

LAND & LIBERTY

MONTHLY JOURNAL FOR LAND VALUE TAXATION AND FREE TRADE

Forty-eighth Year.—No. 568

SEPTEMBER, 1941

2d. By Post, 3s. per annum

Land Values and Town Planning—Mercantilism down to Our
Day—Protection and Rent—Sir Richard Acland's "Forward
March"—Foreign News

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

THE DECLARATION adopted by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister at their historic meeting in the Atlantic should in its broad outlines satisfy not only this country, but the world, of the aims for which the democracies are fighting. In his broadcast on 24th August, Mr Churchill amplified the statement by a generous interpretation of its clauses. The essence of it is that the future should be based upon political and economic freedom.

The peoples of every country should be free to choose their form of government according to their own needs and wishes, unfettered by any external pressure or influence.

The allied powers seek no territorial or other aggrandizement for themselves. Territorial changes should only be made in accordance with the wishes of peoples concerned. It would seem that the exaction of reparations or penalties from the vanquished by the victors is repudiated.

The declaration recognizes that the establishment of independence and self-government for national groups which are bound together by ties of race, language, culture, or other interests is not in itself sufficient to safeguard their life and prosperity. It must be accompanied by the establishment of economic conditions that will secure for them equality of opportunity. For this purpose "they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity."

"They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security." In elucidation of this the Prime Minister said in his broadcast: "Instead of trying to ruin German trade by all kinds of additional trade barriers and hindrances, as was the mood of 1917, we have definitely adopted the view that it is not in the interests of the world and of our two countries that any large nation should be unprosperous or shut out from the means of making a decent living for itself and its people by its industry and enterprise."

If these statements mean anything, they mean freedom of trade. That is the first condition of economic collaboration and of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world. Freedom of trade must consist not only in the abolition of tariffs, but also in the removal of all other hindrances such as exchange

restrictions, quotas, export taxes and any other device which is intended to favour some particular industry or group.

There is one qualification in the Declaration. The phrase "with due respect for their existing obligations" needs explanation. It would appear to relate to trade agreements made between one country and another. If it means no more than that such agreements should not be broken but should continue until the time arrives when they can legally be terminated, no objection need be raised. In such cases steps should be taken to put an end as speedily as possible to any agreements which are contrary to equal freedom of trade with all the world; that course alone is consistent with the spirit of the Declaration. Every attempt to perpetuate tariffs and restrictions and discriminations should be sternly resisted no matter how plausible the arguments in their favour may be. The selfishness of individuals or of groups of individuals, trying to establish monopolies for themselves, must not be allowed again to imperil the peace of the world.

But freedom of trade is not enough. That alone will not secure access on equal terms to the raw materials of the world. Full access to raw materials can only be secured by full and unimpeded access to the land from which they are derived, and so long as monopolistic land ownership is allowed to continue that prerequisite of a free and equal and peaceful world cannot be satisfied.

The British Empire has already given some examples of how this goal of equal access to land can be achieved in an orderly and rational fashion. In Northern Nigeria, since 1910, it has been the law that all land is held in trust for the people. The only right which an individual can have in it is one of use and occupancy. He must pay a rent for the land which is revised from time to time according as the value varies. So long as he does this he has security of tenure and security for the improvements which he makes, for the rent is based on the value of the land disregarding the improvements. Similar legislation is now in operation also in Tanganyika, and has been in a much more limited form since 1884 in Malaya.

These examples, it may be said, relate to lands with a more primitive economy and where the inherent rights of the people to the land had not been so completely lost as they are in most countries. But here again the legislation for local, and in some cases national, taxation of land values in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa,

and Canada show the way in which the same principle may be asserted in a developed economy where individual legal title to land has been established. By requiring the holder of land to pay a portion, and ultimately the whole, of the economic rent to the state by way of taxation, we assert the right of the community to its share, while leaving to the citizen the results of his own labour and expenditure.

At the same time land value taxation secures access to raw materials by requiring the holder of the land to pay to the state for the privilege of holding them, whether he uses them or not. Thus it ceases to be profitable to hold land out of use and access to raw materials is secured.

This change is needed not only in colonies and protectorates, for it is to these that thought first turns, but in all countries. It is essential that the people of Britain or France or Germany or the United States should have access to the land of their own country upon equal terms. If they do not have this, they will be deprived of facilities for producing and trading at home, and this is far more important and fundamental than access to raw materials abroad.

It may not be without significance that Mr Churchill said that Napoleon's armies "carried with them the

surges of the French revolution—'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' that was the cry. There was a sweeping away of outworn medieval systems and aristocratic privilege: the land for the people, a new code of laws." We have not yet got the land for the people, but we know better how to get it.

The whole argument is reinforced by the consideration that when tariffs are abolished other sources of revenue must be found. The needs of the state as the agent of the community can best be met from that revenue which arises from the common activities of the community, and not from taxes which hinder trade or fall upon consumption.

Liberalism interpreted the Atlantic Charter is indeed a new Great Charter of Liberty. Mr Churchill has made it clear that he sought and obtained the assent of the member states of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It has been approved by the Russian Government, and, we may hope, will be approved by the next meeting of the Inter-Allied Conference. Let us pray that in every sense it represents "the marshalling of the good forces of the world against the evil forces" to lead the toiling masses "forward out of the miseries into which they have been plunged, back to the broad highroad of freedom and justice."

LAND VALUES AND TOWN PLANNING

IN THE Summer number of *Town and Country Planning* appears the first instalment of a long article by Mr F. J. Osborn entitled "Compensation and all that." The whole tenour of it is that town planning is a problem of land values. It may be useful to quote the following passages.

"Hitherto I have left out one most important effect of planning. I have talked a lot about restrictive zoning and reservation of farm-land from building, which clearly tend to reduce the values of the land to which they are applied. But there are indirect effects. Stopping or restricting building in one place does not mean that there is less building. It only shifts building from one place to another. If we preserve a country belt for 10 miles round London, and also limit the density in the built-up areas, we thereby stimulate building somewhere else; possibly in smaller towns, possibly in new towns (if we see that such new towns are started in practicable places for people to live and carry on industry in). Thus there is not a total reduction of land values. But there is a considerable redistribution of land values.

"We have seen that it is not always easy to judge whether and by how much the restrictive zoning of given areas of land (whether undeveloped or built-on) reduces its value, because we can never really tell how far it merely confirms, and how far it alters, the expectation on which the previous market value was based. What is more, just because different people have different forecasts of how a piece of land is likely to be used in the future, even 'market value' itself is uncertain and fluctuating. And as any valuer or planner will tell you, the assessment of 'injurious affection' resolves itself into the hearing of widely different estimates by experts on both sides who start from entirely different ways of looking at the case.

ELUSIVENESS OF 'BETTERMENT'

"Difficult as is the assessment of the direct adverse effect of planning, it is child's-play compared with the problem of finding out to what area and to what owners the benefit goes. It may be the next plot, it may be an unknown plot in the next suburb, it may be spread

over dozens of areas in other towns or other parts of the country altogether.

"This is the main reason why it is impracticable to make 'Betterment' pay for compensation. It is not really possible, in most cases, to make a scientific assessment of fair compensation—but because of the intense personal interest in public actions which damage private interests, some rough estimate simply has to be made to quiet personal grievances and to satisfy the public conscience. In the case of *increases* of value caused by planning, the public conscience is not aroused at all and the public sense of grievance very little. The degree to which individual consciences might be rendered uneasy by unearned benefits would no doubt vary widely—but the question rarely arises, because in the sort of case we are dealing with (which is the typical case) the individual is not more able than is the state to judge whether his property has been increased in value by planning in some other area, or even in his own area. And if he suspects he is benefiting, neither he nor the state has the least idea of the amount of that benefit.

"The one case where Betterment could be easily assessed is the case, which has hardly had time to arise yet, where there is already a planning scheme which zones the land for one use, and an amending scheme is introduced in which the same land is newly zoned for a more profitable use. In such a case, without much doubt, Betterment would be claimed and would be fairly assessable as soon as the change of use came into effect. But it is likely to be a rare sort of case, and does not help us over the main problem of providing adequate funds for the much more frequent cases when 'injurious affection' will be apparent."

While labour-saving improvements do increase the power of labour, no improvement or invention can release labour from its dependence upon land. Labour-saving improvements only increase the power of producing wealth from land. And land being monopolized as the private property of certain persons, who can thus prevent others from using it, all these gains, which accrue primarily to labour, can be demanded from labour by the owners of land, in higher rents and higher prices.

