

THE LAND SONG.

Air: "Marching Through Georgia."

1. Sound a blast for Free - dom, boys, and send it far and wide!

March a - long to vic - to - ry, for God is on our side!

While the voice of Na - ture thun - ders o'er the ris - ing tide—

"God made the Land for the Peo - ple!"

Chorus—

The Land! The Land! 'Twas God who gave the Land!

The Land! The Land! The ground on which we stand!

Why should we be beg - gars, with the Bal - lot in our hand!

"God gave the Land to the Peo - ple!"

2. Hark! the shout is swelling from the East and from the West:
Why should we beg work and let the Landlords take the best?
Make them pay their taxes for the land—we'll risk the rest:
The Land was meant for the People!

Chorus.

3. The banner has been raised on high, to face the battle din!
The Army now is marching on the struggle to begin:
We'll never cease our efforts till the victory we win,
And the Land is free for the People!

Chorus.

4. Clear the way for Liberty! The Land must all be free!
Britons will not falter in the fight, though stern it be,
Till the flag we love so well shall wave from sea to sea
O'er the Land that's free for the People!

Chorus.

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HOW TO REDUCE YOUR RATES AND TAXES.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Leaflet 9.

SIX REASONS FOR TAXING LAND VALUES

1. The land comes from the hands of the Creator, and does not owe its existence to man.

2. It is limited in quantity. You can no more add to the area of the country than you can add a cubit to your stature.

3. It is necessary for our existence; it is necessary for our production; it is necessary to us when we wish to exchange our products.

4. Land does not owe its value to anything which its owner chooses to spend upon it.

5. Land owes its value entirely to the presence and activity and expenditure of the community.

6. Land cannot be carried away, and cannot be concealed.

These are valuable qualities in the eyes of the tax-gatherer. Does any man know of any commodity which possesses all these characteristics? Yet they tell us that land is the same as any other commodity! What a terrible mess men get themselves into when they venture to make such an assertion! It is a hopelessly fallacious assertion. Possessing these characteristics, land is a peculiar subject for special taxation.

How to Get Land and How to Keep It.

HARDSHIPS OF SMALL OWNERS.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR, writing on Oct. 25th, 1909, said:

"It is a mistake to suppose, as many people do, either that small ownership is the *natural* organisation of rural life—that is, the one which would universally prevail but for antiquated laws and bad tradition—or that, if it were suddenly established, as by a stroke of the pen, it would immediately work smoothly and automatically to the general advantage of all concerned. This is too sanguine a view. The life of a small owner, though honourable and independent, is rarely an easy one. In some parts of the country his industry needs for its full success to be supplemented by other employments; it is laborious, and requires the vigorous co-operation of all the members of the family who are able to help, be they young or old, male or female. It has its risks, and in many of the States where the system is most deeply rooted in the national life, it yet has to be sustained by heavy protective tariffs."

Mr. Balfour is right. The life of the small owner is always one of hard work for a poor reward, and often a hopeless struggle with debt. The British tenant-farmers and farm workers are hard pressed just now, but they have no desire to be bound like serfs to mortgaged farms. They want land, but they know that the man who buys land with borrowed money does not really get the land. The land more often gets him in its grip and ruins him. There is no freedom for a man in this position.

It is absurd and false to speak of small owners in France, Denmark, and Ireland, when these "owners" have to pay interest on millions of debt. As Mr. Balfour says, they and their families have to work from morning till night, on the farm and off it, to keep above water. The man who has borrowed too much money on his land is not a bit better off than the man who pays too much rent. When low prices or bad seasons come he is worse off, as he still pays interest at full rate.

PRICES AND RENTS TOO HIGH.

There is one fault or vice in our land policy. Whether it is the landlord-tenant system, the Small Holdings Act, or land-purchase schemes, their first concern is to give the landlords a high rent or a high price; it is only their second concern to give the farmers and labourers the fair play which they need to make a living for themselves and others. This policy must be changed. If we put the farmers and the labourers first, not only will they themselves be better off, but the landlords and all others will be better off. Farmers with plenty of capital can farm better than those with too little. Well-paid labourers can produce more than poorly paid labourers. They are better customers of other workers. But how can farmers keep or gather capital, how can they pay their labourers fair or sufficient wages, if the rents take away too much of the produce? How can labourers improve their position when the landlords hold back the land on which they might get an independent living?

THE FARMERS' AND LABOURERS' TURN NOW!

The land of Great Britain must be placed at the service of the men who will work it. Until this is done, nothing will do any good to farming. Dukes, Marquises, Earls, and other landlords are far too busy with other things to manage the land and rents of the whole country properly. They have had a fair chance for the last four hundred years. They got most of the Crown lands, most of the Church lands, all the land of the Highland clans, most of the commons and common fields, and most of the land of Ireland. They have had more power than all the rest of the people combined. Controlling land they controlled everything. They have ruined agriculture over and over again. For agriculture is only another name for farmers and labourers. They have made life a hell for these people, making them skip round the country and out of the country with high rents and haughty, disdainful treatment. They have broken the health and spirits of millions of men, and of tens of millions of helpless women and children. They have made the people poor. There are thousands of houses in our country that are a disgrace to the British nation, houses that take in rain and are overcrowded. Poor food, poor clothes, poor houses breed

consumption and every disease. Idle land, or badly used land, means unemployed men, and unemployed men are poor men themselves and a burden on others.

ABOLISH LANDOWNERS' POWER AND ABOLISH POVERTY.

There is no reason why men should be poor. All the land is not idle and badly farmed, and all rents are not too high, but enough land is out of use and rents are too high in plenty of cases to keep millions of people in poverty. All this must be changed. The British people have built splendid cities, splendid steamers, railways, and locomotives; they are now building wonderful airships, but they have never yet managed to make a decent use of their land. They have failed because they have never really tried. There is only one step which will enable them to use their land as it ought to be used. They must take over from the landowners the power of controlling the land of the country. They must refuse and put aside Lord Lansdowne's claim. Speaking in the House of Lords on the Scottish Small Landholders Bill on August 14th, 1907, Lord Lansdowne said: "Surely what gives reality to ownership, what makes it a valuable and precious thing to many people, is that we have hitherto associated with it the power of guiding the destinies of the estate, of superintending its development and improvement, and, above all things, the right to select the persons to be associated with the proprietor in the cultivation of the soil." This is the very citadel of the landowners' power, and this must go. Up till now the people have never faced this claim. It is their duty and privilege to do it now.

THE PEOPLE'S POWER IN LAND VALUATION.

Whether it is a working man, a labourer, who wants a quarter of an acre for a cottage and garden, or a farmer who wants 20 or 40 acres, or another farmer who wants 100 or 200 acres, or another farmer, who wants 1,000 or 4,000 acres, or a sportsman who wants a shooting or fishing, or a man who wants a site for a mansion and park, for a house, tenement, or factory, or a railway company which wants land for a railway, or a mining company which wants to open a mine, it should be the business of all the responsible and intelligent people in every district to see that they get land for these objects, and that they get it on terms which will enable them to thrive and prosper. In the centre of London as well as in the most distant parish of Ireland, the Hebrides, or Shetland, the occupiers of land should rise up and come out of their little, narrow businesses, and exercise the right that Lord Lansdowne claims for the landowners. They will never be free and independent men until they do this. They will be at the mercy and disposal of the men who "guide the destinies of the estate."

The people have got their chance now in the valuation of land under the Budget of 1909. In every parish the men who know the value of the land best of all men in the world can form themselves into committees to advise and assist the Government valuers. They can decide what is the best use of the land for all concerned, and who are the people best fitted to use it. The value of the land having been fixed each year at the figure which would leave to its occupier a full return for his capital and labour, that value should be taken as the rent payable by the occupier. Every piece of land would then be used in a way that would commend itself to the common sense and opinion of all the people; for every man could offer his opinion, and every opinion would be heard. All the taxes on food, houses, shops, and other good things could be abolished, and a sufficient portion of the land value could be taken in their place. Everyone would gain. There would be higher wages, because far more land would be brought into use and a greater demand would be made for labour. Labourers could save money and become capitalists.

THE ONLY GOOD LAND SYSTEM.

This is the only national scheme of land reform before the country. It is the only one worth fighting for. It touches every parish and every acre of land in the country. It will make a man prosperous and all his customers prosperous. It is a reform for the labourer, farmer, builder, shopkeeper, manufacturer, miner, and every man who takes part in industry. Credit banks, small holdings, and small ownerships are paltry patchwork schemes for a small number of people. Under the form of Government assistance they all lead these people into the trap of mortgages, high prices, and high rents. The Taxation of Land Values throws open the land to men. That is all they need, all they want; that is all they emigrate to the Colonies to get. The British people do not ask for assistance. They only ask that the land should be set free for their use, that they themselves should be freed from high rents and taxes which deprive them of their own earnings. When they gain this request, they will be free as they have never been before.

