. Carlisle, writes, 8th June: "I agree that the time is now opportune for our ideas, and if you would care to forward 1,000 or 2,000 copies of Mr Lester's pamphlet, *Unemployment and the Land*, I'll see to the personal delivery."

(This is a good offer and it has been accepted.—EDITOR, *Land & Liberty*.)

Mr A. Williams Price (Cefn Bychan, Wrexham) had a letter in the *Wrexham Leader*, 11th May, as follows: "I shall be pleased to forward copies of pamphlets dealing with the Taxation of Land Values, gratis and post free, upon application from any fellow-reader."

Harold Sudell (Pa., U.S.A.) writes, 29th April: "You got out an excellent paper this month, but for that matter it is always good. More power to you. Keep up the good work."

E. S. (Dorset), 23rd April, sends greetings and good wishes from Western Australian Single Taxers.

Alex. C. (Govan) writes, 18th May: "I am delighted with your Manifesto. It seems to be exactly what is wanted at the present time. Send me 100 copies for distribution. Always highly pleased with *Land & Liberty*."

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

(Press Service of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, 94 Petty France, London, S.W.1)

ARGENTINA

Land Value Taxation in Mendoza

An encouraging item of news is reported in the *Tribuna Georgista* (Rivadavia 971, Buenos Aires) of 15th May, as follows:

The Deliberative Council of the City of Mendoza has lately ordered the immediate enforcement of the Tax on Site Values authorized in an Ordinance of 18th May, 1923, on the proposal of (then) Councillor Santiago F. Castroman.

This Ordinance was not put into effect owing to the obstruction of the Mayor of that period, Sr. Trianes, and the opposition of Federal Commissioners who subsequently ruled the Andine Province.

To-day, with the return to constitutional normality the Deliberative Council by unanimous vote of its members has resolved to require of the Executive Department the application of the Ordinance referred to. The majority of the Council are of the National Democratic Party, the minority are of Socialist views.

It is important to note that before endorsing the application of this reform in taxation the Deliberative Council resolved to obtain the opinion of the Bar Council of the Province on its legal aspect. The Directory of the Bar Council by eight votes to one laid down that the Ordinance in question was perfectly constitutional and could be sanctioned without any disability by the Deliberative Council.

Through the opposition of governing authorities for the last nine years the making of the Valuation Roll, ordered to be prepared at once in the Ordinance, was delayed and not completed till the end of 1928. As it happens, the land value tax can be applied on a quite recent register, which should tend to the greater success of the reform.

The amount of the tax has not yet been fixed. The Ordinance in question provides for this in ordering completion of the valuation first, followed by a statement of the percentage of the taxable total which would be required to replace the product of the antiquated and injurious taxes for street lighting, repairs and cleaning.

M. J. S., who gives us this translation, adds:

The great City and Province of Mendoza on the Argentine side of the Andes is historically and in many cultural aspects a part of Chile, lying next to Valparaiso, Buenos Aires being four times as far away and only of late years in commercial touch. It is important to recall the fact that before the "intervention" of Federal Commissioners, the Province of San Juan, lying next northward of Mendoza (also on and colonized from over the Chilean border), had passed a State law authorizing all State and civic taxes to be raised from land value. The revival of constitutionalism may allow this fruitful Act to come into force.

It has been decided to hold the Fourth Argentine Georgeist Congress on 9th and 10th July, at a place to be fixed.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

Terre et Liberte (29 Boul. Bourdon IVe, Paris, and 80 Rue Vondel, Brussels) for May-June, 1932, pays fine tribute to the memory and work of the late M. Charles Gide, the well-known Professor of Political Economy, who was Hon. President of our French Georgeist League. He passed away on 12th March at the age of 84 years. A long reprint of his glowing and competent review of *Progress and Poverty* in May, 1883, is worthily set beside his appeal to co-operators to aid us in October, 1926.

An article of special interest is by Maxime Toubreau on "Proudhon and Land Values." Proudhon is best known as an apostle of philosophic anarchy, but it is clear that the solution of the land question was set out plainly by him in 1858 in *Justice*; and in 1860 in a memorial addressed to the authorities of Canton Vaud in Switzerland. His view of the feasibility of a gradual replacement of existing taxes by one (extinctive) on site value, and his study of the social

effects of the ensuing economic liberty make him worthy to be included among the "precursors of Henry George."