HENRY GEORGE IN *Social Problems*.

MERCANTILISM DOWN TO OUR DAY

By J. L. Bjöner

ON 8TH MARCH, Prime Minister (of Denmark) Stauning delivered his annual ceremonial address at the Students' Union. It was a crowded hall and many distinguished persons attended. As so often before, Mr Stauning's speech was weighty and thoughtful. Once more he strongly insisted that in our country's present situation it was of prime importance to show mutual forbearance, to be tranquil and keep order. If we stood firmly together by the King, the flag and the fatherland, and bore ourselves with dignity toward the strangers in our midst, we could have good hopes of seeing ourselves through the difficulties of the present time. Well said, and all true Danes will approve these sentiments.

But the Prime Minister went on to express views with which not all good Danes can agree. He pointed to the German conception of planned economy with which we might have to collaborate, he said, seeing that liberalism had become bankrupt like the egotistical idea it was!

To this we have to reply that liberalism, as a venture that has never been started, can certainly never have failed: that is out of the question. And as for egotism, the statement is wholly contradictory which says that a policy that demands equal rights and freedom for all has the slightest connection with selfishness.

No longer ago than the 14th December, 1940, the four large parliamentary parties making a secret of their meeting, and excluding the fifth small party which had a right to be there, passed in all haste a new customs law which will give the already highly protected textile industry a number of extra millions to distribute among the shareholders of that industry. That law was not an expression of any social spirit nor was it a token for domestic tranquillity and order: it was the hall-mark of industrial selfishness.

This is the explanation. It is not liberalism, freedom, that has gone bankrupt but its opposite, the state regulation of industrial life. It is the antithesis of liberalism that has brought to fratricide the white man's world. Can any one deny it?

Mercantilism—the state-directed economic planning belonging to the time when wigs were worn—harried Europe for many years until an explosion, the French revolution, struck it from off the backs of the people. The world found its way, not to liberalism unfortunately, but to a half-liberalism. As a natural reaction to that, we got state socialism which is the new name for the old mercantilism. But state socialism will also have its natural successor—in Geogheism, the just state, the new name for liberalism. For it is only in intellectual and economic freedom that the world can progress—and the world will always make progress, even if the steps are often stumbling and slow.

If science and scientific discoveries had not marched in advance and helped to raise living standards for the people, state control would have ended long ago in the decadence of human society like unto the twilight of the gods.

Now we are again back to the position in which people see in technical advance the opposite of progress because it is a curse to labour. We remember how in their time the weavers of Lyons smashed the power looms. In our day the excavator,* poor thing, has to be regarded as one of the beasts which, although they lighten labour's toil, at the same time deprive the labourer of a wage. In a recently published pamphlet "Economics and the People," Mr P. Hedeboel defends the

action he took when as Mayor of Copenhagen he sold city ground (yes, he actually *sold* it into private ownership) with the condition imposed that in any building operations no excavators were to be used but only spades and wheelbarrows—this, in order to "create work." Why not enforce the use of tea spoons? Surely that would have made available many more hours of work. But it is to this sort of planned economic nonsense that Karl Marx has led reasonable people like Th. Stauning and P. Hedeboel; as if work, toil, was in itself a thing to be desired and not the result of labour and its just distribution.

Karl Marx's greatest mistake was in blaming capitalism for that which monopoly is alone responsible. Thereby he caused his adherents to tumble over one another in a competitive chase after the spade (as symbol of capital) so that they forgot all about the land and failed to see that just as exchange is a link in production so is the freedom of exchange a link in the freedom of production. This is the reason why the social democrats everywhere when they secured power quickly came to a dead stop; and when they tried to move—since to stand still is to go back and they would not take the road of a free economy—they swung away to the "Right" and suddenly found themselves arm in arm with the monopolists and reactionaries.

So we see why good men like Stauning and Hedeboel now embrace this state planned economy and find themselves fighting mechanical progress in their fight against unemployment. In addition—and this is the worst of all—they have influenced our agricultural population, who were at least of half liberal disposition, a long way towards state socialism.

Fortunately the world and the times never stand still but move with the "rhythm of history." After the rain comes the sunshine. The blind alley into which the self-sufficiency folly, trade barriers, customs duties, planned economy and land monopoly have led the people, and out of which we are trying to blast a way with high explosives, could have been avoided. For what else can the modern slogan "European co-operation" mean than that customs boundaries shall disappear? But why must we await that, or think to achieve it, through fratricidal war? In an afternoon session of Parliament we could—to our own advantage—remove our own tariff barriers, leaving others to their own hurt to vex themselves with their tariffs till they become wiser. A tariff free Denmark would make Denmark Europe's Free Harbour, a Denmark as the leading nation, leading a tariff-weary warlike world out of the darkness of mercantilism into the light of the Free State, the Just State and brotherly association.

(Translated from the Danish journal *Grundskyld*, issue of April, 1941.)

Democratic government in more than name can only exist where wealth is distributed with something like equality—where the great mass of citizens are personally free and independent, neither fettered by their poverty nor made subject by their wealth.

HENRY GEORGE in *Social Problems*.

No assumption can be more gratuitous than that constantly made that absolute ownership of land is necessary to the improvement and proper use of land. What is necessary to the best use of land is the security of improvements—the assurance that the labour and capital expended upon it shall enjoy their reward.

HENRY GEORGE in *Social Problems*.

* In Danish an excavator is called a "dig-cow."

LAND & LIBERTY

PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED COMMITTEE FOR
THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, LTD.
Forty-eighth Year. Established June, 1894.

By Post 3s. 6d. per annum.

Editor: A. W. Madsen

Associate Editor: F. C. R. Douglas
4 GREAT SMITH STREET, LONDON, S.W.1

Telegrams: Abbey 6665
EALHAM, PAUL, LONDON.

Postage on this issue is One Penny

SEPTEMBER, 1941

"THE FORWARD MARCH"

IN PURSUANCE of his campaign for a better social order, Sir R. Acland, M.P., has added another to the series of books he has already written and given it the title of *The Forward March*.* "If you will leave each man free to promote his own interest you will thereby most speedily promote the liberty, equality and material well-being of all." This, he writes, was the accepted thesis that dominated life during the centuries that led up to the present war. Though it only gave real liberty to the very few and only gave equality of opportunity in some rather special parts of the world, it on the whole did not work too badly. This can be affirmed of years long since passed, but no one can deny that with the passage of time the product of the system has been amazing material well-being on the one hand and poverty on the other.

To account for this breakdown we are told by Sir Richard that something fundamental has happened which you cannot "unhappen." What has happened is that the world has filled up. "A system which worked well enough when the world was not full of it will not work when the world is full of it." We have emerged from the age of inevitable scarcity into the age of potential plenty and a system which worked well enough in the former conditions will not work in the latter. "The task before us is to convert the world from a creaking, chaotic, wasteful, industrial, community based on the economics of scarcity to a smoothly working, well-ordered industrial community based on the economics of plenty." It is the aim of this book to demonstrate how this can and must be done and with this end in view an analysis of the system that needs conversion is undertaken in which we are told that to leave each man free to promote his own interest is to leave him free to live selfishly for himself alone; it is to narrow a man's life disastrously; it is to appeal to his petty selfish interests; to call on him to live for his smaller self instead of for his bigger self—the whole community. "To live for himself alone does not make a man greater or nobler than before. On the contrary, it makes him smaller, meaner and more inharmonious than before."

So long as each man lives for himself alone there is a part of his nature, a part of his power which is bound down and this is the part that must be released if we are to reach a harmonious social order. We simply cannot remain an individualistic society of separate men, each working for self and urged on by his selfish interest. But this living for self is just what the system of freedom for each to promote his own well-being invites men to do, and Sir Richard would replace it by a system which invites and indeed constrains men to live and work for their greater selves: the whole community.

How is this new order, to which Sir Richard gives the name "The Service Community for Humanity in

* Published by Geo. Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Price 2s. 6d.

Peace" to be established? His answer is that in the new order the rule—with some vaguely defined exceptions in favour of the small man—will be "Common Ownership" and not individual ownership. This, he claims, will eliminate the motive of selfish gain, the source of all evil. "Common ownership" will enable us to escape from perpetually plaguing ourselves with our own private little anxieties. We shall then live for our greater selves: self-seeking will be supplanted by service. We shall then live under a system in which private gain coincides with gain to the whole community and, through a kind of gentlemanly communism, arrive at the end he has in view.