Why the Shopkeeper should Support the Taxation of Land Values.

HIS ENTERPRISE AND THE BURDEN OF RATES AND TAXES.

OF all the units of our population, the shopkeeper, no matter in what city or town, or in what part of that city or town, is one of the most useful, and helps forward the prosperity of the district in which he operates as much as any other. It is his activity and business energy which play a large part in bringing about the progress and prosperity of his particular district, and so indirectly of the nation. But instead of being encouraged to persevere and being rewarded for his enterprise and energy, he is discouraged and penalised. The reward he gets often decreases in proportion to the labour and enterprise he expends. The more he spends in improving his premises and fittings, the more rates and taxes he has to pay.

A short time ago Messrs. Craven and Speeding Brothers, of Sunderland, erected some new buildings, and installed some new and improved machinery. As a reward for their enterprise, round came the Rating Department of the Corporation, and advanced the assessment of the firm by £500 per annum!

Similar conditions prevail throughout the kingdom. Industry is penalised and enterprise discouraged everywhere.

In one of Glasgow's busy streets there is a building which cost £4,700 to erect, and the ground rent of which was £30. The premises were fully let, and the feu, or lessee, being an enterprising individual, and knowing that it would be an advantage

to have a new frontage and wider staircases, among other alterations had these changes effected at a cost of £1,500. What happened? The City Assessor came along, admired the changes, and put up the assessment from £270 to £375, making a difference in the yearly payment of the rates of over £30. This is the encouragement meted out to progressive and enterprising business people. Fined £30 a year for improving their business premises!

HIS GOODWILL AND THE LANDLORD'S POWER.

The more a shopkeeper creates a goodwill and becomes identified with his site in the street, the greater power the landowner has over him when he wants to renew his lease. In times of prosperity he is apt to lose sight of the heavy weight he has to carry, for his profits are good, but after a year or two of slackness in trade he feels that he is only really working for the landlord and the rating authorities. Everything seems out of joint with him and his affairs. He economises, takes no business risks, loses opportunities, worries, and works longer, gets sick at heart and queer with his bank.

Many tradesmen who ten years ago made up their minds to retire at the end of five years with a larger competence than they then had, are still in business lamenting that they did not retire when they had the opportunity. Instead of increasing their savings, they found the opportunity of retiring at all gradually disappearing. They have been doing their duty to the community, trying to help on commerce, and have been punished for their pains. They have had to pay in order to increase other people's incomes, for they have contributed largely to the increase in land value that has taken place in every business and commercial centre, which invariably finds its way into the landowners' pockets.

CONFISCATION OF THE RESULTS OF INDUSTRY.

This despotic power which the landowners have enables them to confiscate the results of business and commercial activity and talent. Here is an example:—

The lease of premises in Piccadilly, occupied by an old-established and famous firm identified with the premises, was renewed in June, 1909. The expired lease itself was a renewed term of twenty years. The old rent for the land and buildings was £800 per annum. The new rent for the land alone is henceforth to be £1,800 per annum, and the lessees

are to erect a costly building, which at the end of the lease will revert to the landowner.

What has happened in Piccadilly has happened in every growing town. The landowner swoops down and carries off the fruits of industry.

At Sheffield practically the whole of the more important part of the city belongs to the Duke of Norfolk, whose predecessors let the land to people who built steel works and many other kinds of industrial premises, thus making Sheffield a large and famous town and the land valuable. For some years past these leases have been falling in and enormous values reverting to the Duke. In South Street and Broad Street Park, Mr. Unwin, a draper, held a lease from the Duke at £5 is. per annum. The lease had six and a half years to run. To secure a renewal Mr. Unwin had to surrender the six and a half years' unexpired term, accept a lease for forty years only, pay a rent of **£150 a year instead of £5 is.**, spend **£1,000** in improving the buildings, and continue to pay all the rates.

RESTRICTED USE OF LAND, RESTRICTED TRADE, AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

Under our present system the use of land is restricted, and men having control over land are encouraged to hold it out of use while people are working around and increasing the need for it, and, consequently, the value. They hold on just as long as they think suitable, in order that, as a consequence of the increasing activity and numbers of the people in the vicinity, and the demand for this land becoming greater, they are enabled to demand a high, and in many cases exorbitant, price or rent for its use.

This restricted use of land is extremely harmful to the interests of trade and commerce, because land being the fundamental factor in all production, whether of food, manufactures, or any conceivable article of domestic or commercial use, the restricted use of land must mean restricted production, whether manufacturing or agricultural. This affects the shopkeeper in several ways. The manufacture of the articles he stocks being restricted, they are more costly than would otherwise be the case; consequently he must charge a correspondingly high price, and so restrict the demand for them. Again, Agriculture and Manufacture being restricted, employment is restricted. People are out of work, causing fierce competition for what employment there is; thus wages are lowered, lowered, in fact, as far as they possibly can be. This unemployment hits the shopkeeper in two ways. In the first place, his customers are impoverished, and so purchase less; and, secondly, rates are increased to meet the expenses of unemployment evils, poor law relief, and the workhouse.

TO FREE INDUSTRY AND ENCOURAGE ENTERPRISE.

Surely there is something wrong here. The system which takes so much from the industrious shopkeeper, so indispensable a member of the community, and enriches the idle landowner who contributes nothing to the welfare of the community, is absurd and out of date. **A new system of rating and taxation is required**, so that when an individual works hard and well, instead of being discouraged by being mulcted in heavy rates and taxes, as is now the case, he would be encouraged to increase his efforts by the exemption of his improvements from rates and taxes. **This could be accomplished by adopting the Land Values system of taxation**—that is, all rates and taxes should be levied on the value of land. This is the only equitable method; for just as the increased value of a shopkeeper's business is due to his own energy, enterprise, and ability, so is the value of land due to the presence, activity, and enterprise of the people on and around that land. As the land owes its value to the energies of the people, it is only just and fair that the people should utilise that value to meet their expenses as a community, expenses incurred in road-making and repairing, scavenging, cleansing, and the thousand and one things that are necessary where people congregate.

FREE LAND MEANS FREE INDUSTRY.

A tax on the value of all land would induce the landholders either to make good use of their land or to meet on reasonable terms those who require its use. Land thus being made accessible, agriculture would be revived, manufacture stimulated, employment increased, and better trade secured. The shopkeeper would get his stock cheaper, his customers would be better off and purchase more, and when he enlarged his premises he would not be oppressively rated. When his lease fell in, and he wanted to renew his tenancy, the landlord would be more anxious to treat with him in a reasonable way.

Shopkeepers, having much to gain, should make it part of their business to help push along this much-needed and long-delayed reform of our rating and taxation laws.

Taxation of Land Values Means:

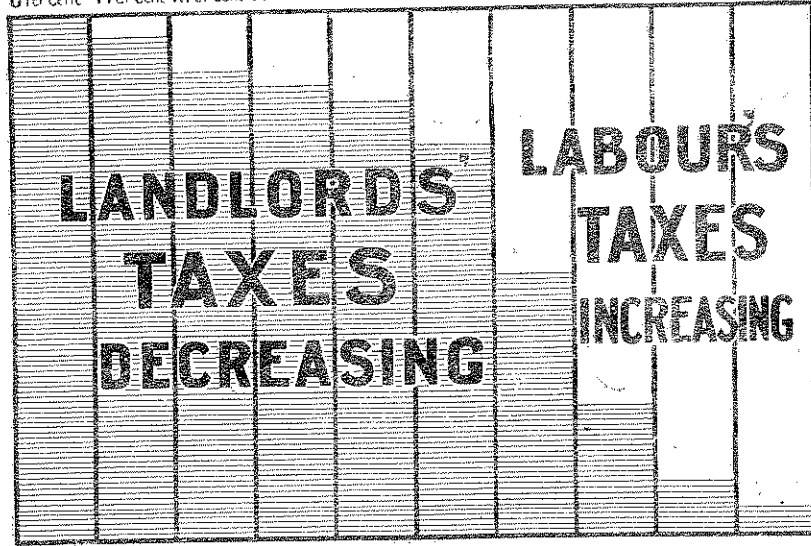
Lower Rates and Taxes.

More Customers and More Profit.