NEW ZEALAND

The *Standard* (N.S.W.) for 15th February, 1932, has in an interesting letter from Mr J. J. Thomas, once a Georgeist stalwart and Alderman in Albury, N.S.W., and now in Auckland, N.Z., the good news that he has 4,000 signatures in hand to the 5,000 needed to secure a Poll on Rating of Land Values only in the City of Auckland.

Henry Ford, in a recent speech on the American Tariff Bill, said:—

"I venture to predict this Bill will be the last of its kind. . . . No up-to-date business man wants it. It is the contention of those backing it that it will revive industry and increase employment. I say that it will have precisely the reverse effect. It will stultify business and increase unemployment. Instead of building barriers to hinder the free flow of business we should be seeking to tear our existing barriers down. People cannot keep buying from us unless we buy from them and unless our international trade can go on, business will stagnate."

Lieutenant John Wille, Copenhagen, has produced a new pamphlet entitled *The Defence of the Fatherland and the Land Question*, one of its illustrations being that of the well-known British war poster—"Is not This Worth Fighting For?" It is a brilliant piece of writing and should prove a great asset to the Danish Henry George movement. The Editor is grateful to the author for the complimentary copy sent, and a review of it will appear in our next issue.

Mr Ashley Mitchell, Hon. Treasurer of the International Union, visited Amsterdam and Copenhagen during the week, 12th to 15th June. He was glad to meet colleagues in the movement in both these cities. He is looking forward to the same pleasure across the Atlantic, where he will visit Montreal on 15th July, Ontario on 22nd July and New York on 30th July. He sails from Montreal home on 5th August.

The Editor gladly acknowledges the complimentary copy (directed to the United Committee) of Mr Baldomero Argente's new book entitled *Natural Economic Rights of Man*. The Author gives his authority for its translation into English. The book is published, Madrid, 1932, by Editorial Reus, and in behalf of the Spanish Association of International Right. Mr Baldomero Argente is one who has the esteem of the movement throughout the world for the eminent service he has rendered in his translations of Henry George's books into Spanish.

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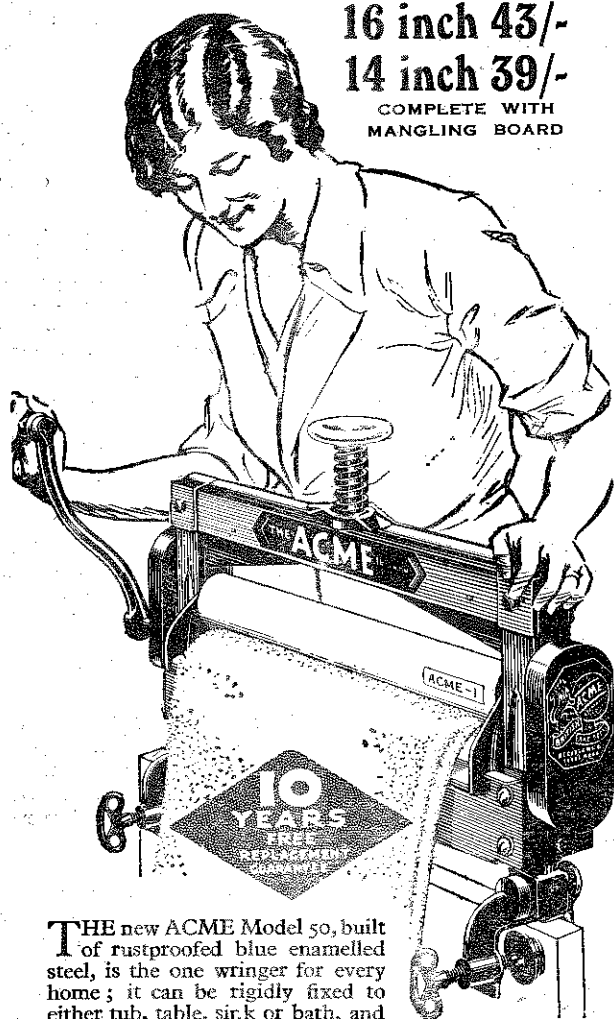
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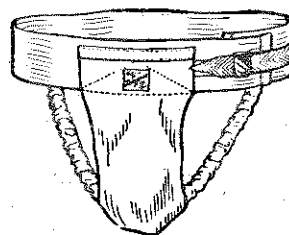
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