In working out practical details Sir Richard encounters a host of difficulties. He is faced with the problem of deciding what shall be held in common and what shall still be the property of individuals and in this he does not seem to be guided by any principle leading him to a decision.

Into the resulting maze we shall not follow him, but taking his own advice—frequently offered in these pages—we shall stick to discussion of first principles and maintain that, despite the high idealism shining through this book, his conception of what comes from "granting freedom to each to promote his own interests" is profoundly mistaken. If present economic society were more closely examined than it is in these pages very different conclusions would be arrived at. Its distinguishing feature as compared with earlier forms of civilization would be disclosed as specialization or division of labour and disposal of the product on the market. The attempt of individuals or small groups to be economically self-sufficing has become a thing of the past. Each specialized producer now brings his product to market and there exchanges it for the product of some other specialized producer. Each specialist must therefore bring to market something that some other specialist needs or would like to have.

The essence of this arrangement is that each while working for what Sir Richard would call his own selfish advantage is also working for the advantage of his fellow-producer. Is there anything selfish or reprehensible in this? Is it not simply an arrangement to secure the rendering of equal service and a very perfect arrangement too, because the advantage of each producer automatically coincides with the advantage of all? But the truth of this depends on one condition, and that condition is that the market as the regulator of the division of labour be kept *free from interference*. The misfortune is that to-day the market is not free from interference or obstruction, and consequently does not ensure that each shall take out of it in measure as he puts in. There exist monopolies or special privileges the beneficiaries of which are enabled to live without rendering service and these monopolies—the greatest of which is the monopoly by a small minority of the population of land and its rent—command a price on the market so that it no longer correctly measures the value of services as it would otherwise do.

In other words, the market of our day is perverted and frustrated and fails to secure that service be rendered for service. It is the existence and marketing of parasitic interests—the "alchemists" of Thomas Carlyle—which blocks the way to what otherwise would be the true and natural co-operative society without communism and free from all taint of the self-seeking denounced by Sir Richard.

The fault of the present system is that it fails to do just what Sir Richard postulates that it does, namely, "leave each man free to promote his own interest."

This is because of privilege and monopoly. If some men

enjoy privileges, then the others are not perfectly free, but are bound by those privileges.

If the Forward March is to proceed it is therefore these vested interests which first and foremost must be abolished and a free market secured. But in these pages we find no word on monopoly and its frustrating effect. Its bearing on the problem before us is simply ignored. We are assured that on the forward march the choice before us lies between attempting to advance to the new society of "Common Ownership" along the lines Sir Richard lays down with all its glorious promise, or struggling on in the disharmony and frustration of the

existing social order. The dilemma is false, for a third and more promising road lies open—the destruction of those privileges and monopolies which enable some to command service from others without rendering service in return thus for ever preventing the attainment of the "Service Community for Humanity in Peace" at which Sir Richard aims. Yet despite such shortcomings, there shines through these pages a high idealism and ardent will to a better world which entitle this book to be recommended as a stimulant to thought and action.

W. R. L.

PROTECTION AND RENT

(IN 1842 the National Anti-Corn-Law League published a pamphlet on the Corn Laws consisting of extracts from the writings of Col T. Pernet Thompson, the author of the *Catechism on the Corn Laws* and other works. The selection was made by Richard Cobden and may be assumed to be in accordance with his views. The following are some of the passages contained in the pamphlet, the references being to the collected edition of Col Thompson's works in six volumes.)

POLITICAL ECONOMY

The proper business of every man and every hour, is to know as much as he can of political economy. Not but it may also be desirable that he should learn something of arithmetic and book-keeping by double entry, be acquainted with the properties of the lever and inclined plane, and have a portion of information touching the nature of the planetary motions and the divisions of the surface of the terraqueous globe. But all these acquirements may only render him a useful slave; and the other is the education which must enable him to keep the benefit of his labours for himself. It has indeed long been defined to be the science of preventing our betters from defrauding us; which is sufficient to account for its being eagerly pursued on one hand, and vilified on the other.—Vol. II, p. 167.

POPULATION

It is a cruel joke to talk about the evils of an increasing population, when that population is cut off by law from the power of selling the produce of its labour, for the interest of a robber caste; who tell us plainly, that like the French *noblesse*, they will pay no taxes, unless they may have liberty to take the amount again from other people, and who, if speedy change of mind be not vouchsafed them, will come to the same rough end.—Vol. II, p. 269.

JACOBINISM OF THE RICH

The origin and foundation of property, is labour. The proposal to keep up rent by restrictions virtually includes the essence of personal slavery; which consists in obliging one man to labour for the benefit of another without an equivalent. The landlords may have a property in their honest rent; but they have not a property in the power of adding to it by violence.—Vol. IV, p. 514.

The poor ought to have corn at the cheapest for which it can be got; and if they have not, they are to blame if they are satisfied.

If the poor were to tell the rich that they ought to have a "reasonable" income, as, for instance, one or two hundred a year, and if they had this they ought to be satisfied,—and they, the poor, would take the difference; it would be pronounced to be clean *jacobinism* and spoliation. The poor have as much right to do this, as the rich man has to tell the poor that sixty shillings is a "reasonable" price for his quarter of

corn, and therefore the rich will take the difference. Much has been said of the jacobinism of the poor against the rich, but very little of the jacobinism of the rich against the poor;—though one is only matter of speculation and alarm, and the other meets every man three times a day when he sits down to eat.—Vol. IV, p. 527.

EXCHANGE

Two things are necessary to the completion of an act of commerce; first, that we should have what others want; secondly, that we should be at liberty to receive what they can afford to pay in, and it will be worth our while to take.

A merchant in the actual state of things can afford to sell a piece of Leeds or Manchester goods in Prussia or Poland for a hundred crowns. If he could afford to take eighty, he might sell two pieces where he now sells one. If he was allowed to lay out the eighty crowns in corn, and bring it to England to a free market, he could sell the corn for as much as would give him a profit on the whole; and consequently he would accept the eighty crowns, and sell two pieces instead of one, and get two profits for himself, and give two profits to the manufacturers. He is restrained from selling the corn; and therefore he is restrained from doing all the rest.—Vol. IV, p. 523.

When a manufacturer produces goods and exchanges them abroad for corn, he may as truly be said to produce the corn, as if it came out of his loom or his flitting-mill. And if he is prohibited from doing this, it is his production that in reality is stopped.—Vol. IV, p. 481.

ROBBING ONE ANOTHER

What the landowners really say, is, "Let us rob you all, and then you shall rob one another." This is the bargain they offer; and the manufacturers swallow it open-mouthed.

Of all the petitioners upon this subject, the men of Stroud appear to be the wisest; for they petitioned that all the monopolies of the manufacturers might be taken away, on condition that the great monopoly of all went along with them. How the men of Stroud came by their wisdom, those who know them can best tell; but it is clear they are wise in their generation.

The amusing part of the proposed fraud is, that we are all to get rich by robbing one another. The leader of the administration himself does not pretend to believe it. He knows full well, that the plan is as stupid as it would be to attempt to double the strength of an army by doubling each battalion in turn by drafts from the others. Nobody believes it but idiots. Rogues pretend to believe it, that they may feather their own nests.—Vol. IV, p. 496.

THE CORN LAW A QUESTION OF RENT

The landlords, by the exercise of their power in the legislature, lay a tax to keep out foreign corn. Their undisguised object in this is to raise their rents; for

whether there be reason in the various excuses they offer for it or not, they do not deny that they do it to raise their rents. And their rents are raised accordingly; that is to say, in the contracts which they offer to the competition of the farmers, the bidders knowing that more money will come in, offer more for the contract. If the tolls on a given road were made twopence for a horse instead of a penny, and other things in proportion on the same principle, the turnpike men would increase their biddings. The landlords then, having got out of the farmers by competition the highest biddings they can afford, next set the farmers to cry out, that they want nothing but what will enable them to pay.

Nobody has a right to lease out the public wrong, and expect the wrong to be continued in consequence of his contract. The landlord pockets all that the farmers can by competition be induced to spare; and he would do just the same, if the price were carried to any imaginable height. If the monopoly of corn were enforced and men multiplied, till they were glad to pay for growing corn upon flag-stones, and of course the rent upon all that was better than flag-stones was of enormous height,—the landlords would as much as ever be found sending the farmers round with the begging-box, on the plea that they wanted nothing but a remunerating price,—that is to say the price which would pay them for growing corn upon flag-stones, they having at the same time bargained with the landowners for making over all the excess that should accrue upon the better lands, in the shape of rent. Rent is the difference between the total value of the produce of a land, and what the farmer can cultivate it for with a living profit. If, therefore, there is land of all sorts of qualities, as in most countries is the case, the worst land cultivated will be that which will give the farmer's profit but no more, and in all the better lands the excess above this will be the rent. Hence the pretence that the farmer only wants what will pay him, is an ever-growing claim,—a claim which if corn were raised to a guinea a peck, would be as strong as ever in favour of its being two,—a claim which like the shoe to a waggon-wheel, is dragged along with the wheel, and is just as much there as ever, whatever progress may have been made. Vol. V, p. 413.