THE LANDLORDS THREW OFF THEIR TAXES

AS FOLLOWS:—

1216 1366 1483 1553 1653 1714 1760 1793 1815 1845
0 Per Cent 4 Per Cent 11 Per Cent 14 Per Cent 17 Per Cent 25 Per Cent 50 Per Cent 75 Per Cent 90 Per Cent 95 Per Cent



The above diagram shows that up to the year 1216 the landlords shifted none of their just burdens. But, commencing in the year 1216, they shifted them as the diagram shows. The clear columns show the increasing share of the tax burdens unfairly lifted from their own backs to those of others. The shaded columns show the lessening proportions at those periods still borne by the landlords. As rentals grew, taxes on rentals were legislated away—

THE LANDLORDS BEING THE LAWMAKERS.

RICHARD COBDEN'S explanation
of the diagram on the previous page.

SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
DECEMBER 17th, 1845.

" Honourable gentlemen claimed the privilege of taxing our bread on account of their peculiar burdens in paying the highway rates and the tithes. Why, the land had borne those burdens before Corn Laws had been thought of. The only peculiar State burden borne by the land was the Land Tax, and I will undertake to show that the mode of levying that tax is fraudulent and evasive, an example of legislative partiality and injustice second only to the Corn Law itself. For a period of 150 years after the Conquest the whole of the revenue of the country was derived from the land. During the next 150 years it yielded nineteen-twentieths of the revenue—for the next century down to the reign of Richard III. it was nine-tenths. During the next seventy years to the time of Mary it fell to about three-fourths. From this time to the end of the Commonwealth land appeared to have yielded one-half the revenue. Down to the reign of Anne it was one-fourth. In the reign of George III. it was one-sixth. For the first thirty years of his reign the land yielded one-seventh of the revenue. From 1793 to 1816 (during the period of the Land Tax) land contributed one-ninth. From which time to the present (1845) one twenty-fifth only of the revenue had been derived directly from land. Thus the land, which anciently paid the whole of taxation, paid now only a fraction, or one twenty-fifth, notwithstanding the immense increase that had taken place in the value of the rentals. The people had fared better under the despotic monarchs than when the powers of the State had fallen into the hands of a landed oligarchy, who had first exempted themselves from taxation, and next claimed compensation for themselves by a Corn Law for their heavy and peculiar burdens."

QUESTIONS FOR CANDIDATES.

Get your Candidate to Fight for Land Values Taxation by asking him the following Questions :

(1) Do you agree that the value of the land, which arises as the result of the growth and expenditure of the community, is a proper and necessary source of public revenue, and are you in favour of raising rates and taxes by the direct taxation of land values ?

(2) Since public improvements increase the value of land, should not the increased land value pay for such public improvements ?

(3) Do you not consider it unjust and a discouragement of industry that rates and taxes should fall upon buildings and machinery instead of upon land values, which are entirely the result of public expenditure ?

(4) Are you in favour of the taxation of land values as a means of making landowners put their land to its best use, thus obliging them to open up agricultural, mining, and building land at present withheld, and providing opportunities for employment ?

(5) Are you in favour of abolishing the existing taxes on such articles of food as tea and sugar, substituting for them a general tax on land values ?

(6) Are you in favour of abolishing the present tax on tobacco, substituting for it a general tax on land values ?

(7) Are you in favour of abolishing the inhabited house duty, raising the necessary revenue by a general tax on land values ?

(8) Are you in favour of Fiscal Reform which will levy a general tax upon land values instead of taxing sugar, tea, cocoa, tobacco, inhabited houses, etc. ?

(9) Are you in favour of encouraging the agricultural industry, by relieving farm buildings, fencing, and other improvements from rates and taxes, raising revenue from land values only ?

(10) Seeing that official reports state that the taxation of land values has broken up large estates in the Colonies, encouraged the settlement of small farms, and stimulated building, will you urge that all land in this country, whether used or unused, be taxed on its value, as a means of breaking up the large estates and obliging landowners to place land at the disposal of the people ?

(11) Are you in favour of rating reform by which buildings, machinery, and improvements will cease to be taxed, and revenues raised from the bare land value only ?

(12) Do you oppose the taxation of machinery, houses, shops, and other buildings ? Will you work in Parliament for rating reform which, instead of taxing these things, will raise revenue from land values alone ?

(13) Are you opposed to taxes in restraint of trade ? If so, will you urge the repeal of stamp duties upon business transactions, such as receipts, cheques, contracts, etc., raising revenue in their place by taxing land values ?

(14) Seeing that all parties agree that Poor Relief, Provision for Education, Police, and Main Roads should be provided for out of national rather than out of local revenue, do you approve of these services being taken over by the State and their cost defrayed by a general tax upon land values ?

**ASK SOME OF THESE QUESTIONS YOURSELF.
GET YOUR FRIENDS TO ASK OTHERS.**

THE NEW LAND LAW.

NO MORE BAD TIMES FOR FARMERS AND FARM WORKERS.

THERE are good farmers in this country who cannot get farms. There is much good land lying idle, and still more that is badly farmed. The farmers and farm workers have a hard time of it. Rents are too high in most cases. They are often paid out of the farmers' interest, out of the wages they should receive for management, or out of the workers' wages. To pay the rent many a good farmer has to sell a horse which he would like to keep for working the farm, or cows and sheep which should be kept for stock. He cannot buy the best implements or seed. He has to sell good dairy produce and feed himself and his family on cheap and inferior food. The farm workers get low wages. Their families are usually badly housed, badly clothed, and badly fed. So little freedom and security have these men, so hard and laborious is their life, that thousands are flying to lonely and distant parts of the Colonies to get that scope and peace and independence which landlordism denies to them at home.

NOT WICKED LANDLORDS AND FARMERS, BUT WICKED LAWS.

There is no reason why farmers, ploughmen, and shepherds should be treated like objectionable people, or vicious criminals, and chased out of the country. At Lady Day, 1910, a farmer at Newark, Nottinghamshire, was turned out of his farm. A

year before a dealer had offered a few shillings more rent per acre. The landlord gave the sitting tenant notice to quit. The *Mark Lane Express* (one of our leading agricultural papers) of April, 4th, 1910, said that the new tenant was likely to be boycotted by his neighbours, so strong was the feeling that the previous farmer, who was highly respected for his character and work, had been wronged. But what is the use of blaming the new farmer? This same thing takes place every year. The common sense of the Newark farmers was all against the eviction of their neighbour and the raising of the rent. Common sense is the same in all similar cases, but common sense is worth nothing if it never does anything to stop what it knows to be wicked and foolish. Those Newark farmers knew what a fair rent was, but they had no power in the matter. The new tenant and the landlord fixed the rent. Neither of them is fitted to do this. The tenant, because farms are too scarce, was too keen to get the farm, and the landlord was too anxious to get a higher rent to consider only the question of what the real value of the farm was. The opinion of the old farmer and of his old and experienced neighbours was unheeded. He was turned out, and he and his late neighbours will have to swallow their anger, while the new farmer pays too high a rent as long as he can. This is the outcome of our present land laws.

A NEW LAND LAW.

Farmers have always desired to get land at rents which would leave them interest on their capital and wages for their labour. This is no sin. Without a rent which leaves such a return, no farmer can succeed, and with such a rent no industrious farmer need fail. Why should not farmers obtain their desire and put an end to their troubles? Under the Budget of 1909 there is to be a valuation of the land different from the landlords' valuation. It will be a record

of the bare value of the land apart from all improvements upon it, and at first it is to be made by a Government valuer. But no one is so well fitted to value a farm as six or seven farmers and men of experience in its neighbourhood. They could act with the landlord and Government valuer. Let the value at which they arrive be the rent which is to be paid for the land. We may assume that experienced farmers would fix the rent at a figure which would give the tenant a full return on his capital and labour. In bad seasons and with a fall in prices rents should be reduced, so that the tenant would never be required to pay rent out of his capital. All land should be valued, and offered to the men who would make good use of it. If this were done thousands of farmers would find farms, and would be free from any fear of poverty or ruin.

TO SECURE THE IMPROVEMENTS.

The assessors or overseers have always a habit of raising the assessments when improvements are made by the landlord or tenant, and of fining them a few more shillings or pounds every year. The landlord has always a habit of raising the rent when the tenant improves the land. The valuation of the land apart from the improvements could be used to stop this. The value of the land would bear all rates and taxes, and improvements would be relieved from these burdens. The farmer could discuss with the landlord the question of what improvements were properly his own without fear of being turned out. He would not have to pay rent for the improvements made by his own industry and capital.

TO KEEP OFF OTHER EVILS.