TWO PRAYERS

I

The words of Agur the son of Jakeh . . .
Remove from me vanity and lies; give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full, and deny Thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain.—*Proverbs xxx.* 8, 9.

II

A librarian of Dagenham discovered this curious prayer, written by one of the earliest purchasers of land in the district, and quoted in the *Church Times* (June 27th, 1941):

O Lord, Thou knowest I have mine estates in the City of London and that I have likewise lately purchased an estate in fee-simple in the County of Essex. I beseech Thee to preserve the two Counties of Middlesex and Essex from fire and earthquake, and as I have a mortgage in Hertfordshire I beg Thee to have an eye of compassion upon that county. For the rest of the counties Thou mayest deal with them as Thou art pleased.

A Free Copy of "Land & Liberty" is an invitation to become a Subscriber. Monthly, 2d. By Post, 3s. a Year.

THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

Some Appreciations of the New Book

Published, price 2s. 6d., by the Hogarth Press, the book *Why the German Republic Fell*, with its lessons of war and peace showing that true democracy can alone be upheld through economic freedom, has had a gratifying reception. First printed in July a second impression has been made in August. Here are extracts from some of the many letters reaching us:

"I have now had some opportunity of perusing your book, *Why the German Republic Fell*. It is indeed a fine publication. Its range is wide and all sufficing, and it moves from one facet to another to give a picture which should make men think. I can only hope it has a wide sale."—Edinburgh, 10.

"I think the *Land & Liberty* book is great, and well up to my expectations. It was an inspiration to include such criticisms of Priestley, Acland, Norman Angell and others. These well-meaning people, by their inability to grasp fundamental issues, fail to present a definite and just plan for solving our social evils. As a result, high hopes engendered by their speeches and writings end only in perplexity and apathy. The essays can be likened to the parts of a jigsaw puzzle in the sense that although each part can be identified for what it is, its relation to the whole, when the full picture is presented, becomes significant. I feel that the information contained in this book could not have been presented better, and certainly no single author could have achieved the same result."—Parkgate, Cheshire.

(At the request of a supporter the book was sent by the Henry George Foundation to a number of prominent people.)

"Lord Meston thanks the Henry George Foundation for its courtesy in sending him a copy of this book *Why the German Republic Fell*. He is very glad to see all this valuable matter compressed in a single volume, and trusts it will have a wide and effective circulation."

DISGRUNTLED

"Mr Wells has received a copy of *Why the German Republic Fell* from the Henry George Foundation, but why you send him a book in which the work of the Sankey Commission and everything Mr Wells has ever written is completely ignored, except by way of insult, he cannot imagine."—D. Metcalf, secretary to Mr H. G. Wells.

The ideas formulated on the Rights of Man by Mr H. G. Wells and the committee of which Lord Sankey was chairman were featured in successive issues of the *Daily Herald* during the month of February, 1940, and the findings of the committee were published in that paper on 20th April, 1940. They were reviewed in *Land & Liberty* of March, 1940, and May, 1940. We are sorry to have to bear the brunt of this petulant note from Mr H. G. Wells ("I am ignored") as the result of preferring to print in the book form, in its necessarily limited space, the declarations on the same subject by Henry George, Patrick Edward Dove and Judge Samuel Seabury. In the matter of completely ignoring what others have written on the subject "except by way of insult" (*sic*) perhaps we have given Mr Wells, though quite unconsciously, a Roland for his Oliver.

LIBERTY MENACED BY STATE CHARITY

To the Editor, "Land & Liberty"

SIR,—I must thank you for marked copy of *Land & Liberty* in which you reproduce what I wrote to you as to the present limited outlook on social reconstruction. I see that the process I then referred to is indeed being developed in two directions. A Bill now before the House provides for the lifting of the previous poverty line in Health Insurance, a bit more weekly payment for the masses, a bonus to the Doctors and a few miscellaneous items of a similar character. I also see that a Committee is to consider the question of the co-ordination and extension of existing social ameliorations to which I previously referred, and which might be described as a process of feeding dogs with their own tails; so plucking geese as to get the most feathers with the least squawking, and so extending the process of pouring a pint of milk from the top of the hill in order that someone sunk thousands of feet below may try to quench his thirst.

It is the old process of erecting hospitals at the bottom of the hill down which the Gadene swine are supposed to have come to destruction. The existing social ameliorations deal with results and not with causes; they are mere opportunism. When Governments dispense health insurance benefits, free meals, free medical aid and other multifarious forms of state aid, they are only redistributing among the workers the money taken directly or indirectly from the workers themselves, after skimming off the cream to pay the people who devise and administer the schemes. They collect the people's money and restore it to them again, after it has been duly depleted. This has the result of bringing the masses into still greater bondage to the system and making them more acquiescent in their servitude.

Where is the spirit of Henry George who wrote of removing want and the fear of want, of giving to all classes leisure and comfort and independence, the decencies and refinements of life, and the opportunities of mental and moral development. These are indeed noble aims and are capable of realisation, but although some statesmen may have paid lip service to them their actions have so far only been in terms of relieving want, of making the old machine work, of adding a few more cogs and wheels, and of making the mass of people dizzy with a mess of legislation which oftentimes the makers themselves cannot interpret, and which often is no sooner upon the Statute Book than it has to be amended by further Statute or Administrative Order.

"That we all might be rich" in the proper sense of the phrase, is apparently a meaningless statement to those who are supposed to be leaders of men, and the function of so-called statesmen is still to make law in spite of Proudhon. Law and restriction inevitably lead to more law and further restriction, until the body politic is overwhelmed with Statutes and Orders, the beginning and end of which no man knoweth even unto this day. This process is brought about, fostered and enlarged by the failure of statesmen to address themselves to the cure of evils and their aptitude for a mere mitigation and relief of distress. The sick man gets a dose of medicine, gets worse and must have more medicine, and finally looks like having a major operation from the effects of which he may perish.

There is a way out of this morass; it was stated by Henry George in terms that "There is but one way to remove an evil—and that is to remove its cause. Poverty deepens as wealth increases, and wages are forced down while productive power grows, because land, which is

the source of all wealth and the field of all labour, is monopolized. To extirpate poverty, to make wages what justice demands they should be, the full earnings of the labourer, we must therefore substitute for the individual ownership of land a common ownership. Nothing else will go to the cause of the evil—in nothing else is there the slightest hope."

The means of attaining that common ownership is known as the taxation of land values by means of which those values which are created by the presence and industry of the community shall be taken for public use, with all the economic results which would flow therefrom. It is so simple that even the meanest intelligence can recognize its justice, but the outcome of it is so vast that those who profit out of the present order have moved Heaven and Earth, and even the House of Lords, to prevent its practical application. The intensity of their resistance is to me the measure of its truth. I think it was Macaulay who suggested that if the law of gravity—that most obvious of laws—had militated against any financial interest it would not even to-day be an accepted fact.

Let us then press on with the good fight. Thrice armed is he who has justice on his side. H. E. H.

THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY

To the Editor, "Land & Liberty"

SIR,—At a gathering of members of the Land Values movement held recently, a member voiced the opinion that the present time, due to the war, was inopportune to try and spread the gospel of Henry George. I hope that this is not the view throughout the movement or we are losing a valuable opportunity of putting over the only alternative to poverty, unemployment and war, the causes of which are the same. Without the abolition of land monopoly and tariffs no new social order can possibly succeed.

As one associated with the movement for the last thirty-five years I find that the present time offers far more opportunities than any previous period. People are in such a state of mind that they are prepared to listen and discuss, but to those members who have put the Taxation and Rating of Land Values into cold storage, this opportunity will be missed.

Though out of step with the political body to which I belong, I make it a practice of attending every meeting with my "Tax Land Values" badge in my coat, and taking part in every discussion. I also attend meetings of Communists and Pacifists with the same intention of keeping our slogan before their eyes, and when they show interest hand them some literature.