This change would prevent the landlords from reducing the value of their estates by draining away the capital of good

tenants and driving them out for the sake of getting an increased rent from a misguided farmer for a few years. Farmers would have more capital and workers more wages. They would produce more, and everyone, including the landlord, would be better off. Under this system farmers would not be tempted or driven into the snare of land purchase, which sooner or later brings them into the clutches of the money-lenders, with their mortgages on the land, and their fixed rate of interest in bad seasons and good seasons, under low prices and high prices. To meet this interest, the so-called proprietors have not only to break into their capital, but lose their land as well. Small holdings and large holdings would be got in their proper places without the interference of County Councils. The interests of the landlords, large farmers, and small holders would be impartially considered.

GOOD TIMES.

With security of tenure and improvements, with just rents, with all the land put to its proper use, well-educated young farmers and capable farm workers would stay at home and fill up the half-deserted country districts. They would give employment to smiths, joiners, builders, and village tradesmen. Decent men and women would be kept out of the poorhouse. There would be much more life in the country, and people would find there sufficient of the things for which they now go to the Colonies, or to the large towns. Since the first business of farmers is to get land, their first interest in politics should be to see that land can be obtained on fair terms.

LAND VALUES TAXATION.

HOW IT WILL HELP THE COTTAGER AND SMALL HOLDER.

By W. R. LESTER, M.A.

CAREFULLY NOTE THIS.

THE present system of taxation means that for every improvement you make on your cottage, homestead, or small holding, the amount you pay in rates and taxes will rise.

It also means that a landowner has only to forbid the use of land and keep it idle, for pleasure or speculation, and he will practically escape rates altogether. Thus the present system means that the small holder and cottager not only have to pay their own share of rates, but also the share of the speculator or dog-in-the-manger who now is allowed to escape because he forbids the use of land. Increasing a man's rates when he improves his cottage or adds to his farm buildings, as we now do, means that he is fined for doing these things, and often prevented from undertaking them.

HOW PRESENT SYSTEM CAUSES UNEMPLOYMENT.

This checks work, and is one of the prime causes of unemployment. Allowing a man to escape rates if he leaves valuable land

idle, without cottages or farm buildings, is to encourage the locking up of land for mere speculation or pleasure. As idle land means idle men, this is *the prime cause of unemployment*. Such a system of taxation appears too stupid and too mischievous for words, but it is our present system. One would think the whole thing were designed to punish the man who makes good use of land and to reward the mere land speculator. Still we pride ourselves on being a "practical" people.

COTTAGE FAMINE AND UNUSED LAND IN ENGLISH VILLAGE.

It is sometimes said that it does not matter to the small holder or cottager how the system is reformed, "as he will have to pay in any case." Let us see if this is so by taking the actual case of two small fields adjoining each other in an ordinary Bedfordshire village.

Both fields cover three acres, but while one has a nice cottage on it and is used for vegetable and fruit growing, the other is unbuilt on and quite unused except for the few cattle that are allowed to graze on it.

Now please look at these two properties closely and also at the village itself. Though the two fields adjoin each other, and are of the same size (three acres each), the land is by no means of equal value, because the meadow is on the main road, while the cottage field is behind.

As a matter of fact, the meadow which has no cottage or any other improvement on it has just sold for £450, while it is estimated that, apart from the cottage, the other field would not sell for more than £150.

Also notice that there is a cottage famine in the village, the supply of cottages being much short of the demand. Now, obviously, a fair system of rating and taxation would make the grazing field pay three times more than the cottage, since it is three times more valuable.

Does our present system do that? Not in the very least. You would scarcely believe it, but matters are actually reversed, and the cottage field is made to pay five times more than the other.

How can this be? Simply because a cottage has been built and fruit trees planted in one case, while in the other the owner forbids cottages being built (though they are sorely needed in this village), and will only use his field for cattle grazing.

HOW RATES MAKE COTTAGES SCARCE AND DEAR.

Examination of the rate book shows that £2 19s. 10d. in rates falls on the cottager, and only 11s. 6d. on the meadow. So the cottager is called on to bear not only his own burden, but also most of what, rightfully, should fall on the owner of the valuable idle land.

We maintain that this iniquitous system should be altered root and branch. We say that a man should not have to bear more rates and taxes because he has built a cottage on his land, or put it to any other good use, and that he should not be allowed to escape rates and taxes if he refuse to build cottages or use his land well in any other way. We say that all land should be valued apart from cottages, farm buildings, fruit trees, or other improvements on it, and that the rates and taxes payable should depend on the value of the land instead of on the value of the cottage, etc., as is now the case. That would be the Land Values system of Taxation.

In the case under notice one man forbids building of cottages, which are so badly wanted, and our present system allows him to escape with a paltry payment of 11s. 6d. in rates. The other builds a nice cottage, and our present system wrings from him £2 19s. 10d. in rates.

LAND VALUES TAXATION WOULD CHEAPEN COTTAGES AND ENFORCE PROPER USE OF LAND.

Under the Land Values system of taxation the former would pay three times more in rates than the cottager, because his land

is three times more valuable (£450 to £150). Between them £3 11s. 4d. has to be collected, so the cottager would pay 17s. 10d., and the owner of the valuable unused land £2 13s. 6d. Thus the Land Values system would mean a saving to the cottager of £2 2s. (£2 16s. 10d. less 17s. 10d.) yearly.

But, more important still, the owner of the meadow having under the new system a substantial sum to pay in rates instead of a mere trifle as at present, could no longer afford to keep valuable land idle, and would be driven to build the cottages which are so much wanted, thus providing openings for work to thousands who ask for nothing better than the chance of earning an honest living.

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

means

**MORE AND BETTER COTTAGES,
LOWER RATES,
MORE EMPLOYMENT.**

Therefore

**TAX LAND VALUES—NOT HOUSES.
TAX LAND VALUES—NOT FOOD.**

THE BREAKFAST TABLE DUTIES AND FOOD TAXES.

THE Breakfast Table Duties are Customs taxes on Sugar, Tea, Cocoa, Coffee, Chicory, Currants, Figs, Dried Plums, Prunes, and Raisins. The revenue derived last year (ending March, 1909) by levying taxes on the importation of these articles was more than £10,200,000.

THE ANNUAL REVENUE FROM FOOD TAXATION IS £10,200,000.

Some speakers, when declaiming against the taxation of the people's food, miss the fact that the people's food is already taxed to a considerable amount by the Breakfast Table Duties.

THE BREAKFAST TABLE DUTIES ARE TAXES ON EARNINGS—TAXES ON THE PROPERTY OF MANY WHO HAVE TO WORK HARD AND LONG FOR THEIR WAGES.

One of the Breakfast Table Duties is

THE TEA TAX.

On every pound of tea a customs duty of 5d. is levied, and every year

TEA DRINKERS PAY £5,800,000.

This is what is collected by the Customs House, but the consumers pay very much more by the time the tea reaches them, for the importer, the merchant and the shop-

keeper must make their profit, not only on the cost of the tea, but also on the cost of the tax, and the cheaper the tea, the heavier is the tax on it in proportion to its value!

We are taxed when we buy tea just as we are taxed when we buy coffee, cocoa, sugar, raisins, and all the other articles on which the "Breakfast Table duties" are levied. There is no use trying to defend these taxes by saying they are raised for revenue purposes only, or that they represent the "share of the working classes." These taxes on foods and comforts are

TAXES ON LABOUR AND TAXES ON WAGES,

and fall with peculiar severity on the poorest of the poor. Why do we have to suffer such burdens? The State, failing to go to the proper source when levying taxation, must get revenue from somewhere, and it forces tea drinkers to make a very considerable payment to the Exchequer.

These vicious indirect taxes have been defended on the ground that they are "purely revenue producing." They have even been justified as a means of reaching the working classes, and thus making "the less well-to-do" contribute their "fair share of taxation." And so the Protectionists or "Tariff Reformers" charged with being "Food Taxers," are ready with an obvious retort which they have used with more effect than some Free Traders care to acknowledge.

THE HONEST COURSE IS TO DENOUNCE ALL FOOD TAXES, AND TAXES OF ALL KINDS THAT AFFLICT TRADE AND INDUSTRY.

To do so is to be free to face up to the Protectionists with clean hands. No sound Free Trader can meet the proposal to put taxes on Breadstuffs, Meat, Dairy Produce, &c., unless he is prepared to denounce the existing food taxes. All of these taxes are part of an iniquitous policy which will put money into the pockets of a favoured few at the expense of the great body of the people. Such taxes are mean and contemptible, falling as they do so severely on the scanty earnings of the poor.

THE REAL FREE TRADE POLICY.

Free Trade rightly understood means trade which is free from all taxation. The great bulk, however, of our present

THE TOBACCO TAX AND LAND VALUES.