The result of this is that I have got a number of people reading *Progress and Poverty* either by purchase of the book or through the local libraries, and I know more than one who is reading it a second time. Others have read *My Neighbour's Landmark and Protection and Free Trade* as well as *Land & Liberty* loaned to them by myself. This mode of attack, and my *Badge* are certainly creating a good deal of thought on the Land Question, and, despite my dislike of public speaking, I receive and am accepting invitations to put forward the case for the "Taxation and Rating of Land Values" at meetings.

Definitely the present time is not such that we should rest, but that we should be right in the front line on every possible occasion.

Desiring no medals nor brick-bats, I will sign myself,

OPTIMIST.

(The badges inscribed "Tax Land Values" will be supplied free of charge to any interested reader.—Ed., *L. & L.*)

ANOTHER TRAINEE'S EXPERIENCES

To the Editor, "Land & Liberty"

SIR,—The experiences of a "Refugee Trainee," described in a recent issue, must interest those many members of the "middle classes" who, like myself, for war purposes, trained at a Government centre and then entered this new world of factory life. Like him, I, too, have been amazed at the good humour, cheerful comradeship and helpful courtesy of the average factory worker. These, I think, are natural characteristics. Like "Refugee Trainee," I have also been amazed at the average factory worker's low standard of scholastic and political knowledge. But this is, I am convinced, rather the result of custom than lack of capacity—custom which induces them to acquiesce in the State direction of their children's education, and in the moulding of their own lives by advertisement-controlled newspapers, commercialized pastimes and commercialized sex. The belief is almost uniform that "capitalists and financiers" are at the bottom of our troubles, that free imports must "obviously" cause unemployment, and that "the State" has inexhaustible supplies of money and wisdom which will cure all ills. These good natured and naturally intelligent people leave school ignorant of the elements of political economy or logic, and by their votes (if our country remains "democratic") will veto the power of any politician who openly advocates a course at variance with these fatal prejudices.

"Refugee Trainee" finds superior education apparently an advantage even in "bench fitting." Such experience is general. I find an amateur's interest in Bantu philology and French poetry not a hindrance but indirectly a help in the making of aeronautical instruments and the testing of range finders! But is this merely a matter of scholastic equipment and curriculum? Is it not rather a matter of friends and a family circle in which certain standards of self-discipline, self-reliance and an intelligent and responsible interest in public affairs are expected? A circle in which reasonable discussion of serious subjects is definitely encouraged not repressed? in which variety rather than uniformity is cultivated? This is not likely to be encouraged by great extension of State education, that "contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another . . . establishing a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body," as foretold by J. S. Mill years before Bismarck, just like Hitler and Lenin, found State education so suited to his purpose. The doctrines of Mill on civil liberty and government dovetail so surprisingly into those of Henry George on economic liberty that one might strew pages with quotations to prove that economic liberty and self-reliance, and mental liberty and self-reliance are as indissolubly linked as body and mind. It is no accident that the Folk High Schools of Denmark were *voluntary*, as its co-operative farming was voluntary, and that in Denmark greater advances towards land-liberty had been made than in any other European State.

Let us give ordinary people the chance to be economically self-reliant and they will no longer be content to remain mentally dependent. Life will take on a new dignity. They will not allow their children to grow up mere creations of State-school, factory and urban uniformity. They will themselves direct (and pay for) their children's schooling and each will be able to exert himself in that infinite variety of "experiments in living" by which human beings may find their highest happiness and fulfilment.

Yours, etc., "EX-TRAINEE."

ECONOMIC FREEDOM

The Editor, "Land & Liberty."

The following United States and State of Pennsylvania constitutional provisions for religious freedom suggest similar provisions for economic freedom:

Constitution of United

States

Article I of Amendments

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;"

Parallel Texts as to

Industry

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of business, or prohibiting the free operation thereof;

Constitution of Pennsyl-

vania

Article I, Declaration of

Rights

"Sec. 3. All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; no man can be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship or to maintain any ministry against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience and no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishments or modes of worship."

Sec. —. All men have a natural and indefeasible right to earn their livings according to the necessities of their own bodies; no man can of right be compelled to patronize, erect or support any place of business or to maintain any management against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of industry, and no preference shall ever be given by law to any business institutions or modes of occupation."

Fearing encroachment on our liberty in religion, and refusing to risk it in the hands of our archbishops, why do we have such childlike faith in our multimillionaires, or practical politicians, as to permit them to do about what they please to our liberty in industry?

Somerset,
Pennsylvania.

Yours, etc., ERNEST O. KOOSER,
Attorney-at-Law.

IF ECONOMISTS WERE LOGICIANS

"Everyone familiar with farming deplors the shortage of capital in the industry and the need for a wholesale reconditioning of the land, but everyone is looking to the State to find the capital in some form or another. The only justification for such expenditure is that the State shall first become owner of the land, so that it will be spending money on its own property and will be able to recover its outlay if the expenditure is remunerative. Otherwise, the improved value given to the land must eventually accrue to the landowners; if the tenant can make more out of his farm, because of the improvements, he will be charged more rent."—Sir Daniel Hall, in *The Countryman*, July, 1941.

It is not necessary that the State should become the owner of the land—that is, of *the corpus* and all buildings and other fixed improvements. All that is necessary, and obviously so from Sir Daniel Hall's own argument, is that the people, the community, by ordinary and normal and simple fiscal arrangements, should become proprietors of the value attaching to land apart from buildings and improvements. In other words, the Taxation and Rating of Land Values, with tax relief to all that the individual holder does to improve the land, would provide the whole solution. Someone has said "if it were a dog it would bite them" and one can only be sorry to see an authority like Sir Daniel Hall also among the timorous escapists.

VIRGIN CAPITAL FROM VIRGIN LAND

It is often difficult to convince people with socialist views that land can be cultivated without the capital, tools, etc., being provided from a pre-existing accumulation of capital wealth. As this is one of the cardinal points of the argument of *Progress and Poverty*, the following historical evidence may be useful. It is from a Quaker history, *Later Periods of Quakerism* by Dr R. M. Jones, and shows how early Quaker settlers provided their own capital tools. On page 426, dealing with conditions in Ohio about the year 1809, we read: "They made a very serviceable plow with a wooden mould-board, which was made of the best hard wood obtainable. They made a very serviceable harrow entirely of wood. The horse collars were made mostly of corn shucks plaited in large rope-like sections, and sewed together hard and fast with leather thongs. They also made collars of raw hide, cutting it in the proper shape, and sewing the edges together, stuffing it on the inside to make it hold its shape. The bridle was made of raw hide. Hames were made from the lower part of the tree, including a part of the root for the proper crook. A wagon that was termed a truck was made from cutting four large wheels from a large tree, usually a black gum. Oxen were the usual teams that were hitched to these crude but serviceable wagons. A heavy wooden yoke went on the oxen's necks. The pitchforks for all purposes on the farm were made of wood and wooden rakes were made of strong, seasoned wood. A good spade was made of seasoned hickory."

This seems additional proof of Henry George's thesis that all wealth, including capital wealth, is derived from labour applied to land.

D. J. J. O.

Published July 1941.

Reprinted August 1941

WHY THE GERMAN REPUBLIC FELL
AND OTHER STUDIES OF THE CAUSES AND
CONSEQUENCES OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

This book of selected essays, reviews and extracts, reprinted from recent issues of *Land & Liberty*, has been produced in response to numerous requests. With economic freedom and equality of opportunity as its keynote it offers a distinctive and important contribution to the study of the New Social Order.

Irespective of the name we give our form of government, as Judge Samuel Seabury says in his eloquent address which makes the final chapter, or the method by which we choose its administrators, the philosophy of freedom cannot be realized unless the world recognizes the common rights of men in the resources of nature, unless it recognizes the right of every people to trade with other peoples, unless it safeguards the individual rights of life, liberty and property, and unless it ensures tolerance of opinion. These principles are the essential life-giving attributes of freedom: without them there can be no civilization in the sense in which that term is used by a free people.

Eighteen Chapters in 192 Pages
Edited by A. W. Madsen, B.Sc.

Price 2s. 6d. By Post 2s. 9d.

PUBLISHED BY THE HOGARTH PRESS

Obtain from your bookseller, from the publishers or from LAND & LIBERTY offices. New address: 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

FORM OF BEQUEST

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

WHAT SOME SAY

We have heard many compliments about your fine journal lately. You people certainly deserve tremendous credit for the wonderful way in which you are carrying on in spite of all the hardships and horrors of war.—E.C.T., Toronto.

We are living in dreadful times but you keep your light shining.—A.H., Victoria, British Columbia.