THE REVENUE COLLECTED FROM THE
TAXATION OF TOBACCO IS £14,000,000 YEARLY.
LIKE ALL INDIRECT TAXATION IT IS A TAX ON WAGES.
WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

FOR many years it has been a settled (though very wrong) policy to collect a huge revenue by means of a heavy duty on a perfectly legitimate luxury, viz., tobacco. Every time you buy tobacco you are compelled to make the tobacconist act as the tax collector on behalf of the Customs Authorities. In fact, he is of more importance as a tax-gatherer for the State than as a man who provides goods in exchange for money. This is true, because

ON AN OUNCE OF TOBACCO
THE CUSTOMS DUTY AMOUNTS TO ABOUT 3½d.

And if you buy tobacco at 4½d. per ounce all you get is about ½d. worth. The tobacconist can't help doing this work for the Customs, and you can't help employing him as a tax-collector.

HE HAS TO PASS ON THE TAX TO YOU—
THE CONSUMER—THE SMOKER.

And what makes matters worse for you is that you have to pay in taxation more than what the State actually receives, because the importer, the dealer, and the shopkeeper must, as business men, reckon their profit on their outlay. They cannot avoid putting a profit on the tax, and you have to pay not only the tax but this profit also. Suppose that instead of the tobacconist charging you for the tax in the price of the tobacco, it was arranged that the tax be collected direct. A Customs House Official would be stationed in every shop demanding 3d. or 3½d. for every ounce of tobacco bought, and preventing you, in the name of the law, from

leaving the premises till you paid up. If the tax were forced out of you in this way,

WOULD YOU NOT VIGOROUSLY PROTEST AGAINST SUCH
ENORMITY AND INJUSTICE?

You would, but the wrong is just as great under the present system, although not so apparent. Indirect taxation is an ingenious invention. It treacherously raises the price against those who have least to spare. It falls with the greatest severity on the working classes and the poor. It makes the consumer pay smartly, without his seeming to notice that he is being taken advantage of. It denies that a man has a right to the result of his labour.

TAXES ON GOODS ARE TAXES ON EARNINGS:
THEY ARE TAXES ON THE PROPERTY
OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

When you hear people talk about "sacredness of property" and "property rights," have you ever stopped to think that the money you have to work hard for is your property, and that if the articles you buy with it are taxed, you, at any rate, have no "property rights"? Seemingly only those have "sacred rights" who have been able to seize the value of the land. Our unjust taxing methods allow the landlords to exact tribute from the workers: allow the landlords to grow rich on the toil of others, and we are asked to believe that

THE MONEY RECEIVED BY THE LANDLORD—THE
WEALTH HANDED OVER TO HIM WITHOUT HIS
DOING A STROKE OF WORK—BECOMES HIS
"SACRED PROPERTY," AND DARE NOT BE
TOUCHED!

You are told, forsooth, that you have to "bear your fair share of taxation." It is for you to say that your wages must be left alone, and that

LAND VALUES MUST BE TAXED, NOT TOBACCO.

The community creates land values. The community makes Government expenses necessary. Pay the one with the other, and

STAND FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

The present system burdens trade and industry, and, while forcing down wages, forces up rents by making both houses and land artificially dear.

The taxation of land values, on the other hand, will lower rents by taking the taxes off houses and other buildings, and by forcing idle land into use.

In New Zealand and Australia Local Rating Authorities impose rates on land values. The Town Clerk of Wellington, New Zealand, in a recent annual report to the Town Council, says:—

"It (the local rate on land values) leaves no room for regret at its adoption. That which was claimed by its exponents has been amply fulfilled; it encourages improvement, stimulates the use of land, secures the unearned increment to those who have added the value, mulcts all lands in their fair share of taxation, and paralyses the old system under which rental values on lands could, by simple manipulation, reduce local taxation to a farce. It is only stating a fact to say that much, if not all, of the activity in the building operations of the city and surroundings during the past year is due to the influence of this healthy measure."

In New South Wales the local rating of land values has equally justified its claim to universal adoption. The *Sydney Morning Herald* of October 27th, 1909, reports a great building boom. In a review of the building trade the *Herald* states:—

"In certain departments there is a dearth of labour, and in one of the trades—which would involve others—there is a very ugly threat of a strike. The quarrymen have decided to go on strike unless their wages are increased by a shilling a day. The movement everywhere is for increased wages. The condition of activity in the building trade has been unequalled in the history of the State. For number of contracts in existence, buildings in course of erection, and plans on the boards in architects' offices, this year will easily be a record one. The supply of material is higher in quantity than it has ever been. Brickmakers are working overtime. The demand for stone is increasing, while the output of timber is larger than ever before. There is a scarcity of leading mechanics, and stonemasons are difficult to get. Bricklayers are scarce, while good joiners are at a premium. Slaughtermen are receiving increased wages. The wages of

carcase butchers have been raised 8s. per week. Where piecework is done there is an increase of 2s. 6d. and 3s. per hundred. This is a sure sign of prosperity among the working population."

The advertisement pages of this paper seem to be almost wholly occupied by advertisements of land for sale, and for labour of every kind.

The taxation of land values has been in operation in New South Wales since 1897 for State purposes at the rate of 1d. in the £. Since 1905, however, local rating of land values has been gradually adopted in the various municipalities. The rates vary, and while the average is about 3d. in the £ (capital value), in some cases it is as high as 4½d. or 5d. That is to say, on the annual basis there is a rate on land values averaging 5s. in the £, and in some cases it is as high as 7s. 6d. and 8s. This high rate on land values means, of course, a corresponding exemption of, and reduction in, rates on houses, buildings, and improvements.

This is what we are aiming at in Great Britain and Ireland; in the words of the Lord Advocate: "to blot out buildings and improvements from the standard of rating, and to take as our standard of rating the value of land alone."

The great majority of the landholders need not fear a tax on land values. To the small freeholder, whose interests as a worker and a householder are very much greater than his interests as a landowner, the taxation of land values means a great reduction of taxes. The working owner of a highly improved and well-stocked farm, the working owner, in fact, of any land that is highly improved and fully utilised, stands to win by the taxation of land values. Those alone stand to lose who, by holding valuable land out of use, are inflicting incalculable injury on the whole community, and even the latter class may avert loss by improving their land and putting it to its best use.

Electors! Consider these facts, and vote only for those candidates who will pledge themselves to the rating of land values.

WHY THE RATES ARE HIGH IN LONDON.

RATES are high because owners of valuable land withhold it from use and contribute nothing on its value towards public expenses, and because valuable sites are occupied by buildings that are tumbledown and obsolete, and contribute little.

A CITY ILLUSTRATION.



The modern block of buildings marked "A," consisting of showrooms and warehouses, forming No. 7, Aldersgate Street, is rated at £2,677 per annum. The vacant site marked "B," forming Nos. 4 and 5, Aldersgate Street, is rated at nothing. Block "A" occupies a site of about 10,000 square feet and pays £870 in rates. The vacant site "B" extends to 12,700 square feet and pays nothing. It has been vacant for several years.

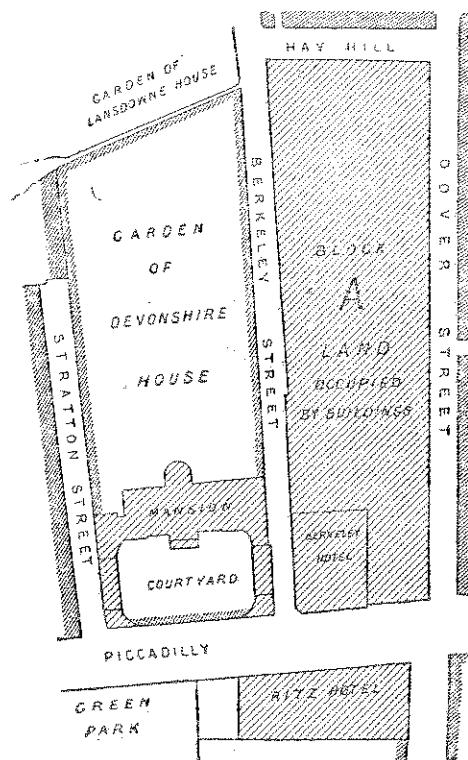
Besides being more extensive the vacant site is more valuable than the occupied site, because it is nearer the busy thoroughfares of Newgate Street and Cheapside; yet the firm which gives employment in erecting the building, which gives employment in carrying on business, is heavily rated, while the owner of the idle land who keeps men out of work escapes.

A WEST END ILLUSTRATION.

HOW LANDOWNERS ARE RATED.