Advance my subscription to your valued paper one year ahead, send me a copy of *My Neighbour's Landmark*, and turn the balance over to the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values. I appreciate your paper very much and am glad to see that you can "carry on" during these dark days. Good luck to you all and success to your fine work.—H.S., Philadelphia.

I am very glad to see that you are keeping *Land & Liberty* going so well—quite up to its usual high standard—in spite of the Blitzkrieg. It is quite a "refresher" each month. I read every word of it and pass it round where I think it will do good.—A.W., New Zealand.

I enclose a bank draft to your order to cover my subscription to *Land & Liberty* and also to express my interest and admiration of your work continued under such difficult conditions.—Mrs R.S., Jr., Arizona.

My heart aches for all in England, to read our daily papers is harrowing and depressing. What it must be to you actually living through it is unimaginable and the courage of all is so wonderful. I have doubled my subscription but wish that I could make it ten times as much; the will of the committee to carry on is most courageous. With deepest sympathy and kind regards.—Z.D.P., Cambridge, U.S.A.

Land & Liberty has been astonishingly good this winter. I think the issues have been perhaps the best you have ever got out. You have a way of linking up the factual economics of the time with the standards as you see them, back of and above all the welter which ignorance of them has led the world into.—Mrs A.T.P., Washington, D.C.

What it must be to you actually living through it is unimaginable. I have doubled my subscription, but wish that I could make it ten times as much. The will of the Committee to carry on is most courageous.—Z.D.P., Cambridge, Mass.

I am enclosing my subscription for 1941, which I regret to say is all I can afford. I am still a complete invalid, but feel that as long as I can, I must subscribe to this cause.—H.E.L., Oxford.

I am sorry I have been so remiss in forwarding my renewal. I enjoy *Land & Liberty* very much. I hope later to send a small order for pamphlets. People here want the British pamphlets.—F.W.D., Victoria, Canada.

Whatever the conditions are after the war—which we hope will end soon—let us sincerely hope our cause may not be ignored. Hope this letter and the one dollar enclosed may reach you.—T.E.B., New York, U.S.A.

Land & Liberty is one of the best papers that come my way. I get a lot of useful information and make use of it to further our cause when the opportunity presents itself.—J.G.P., Milano, Australia.

I have received all my copies of *Land & Liberty* and read them from cover to cover, always with a feeling of wonderment that it is possible to maintain such calm and deliberation in the middle of a devastating war.—G.T.T., Chicago.

Mr Andrew MacLaren, M.P., was chief speaker at a dinner of the London Henry George Fellowship held in the beginning of August, Mr R. R. Stokes, M.P., presiding. Reports appeared in a number of newspapers. Letters from Mr MacLaren and Mr Stokes, pleading the case of "the land for the people," have had some press notice, judged by clippings received from papers in Birkenhead, Darwin, Flint, Greenock, Islington and Nottingham, for example.

VICTORIA

We have received from Mr A. R. Hutchinson, B.Sc., the text of the Radio address (3KZ Melbourne) that he delivered on the occasion of the Henry George Centenary. It described the Man and the Book and was an excellently comprehensive statement of the principles and policy that *Progress and Poverty* gave to the world. One can be envious that equal opportunity is not accessible "over the air" in Great Britain for popular instruction of the kind. In the course of his address Mr Hutchinson said that the total land values of Australia amounted to about £1,600 million pounds—as much as all the real wealth, roads, railways, factories, buildings, money, all put together—and yet 75 per cent of this vast amount was owned by less than 1 per cent of the people. The yearly share of these values which went to a small minority was about 80 million pounds. . . . It was quite clear that if people could be reduced to servitude by making land too difficult to get, they could be made free and independent again by making it easy to get. The measure he proposed (collecting the rent of land for common uses) would certainly make it easy for those who wanted to use land to get it without saving up for years to buy it, because it would not pay to hold land idle for speculation. It was this speculation in land, forcing values up beyond their true earning power that had combined with the tying up of world trade by tariffs, to produce the world depression. People gambled on the fact that land values would continue to rise as population grew and so they forced land values up to heights at which they cannot be worked economically. Those who bought at these high levels sooner or later realized their impossible position; there is a crash—wages fall a lot, land values fall not so greatly, and after a quiescent interval the old cycle starts again. The depression of the nineties was recognized to be the result of a "land boom." Within seven years of the founding of Melbourne there was a "land crash" with just the same phenomena of business failure and unemployment as in our day. . . . The Henry George plan would remove the cause of the economic wrong and it would attain in a simple and natural way the ends for which the most elaborate, fantastic and complicated schemes had been proposed.

NEW ZEALAND

The Commonwealth of New Zealand, May-June issue, reports the visit to New Zealand by Mr H. Bronson Cowan from Canada and U.S.A. representing the International Research Committee on Real Estate Taxation, who in his tour to New Zealand, Australia and other countries is engaged upon a special study of the practical operation of land value rating. In Auckland he met Mr G. M. Fowlds and colleagues and in Wellington he will interview among others Judge P. J. O'Regan and Mr Arthur Withy. At Matamata the gathering called to greet and discuss with Mr Cowan included Mr P. R. Hawke, Chairman of the Hinuera Dairy Co., Mr F. E. Hughes, Chairman of the Thames Valley Drainage Board, Councillor G. H. Hawes and Messrs. H. T. A. McGahan, T. E. MacMillan and E. W. Nicolaus. *The Commonwealth* reports what "we for our part" said, and one misses in the report any statement by Mr Cowan himself which would have been interesting as coming from such an eminent authority and explaining how he, in the light of his extensive knowledge, regards the progress that has been made in New Zealand. But all will be documented in due course.

SOUTH AMERICA

We referred last month to the translation into Spanish of Mr W. R. Lester's booklet *Natural Law and Social Life* which Mr A. J. Coimil has made and published in Buenos Aires. In his preface Mr Coimil pays a warm tribute to the author. Supplementary matter on the covers of the new pamphlet consists in quotations from several notable people. Most striking is that from Bernardino Rivadavia (his *Political and Literary Chronicle of Buenos Aires*, 1827):

"The disorders of which France complained so much before the Revolution, the ills which to-day distress Ireland, have no other origin than the accumulation of landed property; and we should be guilty in the eyes of our contemporaries and of posterity if we neglected, from the earliest stages, efficient measures for preserving ourselves from such a scourge. It alone is sufficient to paralyze the productive impetus of a country, whatever may be, on the other hand, the wisdom of its institutions. They would all fall, one after another, because the ease of monopolizing land would at once form a privileged class, which would make use of its position to disturb the equilibrium on which the stability of a Republic is based. Thus the door would be opened to a landed aristocracy, all the more to be feared as its natural propensity is to take possession of the sources of the country's wealth—hence the origin of idleness and corruption."

A VOICE FROM AMERICA

Americans are at the point of making a serious decision. Sympathy is pretty nearly 100 per cent. for the British; but the question of war, and what it accomplishes, and what it accomplished last time, and what the manipulators will do after it is over, is the paralyzing thought. We do not want to be subjects of any king or any other kind of dictatorship or overlordship if it can be prevented; nor to be sovietized.

As to Communism and Socialism, they stem from the same source. Marx used the terms interchangeably. The popular front, labour dictatorship, price fixing and wage fixing, I consider all of the same obsession, the lust for domination. It is part of the practice of Communists to deny their Communism, especially if they are not party entrollees. It is hard to tell what is a Democrat or a Republican or a Liberal or any other party man. I think Fascism and Communism, and most other isms simply mean the arbitrary assertion of the right to use force on other people for purposes other than defence, e.g., "uplift," "general welfare," etc. I think the British have swallowed this theory of government, bait, hook, line and sinker. I do not consider it is the Pennsylvania idea of Liberty. Unfortunately, we have slipped, ourselves; and there is no confidence here on the part of probably one-half of the people as to what is being done with the American Government as it has been constituted. I consider our leadership far from what it should be to inspire great trust, but I hope Nazism can be completely obliterated. E. O. K.

The Dorset County Chronicle of 3rd July reports that the rising value of Dorset land, "particularly when situated near to a market town," was demonstrated at an auction at Dorchester when Charminster farm of 475 acres came under the hammer. Meadow and pasture fields sold at from £80 to £100 an acre and in one instance £170 an acre was obtained. The total realised for the 475 acres with the farmhouse, homestead and cottages was £9,640 subject to tithes and land tax of about £82 a year.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT

THE UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, LTD., 4 Great Smith Street, London, S.W.1. A. W. Madsen, Secretary; F. C. R. Douglas, Assistant Secretary; W. R. Lester, Hon. Treasurer. (Telephone: Abbey 6665; Telegrams: "Eulay, Part, London.")

The Memorandum *Town Planning and Land Values* submitted by the Land Values Group of Members of Parliament to the (Uttwatt) Expert Committee on Compensation and Betterment, has been published by the United Committee in 4 pp. quarto. This print has been sent with circular letter to the clerks of 400 town and county councils with additional copies to hand to chairman of committees or officers particularly concerned with questions of planning, land acquisition and rating. The Memorandum has been sent also to the Press and to numerous persons specially interested in the questions discussed. Readers who can help in an effective distribution can obtain copies free on application—state exactly how many are wanted.

Why the German Republic Fell, the new book which discusses in eighteen chapters of essays and reviews the causes and consequences of economic inequality, has been well received. To meet the demand it has been necessary to produce a second impression. It is being advertised largely by means of a nicely printed descriptive prospectus. We will be grateful to readers who can supply lists of useful names and addresses for the circulation of this prospectus together with copy of the new catalogue (Henry George Foundation) of the Land and Liberty Library.

In the smash of our previous offices we lost our whole stock of books and pamphlets published in America. New supplies are now on order, to arrive soon it is hoped, of such books as *The Law of Human Progression* (Dove); *The Life of Henry George* (Henry George, Jr.); *Democracy versus Socialism* (Hirsch); *The Philosophy of Henry George and The Theory of the Land Question* (Geiger); Significant Paragraphs and other abridgments of *Progress and Poverty* (various); *Rebel, Priest and Prophet*, a biography of Dr Edward McGlynn (Bell) and other works. We regret also to have lost the whole stock of Mr Lester's *True National Dividend*, his examination of Social Credit theory, a reprint of which is being considered. Could readers who have copies of this booklet lend them to us in the meantime?

The next quarterly meeting of the United Committee (in Manchester on 13th September) will be followed by a Social Gathering and Afternoon Conference organized by the Manchester League, to which all supporters in the Manchester-Liverpool radius are cordially invited. The Conference, held in St. Peter's Cafe, Oxford Street, Manchester, lasting from 3.45 to 6 p.m., will be addressed by Mr F. C. R. Douglas, M.P.—Chairman, Dr Percy McDougall, the President of the Manchester League.

By arrangement with this office, Mr Douglas spoke on the Land question at the Conference on African problems organized by the West African Students Union in London on 30th August.

A united "School of Christian Social Study," under auspices of the Finsbury Park Methodist Church circuit, will be held at the Willoughby Road Methodist Church, Hornsey, N.8, on alternate Saturday afternoons from 20th September to 14th March. With this, Mr Wm. E. Bland has many contacts and he hopes to take part in the discussions aimed at discovering the lead that should be given in relation to present-day and post-war problems.

ENGLISH LEAGUE: Frederick Verinder, General Secretary, 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1. (Telephone: Abbey 6665.)

The Hon. Treasurer is grateful to those members of the League who have responded to his appeal for donations "towards the cost of making up the loss due to enemy action and of extending the work of the League." Two lady members, who will not allow their names to be published, have been specially generous: they know how highly their help is appreciated. But the complete destruction of the contents of the League's former office has created needs which have not yet been satisfied by a long way, and the time is approaching when the cessation of hostilities will open up great opportunities for which preparation must be made in advance. Members can help by paying their subscriptions promptly as they fall due, by adding a donation for the objects stated above, by buying and circulating the abundant literature that is still available, by bringing *Land & Liberty* to the notice of their friends, and by inducing sympathetic persons to become active members of the League. Gifts of any of the leading books of reference would be warmly welcomed.

During a week's holiday in a small country town the General Secretary has had some interesting discussions with local farmers who are now reading some of our publications.

The Secretary has learnt with great regret of the death of Mr Alfred Dugdale, late of Golders Green. He was an active Liberal, well known in Manchester and in later years in the Hendon Division of Middlesex, and was a faithful member of the English League for many years.

A member of the League, now in the Army, writes: "I started this week an introductory talk on Fundamental Economics to about 40 or 50 men stationed at this camp. I have permission and encouragement from the officer commanding and a representative of the Army Educational Corps to give an extension course in the same subject starting next week. I have a Teacher's Manual for Progress and Poverty. With regard to books I hope to get the majority on loan from the A.E.C. Would you send me a dozen or so on sale or return? For the winter we are starting a full educational course and I have been elected to a committee arranging a Discussion Group on interesting subjects."

MANCHESTER LEAGUE: Arthur H. Weller, J.P., Secretary, Pychley, Bean Leach Road, Otherton, Stockport.

On 26th July a two-session conference was held at the Friends' Meeting House, Warrington, when addresses were given by Mr D. J. J. Owen. In the afternoon the chair was taken by Councillor Harold Gray of the Warrington Council, and Mr Albert Brown, President of the Lynn Labour Party, presided in the evening. There was a good attendance and many questions, and the discussions gave hopes of accessions to the Henry George movement in this area.

The Secretary has addressed Co-operative Guild meetings as follows: 29th July, Chinley; 31st July, Cheadle Hulme; 5th August, Reddish.

It seems to be the unanimous opinion of those present at Park Hall, on 9th August, that this year's Garden Party was more than usually successful. The attendance was good and the weather fine until it was time to leave. And in spite of present catering difficulties, Mr Hobson had provided a surprisingly good tea in the Club House of the swimming pool. The appreciation and thanks of the party to the genial host were expressed by Messrs Owen, Brown, Ginders and Lightfoot, and after tea many of the guests visited the hall and admired Mr Hobson's interesting collection of pictures and statuary.

A letter from Mr Owen dealing with the "eight points" appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on 19th August. Other letters from Dr McDougall and the Secretary were not published.

A Social Gathering and Conference will be held in St. Peter's Cafe, Oxford Street, Manchester, on Saturday, September 13th, from 4 to 6 p.m. Mr F. C. R. Douglas, M.P., will give an address on Post-war Problems, and refreshments will be served. Members and interested friends are cordially invited to attend, and those intending to do so are requested to notify the Secretary.

YORKSHIRE AND NORTHERN LEAGUE: F. Skirrow, Secretary, 129 Skipton Road, Kelghley.

Several letters have been sent to the Press. We have had some good sales of Henry George's books, to which John Archer has largely contributed. One hundred copies of the book, *Why the German Republic Fell*, have been disposed of.

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

The capital debt of Birmingham is now approximately £80,000,000. If redemption funds in hand and invested are taken into account, the net debt is £60,500,000. It thus appears that every citizen owes about £60 and a family of five is in debt municipally to the extent of £300. It is proposed to expend a large sum on a Civic Centre so that, with further necessary civic outlay the prospect of Birmingham citizens is far from cheerful unless, indeed, they resolve to put the source of revenue on the scientific and up-to-date basis of land value rating.

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

On his rounds in Ross-shire, Nairnshire, and Inverness-shire, the Secretary saw cultivated land that hitherto had been waste or pasture land now growing oats, barley and potatoes. This belated spurt when Scotland needs it most shows that 450,000 more acres have been put under production since 1939 but that is 400,000 fewer acres than in 1866! The "Powers that be" ought to pay particular attention to the speech of Mr Peter Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand, who recently visited the Highlands; he said that "they must find out if the best use is being made of the land and if lands suitable for crops had been used for afforestation."

In the *Ross-shire Journal* of the 25th July an article appeared dealing with the increased rates year after year. The burden falls on the Burghs with ever increasing momentum, and the following reason is said to be that "Assessable valuation of moors, forests and fishings is tumbling down in the landward area and bottom has not yet been reached, and prospective post-war conditions hold out less than no hope of an early recovery."

At the 31st Annual Meeting of the Scottish Power Co., Ltd., at Edinburgh, on 14th March, the chairman, Mr Geo. Balfour, M.P., said, in course of his remarks, that "the chief bugbear . . . is the uncertainty of the valuation for local rates."

LAND AND LIBERTY LIBRARY

(Selection from the catalogue of the Henry George Foundation of Great Britain. Complete list sent on application.)

THE CONDITION OF LABOUR. On the rights of property and justice in the distribution of wealth, with explanatory introduction and appendix containing the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, statement by the Rev Dr McGlynn and extract from Bishop Nulty's Essay "Back to the Land." By Henry George. Red cloth, 234 pp. 1s. Bound in Rexine, 2s.

A DANISH VIEW OF BRITISH FARMING. By Jakob E. Lange. Paper covers, 54 pp. 1s.