HOW HOUSEOWNERS ARE RATED.

Devonshire
House and
Grounds,
Area about
163,000
square feet.
Rateable
Value:
£4,168.



Block A,
occupied by
Berkeley Hotel
and other
buildings.
Area about
153,000
square feet.
Rateable
Value:
£43,570.

The owners of houses and shops in Berkeley Street and Dover Street occupy some 10,000 square feet of land less than the Duke of Devonshire, and pay more than ten times as much in rates. The Ritz Hotel occupies one-sixth of the space occupied by the Duke, and pays four times more in rates.

Lansdowne House and Grounds extend to about 93,000 square feet and are rated at £2,500. The Ritz Hotel occupies an area of 26,000 square feet and is rated at £17,084. The Bath Club, in Berkeley Street, covers 11,400 square feet and is rated at £3,500.

The Bath Club occupies one-eighth of the space occupied by Lord Lansdowne, and pays one-quarter more in rates.

Houses are as necessary to life as food. Taxes on food make food dearer. Rates on houses make houses dearer. That is why so many people have to live in poor houses amid overcrowded surroundings.

A SUBURBAN ILLUSTRATION.

On January 10th, 1910, the Vale Farm Estate between Wembley and Sudbury was put up for sale. The estate, which extends to 91½ acres, was declared quite ripe for development and almost blocking the way to the neighbourhood around. Bidding proceeded until a price of £32,000, or almost £350 per acre, was offered. The auctioneer withdrew the estate, saying that an offer of about £45,000 might be considered. This land is rated at 25s. per acre and pays in rates about £15. The price offered is 280 years' purchase of the rateable value, and the price demanded by the owner is 390 years' purchase of that value. Thirty years' purchase of the rateable value is a handsome price for any property, and the enormous difference between 30 years' purchase and the 390 years' purchase demanded by the owner proves that this land is rated for much too small a sum or is held up for much too big a price. This is why land is idle, and this is why builders are out of work. **No wonder we have a Housing Problem.**

A rate of 3d. in the £ on £32,000, the value declared in the public market, would fetch £400, would incline the landowner to develop his land, would give employment to hundreds of men, and would reduce the rates paid by the householders and shopkeepers.

THE FUND FROM WHICH RATES SHOULD BE PAID.

In 1865 a plot of land on the foreshore of the Thames near the Temple was sold for £8,250. In 1870 the Victoria Embankment was built at the ratepayers' expense, and in 1871 the same plot of land was sold to the London School Board for £26,420, an increase of £18,170 in six years.

In 1876 the Metropolitan Board of Works paid £500,000 to the late Duke of Northumberland for Northumberland House and Grounds at Charing Cross. The land was required for the improvement of Trafalgar Square and for making a through road to the Embankment. The people of London paid a special tax on their coal to make the Embankment, but the Duke was not asked to leave one halfpenny of his half million.

In 1905 the London County Council had to pay £41,000 for 1,210 square feet of land to widen the thoroughfare at the corner of Piccadilly and St. James's Street. This is at the rate of £1,475,980 per acre; but towards the creation of these high values the landlords are not asked to pay anything.

The site of 10, Lombard Street, London, was sold at the rate of £1,786,300 per acre on May 27th, 1897.

The site of 37, Cornhill, was sold at the rate of £2,363,360 per acre on July 25th, 1901.

The site of 1, Old Broad Street, was sold at the rate of £3,059,390 per acre on January 15th, 1903.

For land in the vicinity of the Bank of England bounded by Lombard Street, Birchin Lane, Finch Lane, and Throgmorton Street, prices were obtained varying from £70 to as much as £100 per square foot, the latter price being paid in order to square a site.

This is from the *Times* report of the Estate Market on February 26th, 1910.

Here are the owners of land in the centre of London who receive millions of pounds per acre when they sell their land, and yet out of these millions they do not contribute one halfpenny to the rates. On the other hand there are hundreds of thousands of working men who receive no income except for their labour, men who are often thrown out of work by the holding up of land, who pay high ground rents and high house rents, and who are in addition obliged to pay rates out of their scanty earnings.

HOW THIS FUND IS CREATED.

All the people of London share in the expense of maintaining and lighting the streets, of improving the water supply and the drainage schemes. They all pay for the upkeep of parks and open spaces, for the fire brigade and for police services. It was and is with their money and on their security that the splendid tramway system was inaugurated and is maintained. Their money and credit have been used to carry out Housing Schemes. They pay for the upkeep of workhouses, museums, and libraries. Every one of those services sends up the value of the land. According to a very reasonable and safe estimate the annual value of the land within the county of London is £24,000,000. A tax of ten per cent. on this value would yield £2,400,000 every year. This would enable the County Council to reduce the present rates to an extent of 1s. 1d. in the £.

WHAT THE PEOPLE PAY.

Last year the ratepayers of London spent £1,928,000 in the upkeep of streets, £230,000 on parks and open spaces; £402,237 in lighting the streets; in main drainage £245,500; in local drainage £139,240. Altogether, the ratepayers of London have spent £71,681,785 between 1855 and 1908 in public services in creating and maintaining land values for the landowners.

LAND VALUES IN THE MIDLANDS.

BIRMINGHAM LAND VALUES—WHAT THE LANDLORDS RECEIVE.

IN 1550 King Edward VI. gave to the Grammar School Foundation a piece of land. The rent of this land was then £19 per annum. Since that time Birmingham has become a large city, and this land, which lies near its centre, yields more than £40,000 per annum in ground rents.

In 1830 700 square yards of land at the corner of New Street and Bennet's Hill were let on lease at £69 per annum. In 1905 the same site was let on a new lease at £975 per annum.

In 1901 the Corporation paid £4,400 for 83 square yards of land to widen New Street. This is at the rate of £256,500 per acre.

In the heart of the City there are some 82 acres belonging to the Colmore Estate. In 1904 the people of Birmingham required 9,890 square yards, or about 2 acres, of this land for the Council House Extension. Under leases which had expired these 2 acres were let at less than £250 a year, but under the new lease the Council are required to pay £5,400 a year.

WHAT THE PEOPLE PAY.

During 1908 the ratepayers of Birmingham paid £92,000 to maintain the streets, £39,500 to light them, and £20,300 to keep up the Fire Brigade. During the last three years alone the ratepayers have paid £3,017,327 in rates. Within recent years there has been an expenditure of £8,250,000 on a water supply, £3,785,000 on gas and electricity supply, £1,249,000 on the tramway service. All this money has been spent by the Birmingham ratepayers to create and maintain land values for Birmingham landlords, and out of the hundreds of thousands received by the landlords they are not asked to pay one halfpenny to the rates. The poor, the unemployed, the overworked and underpaid, the busy men and women occupying houses, factories, and shops have to pay.

THE PEOPLE'S BURDEN AND THE LANDLORDS' REWARD.

The Birmingham Improvement Scheme was started in 1876. Corporation Street was carried through the "unhealthy area," and while large sums were paid for the land acquired, the value of the adjoining land was greatly increased. The landlords are receiving higher rents as a result of the improvement, while in 1908 the yearly charge on the ratepayer was £23,000 on the debt incurred.

On June 17th, 1884, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, giving evidence before the Housing Commission, said:—

"With regard to all these improvement rates I cannot understand why the ground landlord should escape from his share of the contribution. At present it is charged upon the occupier. It appears to me that the ground landlord is benefited immensely by the general improvement to the place to which the improvement contributed, and I do not see why he should escape scot free."

THE LANDLORDS WAIT FOR RENT—THE PEOPLE WAIT FOR WORK AND HEALTHY HOMES.

The Birmingham City Surveyor, at the inquiry regarding the extension of the City boundaries on December 30th, 1909, said to the Local Government Board Inspector that "the area of land available for building but at present unbuilt on in the City was 3,574 acres," yet at this moment there are more than 30,000 "back-court" houses in Birmingham, where the people are deprived of adequate accommodation, light and air. These houses are taxed. The landlords hold up their untaxed land for higher rents, and much building capital is unemployed, and there are many builders out of work who would willingly build new and better houses.

HOLDING BACK LAND FROM THE LABOURERS IN BERKSHIRE.

COOKHAM is a typical Berkshire parish. While most of the land is under farms or market-gardens, there is a growing demand for building land. Sites cannot be got except at too high prices, yet there are hundreds of acres suited for the erection of houses and for small holdings. There is hardly ever a cottage to let. The owners ask from £400 to £600 per acre for the freehold of this land, or from £20 to £30 per acre ground rent. This high price keeps the labourers out, and so there are slums and overcrowding in beautiful Cookham! Instead of being rated at £20 per acre, the value which the owners place on it, that land is only rated at 20s. per acre, and so they can afford to hold it out of use.

RATING THE LABOURERS' COTTAGES.

Nine workmen's cottages at Cookham, occupying 950 square yards of land, are rated at £10 10s. each, or £94 10s. for the nine. That is, nine workmen's families who can only get one-fifth of an acre on which to live are rated at over ninety times the amount at which the landlord is rated for a full acre. The workmen have to pay, in rates, 450 times as much as the landowners, because they live in houses the erection of which has given employment to builders, while the landowners have kept their land idle, and kept men out of work.

The Budget is now law. It provides for the separate valuation of land and improvements. It makes it possible for the Tax Collector to take for the benefit of the State those values which the industry and expenditure of the people create and maintain.

Idle land can be taxed into use, and idle men will get employment. The building trade will improve, and it will be possible to repeal the taxes on food.

GLASGOW AND LAND VALUES.

THE CLYDE AND LAND VALUE.—WHAT THE PEOPLE PAY AND THE LANDLORDS RECEIVE.

THE Clyde made Glasgow." We have all been told this story. In the old days no ships could come up to the City. Now the river has been deepened and widened, and trade is carried on with the whole world. It is this trade which has led to the growth of Glasgow. "The Clyde made Glasgow," and so far as shipping is concerned the Clyde Trust made the Clyde. They made it by levying shipping dues on ship-owners, who passed on these dues to the merchants, who passed them on to the people of Glasgow. Therefore the people of Glasgow made the Clyde. The making of the Clyde has made Partick, Govan, Scotstoun, Renfrew, Clydebank, and Dalmuir. It has sent up the value of the land on both sides of the river. The landowners received £666,419 from the Clyde Trust for land between 1866 and 1906. A few years ago the Clyde Trust paid Mr. Speirs of Elderslie £104,500 for 110 acres at Renfrew; since then they paid Lord Newlands, who voted against the Budget, £84,107 for 19 acres at Meadowside or 1,400 years' purchase of the rateable value. Up to 1906 the Clyde Trustees had spent £8,400,000 in improving the Clyde. That is, the Trustees take the money of the people to make the Clyde navigable. The river makes the land value, and the Trust has to pay this value to the landowners for the right to use the land. The landowner walks off with a hundred thousand pounds, and is not asked to leave one halfpenny for rates.

THE CITY AND LAND VALUE.

Besides making the Clyde, the people of Glasgow have paid to make the City an attractive and convenient place of business. They have made streets, laid out parks, brought in a water supply, and carried out sewage schemes. In doing these things they have made the land valuable, but the landowners again take this value. In 1897 the Corporation paid £8,000 for 70 square yards of land at the foot of Buchanan Street. This is at the rate of £553,142 per acre. In 1777 this land was sold at the rate of £600 per acre, so that during 120 years its value increased almost a thousandfold. The industry and expenditure of Glasgow citizens make this value, but the landlords receive it.

WHAT THE DUKE PAYS AND WHAT HE RECEIVES.

In 1908 the Duke of Montrose, who voted against the Budget, demanded £26,000 from Glasgow Corporation for 380 acres at Loch Arklet. He was awarded £19,000. This land would be rated at about 6d. per acre, and the Duke would pay 9s. or 10s. to the Stirlingshire County Council. It seems to be a good law for the Duke which enables him to receive from one public body £50 per acre, and to pay to another public body on the assessment of 6d. per acre, less one-half because it is agricultural land. The people of Glasgow had to pay him 2,000 years' purchase of the assessment on which he paid rates to the County Council. Forty years' purchase would be a liberal price, but the law gives fifty times this sum.

LAND VALUES IN EDINBURGH.

THE Town Council of Edinburgh required land for erection of Gasworks in the neighbourhood of Granton. The land belonged to the Duke of Buccleuch, and comprised 105 acres, partly built on, and rated on an average at £5 10s. per acre. At 30 years' purchase of the assessed value the price would have been £165 per acre, and the total price for the land £17,325. The Town Council paid the Duke of Buccleuch £124,000, or 214 years' purchase. Thus is the town hampered in its expansion, and has to pay for its development. If £124,000 was the true value of the land, then the Duke of Buccleuch should have paid rates on this value instead of at £5 10s. per acre.

VALUE CREATED BY THE COMMUNITY— WHAT THE PEOPLE PAY.

Over a hundred years ago the Town Council of Edinburgh feued to an ancestor of the present owner of the Warrender Estate 14 acres of the Borough Muir for the sum of £10 8s. 4d., and a few years later another acre was added for a trifling payment. The feu-duty was in 1869 commuted for a payment of £500. These 15 acres now comprise part of the present Warrender Estate of 71 acres, from which the owner draws an annual income in feu-duties of £8,000, while there are still some 19 acres unfeued. All this is extracted from the inhabitants of Edinburgh as the price of the City's absolute necessity to obtain the use of the land. And from this £8,000 per annum the said owner pays not one penny to the rates. The inhabitants pay the rates, which go to enhance the value of the land in cleaning, lighting, and watching. The Landlords should be rated on the real value of the land. The People pay—the Landlords receive the value created by the Community.

THE PARKS AND LAND VALUE.

The Edinburgh Corporation paid for Portobello Park £25,000; Roseburn Park £8,700; the land for the Fever Hospital, at Colinton Mains, £20,500; while there are also Blackford Hill, the Braid Hills, Inverleith Park, Powderhall Park, Bellevue Park, which cost large sums. The Corporation spent thousands in laying them out, and the result for the ratepayers was the privilege of paying higher rates, and for those who lived in the neighbourhood of the parks, probably higher rents and higher feus. Thus the Landlords are paid high prices for the land, the value of which the people create, and they are paid again for the benefit the parks bring to the householders, and they are not asked to contribute one halfpenny out of their feu-duties, or the sums paid for their lands, to the City rates.

The Budget is now law. It provides for the separate valuation of land and improvements. It makes it possible for the Tax Collector to take for the benefit of the State those values which the industry and expenditure of the people create and maintain. Idle land can be taxed into use, to the benefit of all, and idle men will get employment. The building trade will improve, and it will be possible to repeal the taxes on food.

Land Values in Manchester.

SHIP CANAL AND LAND VALUE.—WHAT THE LANDLORDS RECEIVE.

IN 1896 Mr. E. T. Hooley, the company promoter, bought Trafford Park Estate for £360,000.

In 1897 he sold the Estate to the Trafford Park Estates Company for £901,000, making a profit of £540,000 on the transaction.

Land which was sold at the rate of £327 per acre in 1893 was sold at the rate of £4,840 per acre in 1902.

For 56½ acres of undeveloped land which was taken for the Ship Canal, and which was assessed for poor rate at £19 per annum, the late Lord Egerton of Tatton received under award £63,240, or 3,328 YEARS' PURCHASE OF THE RATEABLE VALUE.

WHAT THE PEOPLE PAY.

The making of the Manchester Ship Canal, with the consequent increase in population and trade, sent up the value of the land, but the people who paid, and are still paying, for the Canal, have got none of the value. The ratepayers of Manchester have been paying an average rate of 8½d. in the £ for the past fourteen years to meet the interest on the capital spent in making the Canal.

The land speculator got £540,000 in one year without doing anything to earn it; the landowner got 3,328 years' purchase of the amount on which he was assessed; they were not asked to leave one halfpenny of it for rates or taxes; the speculators continue to draw the increase in land values; the Manchester ratepayers continue to pay heavy rates, and do not get one halfpenny of the increased value which this expenditure created.

LAND VALUE IN BUSINESS CENTRE.—WHAT THE LANDLORDS RECEIVE.

In April, 1880, property at 81-89, Market Street, Manchester, was sold at the rate of £308,500 per acre. In April, 1897, the same property was sold at the rate of £532,844 per acre—**AN INCREASE OF £224,254.**

In October, 1885, property at the corner of Cross Street and John Dalton Street was sold at the rate of £286,992 per acre. In December, 1902, the same property was sold at the rate of £665,500 per acre—**AN INCREASE OF £378,508.**

In May, 1894, property in Corporation Street was sold at the rate of £432,131 per acre. In 1900, the same property was sold at the rate of £609,840 per acre—**AN INCREASE OF £177,709.**

In 1871 property at the corner of Fennel Street and Long Millgate was sold at the rate of £26,620 per acre. In 1907 the same property was sold at the rate of £156,372—**AN INCREASE OF £129,752.**

THE PEOPLE PAY AGAIN.

Since 1890 Street Improvements costing £273,125 have been carried out in the neighbourhood of these properties.