GEMS FROM HENRY GEORGE. Selected from the works and arranged by the Rev A. C. Anchmuty. An ideal gift book. Cloth, 108 pp. 1s.

HENRY GEORGE—A BIOGRAPHY. By Prof George R. Geiger. Paper covers, 60 pp. 6d.

LAND AND FREEDOM. A new, comprehensive and up-to-date treatise on Land Value Taxation. By Fredk Verinder. Cloth, 200 pp. 2s. 6d.

LAND VALUE RATING. Theory and practice; a handbook for all interested in municipal finance and the rating question. By F. C. R. Douglas, M.A., L.C.C., M.P. Cloth, 80 pp. 2s. 6d.

MY NEIGHBOUR'S LANDMARK. Short studies in Bible land laws. By Fredk Verinder. New (fourth) Edition. Paper covers, 152 pp. 1s.

A PERPLEXED PHILOSOPHER. Ethics of the Land Question and examination of Herbert Spencer's recantation of his earlier declarations. Cloth, 248 pp. 2s.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY. An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth — the Remedy. By Henry George. Complete edition. Red cloth, 416 pp. 1s. 6d. Pocket size, in Red Rexine with gilt top and ribbon book-marker. 2s. In superior Green Rexine. 3s.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE. The tariff question considered with especial regard to the interests of labour. Carries the discussion to a point not dealt with in other books on this question. "The most popular and most scientific exposition of the subject which has ever been written."—Lord Snowden. By Henry George. Abridged by F. C. R. Douglas, M.A., L.C.C., M.P. Red Cloth, 152 pp. 1s. In paper covers. 6d.

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By Henry George. Cloth, 442 pp. 2s. 6d.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS. May well be read first among Henry George's writings as a popular introduction to them. Twenty-two chapters including: 'The Wrong in Existing Social Conditions, Unemployed Labour and Idle Capital; Effects of Machinery; Over-production, etc. Applies to current economic problems as when written.' By Henry George. Red Cloth, 214 pp. 1s. 6d. In Red Rexine. 2s.

A SOCIAL SCIENCE MANUAL. Guide to the Study of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." By F. C. R. Douglas, M.A., L.C.C., M.P. Paper covers, 80 pp. 1s.

THE STORY OF MY DICTATORSHIP. A new State based neither on Communism nor on Fascism. By Berens and Singer. Limp linen. 92 pp. 1s.

THE THEORY OF HUMAN PROGRESSION. By Patrick Edward Dove. Abridged by Julia N. Kellogg. Paper covers, 150 pp. 1s.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH TAXATION? By Judge Jackson H. Ralston. Paper covers, 192 pp. 1s.

WHY RENTS AND RATES ARE HIGH. 600 Examples of Land Monopoly in town and country. The argument stated for the student, the writer and the speaker. By A. W. Madsen, B.Sc. Cloth, 252 pp. 2s. In paper covers. 1s.

WHY THE GERMAN REPUBLIC FELL and other Studies of the Causes and Consequences of Economic Inequality. Stiff paper cover. 192 pp. 2s. 6d.

PAMPHLETS—6d. to 2d. EACH.

THE CRIME OF POVERTY. An Address by Henry George. 2d.

A GREAT INIQUITY. By Leo Tolstoy. 3d.

LAND VALUE TAXATION IN PRACTICE. By A. W. Madsen, B.Sc. 6d.

LIGHT ON THE LAND QUESTION. A frank inquiry, in conversational style, into the Land Value Policy. By an eminent London journalist. 6d.

THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL AND SITE VALUE RATING. Debates on the Bill and discussion in the Press. 3d.

MOSES. An Address by Henry George. 2d.

THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY. By John B. Sharpe. 2d.

SCOTLAND AND SCOTSMEN. An Address by Henry George. 2d.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE JEW. By Louis P. Jacobs. 6d.

THOU SHALT NOT STEAL. An Address by Henry George. 2d.

THY KINGDOM COME. An Address by Henry George. 2d.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE LAND. By W. R. Lester, M.A. 2d.

PAMPHLETS—1d. EACH.

(Postage on each 1d.)

THE CHALLENGE OF THE RATES. Reprint of "Labour Speakers' Notes."

CITIES HELD TO RANSOM. By M.

THE FUTURE IS TO THE GANGSTER—UNLESS. With statement (by Henry George) on the Rights of Man.

JUSTICE THE OBJECT—TAXATION THE MEANS. An Address by Henry George.

LAND AND TAXATION. Pros and Cons of Land Value Taxation. Henry George in discussion with Dudley Field.

THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE. An Address by Henry George.

LAND-VALUE TAXATION AND FREE TRADE. Henry George Foundation Prize Essay. By Harold Crossley.

NOTES FOR SPEAKERS. A Pocket Folder.

THE ONLY WAY OUT OF UNEMPLOYMENT. By H. G. Chancellor, ex-M.P.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF LAND GAMBLING. A review of Homer Hoyt's impressive study of Chicago's land values. By Chas. O'Connor Hennessy.

THE REAL MEANING OF FREE TRADE. An Address by Henry George.

THE STUDY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. An Address by Henry George.

WHAT IS LAND VALUE TAXATION? By W. R. Lester, M.A.

WHY THE LANDOWNER CANNOT SHIFT THE TAX ON LAND VALUES. By Henry George.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PAPERS

Price 1d. each except where otherwise stated.

AGRICULTURE AND THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION. By A. R. McDougall.

AMERICAN EXPLOITATION OF FUELS AND MINERALS. By Will Lissner. 2d.

AUSTRALIA, THE TAXING AND RATING OF LAND VALUES IN. By E. J. Craigie, M.P., President of the International Union. 4d.

BRITISH COLUMBIA, THE WORK OF A PIONEER. By Alexander Hamilton. 2d.

CANADA, EFFECTS OF LAND VALUE POLICIES IN. By Ernest J. Farmer. 2d.

COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF LAND TENURE AND TAXATION. By Rt Hon Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P.

DENMARK, LAND VALUATION AND LAND VALUE TAXATION IN. By K. J. Kristensen, Chief of the Danish Land Valuation Department. 2d.

DENMARK, TEN YEARS OF LAND VALUE TAXATION IN. By Abel Brink, Officer of the Danish Land Valuation Department.

FRANCE, A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY. By Sam Meyer and A. Daude-Bancel. 2d.

THE FUTURE IS OURS. By Bue Björner.

GERMANY, THE DISTRIBUTION AND THE TAXATION OF LAND IN.

By Dr Kurt Schmidt, Director of the Bund Deutscher Bodenreformer. 2d.

GREAT BRITAIN, THE PUBLIC STATUS OF LAND VALUE TAXATION IN.

By A. W. Madsen, B.Sc., and Eustace A. Davies. 2d.

HENRY GEORGE: AMERICA—EUROPE. By Jakob E. Lange, Denmark.

KARL MARX'S THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE AND LAND RENT.

By F. C. R. Douglas, M.A., L.C.C., M.P. 4d.

NEW ZEALAND, LAND VALUE TAXATION IN. By G. M. Fowlds. 2d.

OFFICIAL TESTIMONY ON LAND VALUE RATING. From municipalities in many countries. By F. C. R. Douglas, M.A., L.C.C., M.P.

PITTSBURG, PA., LAND VALUE RATING AND EXEMPTION OF IMPROVEMENTS IN. By Hon Wm N. McNair, former Mayor, and John C. Rose, Ph.D.

PROBLEMS OF POPULATION. By Pastor Chr. Norlev, Denmark.

RUSSIA, THE LAND QUESTION IN. By A. Daude-Bancel, France.

SOUTH AFRICA, LOCAL TAXATION IN. By F. A. W. Lucas, K.C. 2d.

TAX DELINQUENCY IN THE UNITED STATES. By J. Rupert Mason. 2d.

TAX RELIEF, PREFERENCE AND REALITY. By Prof. H. Gunnison Brown.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF LAND VALUE TAXATION.

By F. C. R. Douglas, M.A., L.C.C., M.P. 2d.

TOWN PLANNING AND TAXATION, FRIENDS OR FOES? By Harold S. Buttenheim, Editor of *The American City*.

THE VIOLATION OF NATIVE RIGHTS. By Rev Mervyn J. Stewart.

LAND & LIBERTY

4 Great Smith Street, London, S.W.1

Published by THE UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, LTD., 4 Great Smith Street, London, S.W.1.
Printed by VACHER & SONS, LTD., Parliamentary and General Printers, Westminster House, S.W.1.—76346.