Here again the ratepayers of Manchester pay to increase the value of the land, and the landowners walk off with the increased value without being asked to pay one halfpenny of it. The Manchester man working for a pound a week, the Manchester woman working for sixteen shillings, the Manchester shopkeeper fighting against bad trade and low profits, have to pay rates for canals, streets, and other public services; the Manchester landowner, who draws a hundred thousand pounds from these services, pays nothing to keep them up.

Land Values in Yorkshire.

WHAT THE PEOPLE PAY AND THE LANDLORDS RECEIVE—FOR WATER.

IN 1903 the people of Leeds found it necessary to secure a better water supply. For that purpose they had to pay Lord Masham £68,932 for 537 acres of land at Colsterdale and Leighton, Lord Masham retaining all the sporting rights. This land was valued at less than 12s. per acre for rent. Thus the Leeds ratepayers had to pay £120 an acre or 200 years' purchase of the rateable value on which Lord Masham paid rates. This is about ten times its fair value.

The people of Harrogate paid Lord Masham £25,000 for 106 acres of land to extend their water supply, or £240 an acre.

Lord Masham voted against the Budget. Under the present law he is not asked to leave one halfpenny out of his tens of thousands towards the rates. The overworked and underpaid men and women of Leeds and Harrogate have to pay these rates out of their small earnings.

WHAT THE PEOPLE PAY AND THE LANDLORDS RECEIVE—FOR SANITATION.

IN 1909 the people of Leeds required land for sewage works. In August, 1909, they had to pay the Hon. E. Lindley Wood £149,644 for 610 acres on Temple-newsam Estate. The rateable value of this land was £1 7s. 6d. per acre. The Leeds ratepayers paid £245 an acre, or 180 years' purchase of the value on which Mr. Wood paid to the rating authorities.

LAND VALUES IN BUSINESS CENTRE.

By paying rates to bring in water and to carry out a sewage scheme the ratepayers send up the value of land in the city. In 1862 a plot of land in Park Row, Leeds, was offered for sale at £31,460 per acre. In 1893 the next plot but one was sold at the rate of £145,200 per acre. In 1898 the plot next the first one was sold at the rate of £278,300 per acre, **an increase of £246,840 over the neighbouring plot in 36 years.**

In 1897 a site overlooking City Square sold at the rate of £363,000 per acre. Out of these hundreds of thousands the landlords pay not a halfpenny to the rates. But during the last ten years the ratepayers of Leeds have paid £6,528,076 to maintain and improve their public services, to maintain and increase the value of land.

SHEFFIELD'S LOSS AND THE LANDLORDS' GAIN.

Between 1767 and 1839 thirty-five Acts were passed permitting over 63,000 acres of common lands within twelve miles of the Sheffield Parish Church to be made private property. By the Bradfield Enclosure Act passed in 1811 the Duke of Norfolk of that time got 7,000 acres. Other members of the House of Lords have shared largely in the division of these public lands, and where the people used to walk freely and feed their cattle, sheep, or geese, they are now warned off by the notice "**Trespassers will be Prosecuted.**" Without any right to use the land as their fathers used it, without any share in its value, the people of Sheffield have to pay rents to the landlords and rates to the Council to maintain the value of the stolen land.

In 1823 690 square yards in South Street Moor, being part of land which had been enclosed in 1779 by Earl Fitzwilliam, was let for ninety-nine years at a ground rent of £12 10s. Negotiation for renewal of the lease is now (1909) proceeding on the following basis: Surrender of thirteen years unexpired term, new lease at ground rent of £225, present buildings to be improved at cost of £1,000, or to be rebuilt at a cost of £5,000.

HOW TO UNLOCK THE LAND.

A WORD TO THE LABOURER AND SMALL HOLDER.

By W. R. LESTER, M.A.

YOU ask why you can't get land, or why rents are so high when you do manage to get a little bit. I will tell you why, and show you that the remedy is in your own hands. I will show you that you can easily get all the land you want at a fair rent, without harming anyone, and that this will raise wages over the whole country-side so that you and yours may live in comfort at home without emigrating to other lands.

I am a member of the Co-operative Small Holdings Society. We have 150 members, and have managed to get holdings for eighty at rents of about 40s. per acre. But, though the County Council has done its best to help us, we have been unable to get any for the remaining seventy members.

One of the farms we got covers four hundred acres, and before our entry it only employed seven labourers. Fifty of our small holders now work on this very same land, and make a better living than the labourers did. So there we have found useful work for forty-three extra men. And, what is more, the wages of casual labour in the district have risen by 6d. a day, because so many men have now found steady work on their own account, not needing to hunt about for jobs as before.

But why can't we find land for the remaining members of the Society? The reason is simple. All round our holdings lie large farms, which rent at about 18s. per acre, and one of them, which extends to six hundred acres, only employs twelve men. For this farm our men would give 40s. an acre, and make it pay. But for reasons best known to the landlord we cannot get it. Possibly sport and game may have something to do with it. Maybe he wants pheasants and not peasants. How can we change matters so that peasants are preferred to pheasants? Let us see.

PEASANTS NOT PHEASANTS.

This farm is worth 40s. an acre, since that is what small holders are willing to pay for it. Why, then, should it not be rated and taxed at 40s. instead of only 18s., as it now is? Surely if it is worth 40s. it should pay rates on 40s., whether used as a farm or as small holdings. If this were done, how much longer do you think the landlord would be content to use it as a poorly cultivated farm which only yields him a rent of 18s.? You may be quite sure

he would jump at the small holders and their 40s. rent, because in that way alone could he find enough money to pay his rates and taxes. Then, at last, pheasants would make way for peasants, and our seventy landless members would get to work.

KEY TO LABOUR PROBLEM.

Here is the key of the labour problem. Value all land, whether in town or country, at its *real worth*. Make owners pay rates and taxes on that value, and the land of England will soon be unlocked to the people of England. There will then be work in abundance for all, and wages will further rise, as they have already done wherever small holdings are plentiful.

Don't be deceived by the cry of those timid politicians who tell us that the taxation of land values is only good for towns, and should not apply to agricultural land. The tax on land values will do more for the agricultural districts and people than anything else these politicians have to offer. Valuation of land must be the first step. Without it, Small Holding schemes, Land Banks, and Land Development Acts will only send up the price of land. At the very best they are but vain and ill-advised efforts to bring the labourer to the landlord, whereas the tax on land values, by making the landlord pay taxes on the true value of his land, whether used or unused, will bring the landlord to the labourer and farmer, beseeching them to work his land. Besides, it will correspondingly lower the burden of taxation now falling so heavily on improvements and wages.

Don't be deceived by the cry that it is the foreigner with his "dumped" goods who keeps you out of work and your wages down. That is all a sham. Unemployment and low wages are caused by our unjust system of rating land, which means its bad use or even shuts it to labour altogether.

Therefore, demand taxation of land values, which means the unlocking of land to labour, and "the making of England less a pleasure ground for the rich and more a treasure house for the people."

DO NOT BE MISLED.

TAX LAND VALUES—NOT FOOD.

CONSERVATIVES APPROVE THE RATING OF LAND VALUES.

1.—Speeches by Leading Conservatives.

M^R. BALFOUR, speaking in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, November 17th, 1909, said :—

"Taxation of Land Values for rating purposes is legitimate if it can be shown that the land or the values which you desire to rate are values which are not paying their fair share of the local rate. That is a perfectly legitimate argument. . . . All forms of property which benefit by the rates ought, if you can contrive the machinery, to contribute to the rates. . . . The Taxation of Land Values is really no interference with security—it only means that that which does gain by the rates should contribute to the rate."

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, now LORD ST. ALDWYN, and at one time Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking in the House of Commons during the Budget Debate, 1894, said :—

"Let the right honourable gentleman (Sir William Harcourt), if he thinks right, invent means of taxing the increased value of landed property in the neighbourhood of towns. In an endeavour of that kind I will support the right honourable gentleman as readily as anybody, because I think it would be fair. I know there is a great deal of the value of land in towns which at present escapes taxation from every source, and I think it should be possible—I know it to be very difficult—it would be desirable to remedy that injustice."

LORD ROBERT GECIL, in the House of Commons Debate on the Third Reading of the Finance Bill, November, 1909, answering the statement that the Tories had made speeches on land values, said :—

"Yes, I quite agree; I do not think that I myself have ever done so, but I agree that a large number of honourable gentlemen of Conservative opinions have pledged themselves to the taxation of land value. But what for? As a substitute for our existing system of

rating, which is a perfectly easy and rational proposition. You have already the principle that land contributes to the local rates, and the question is whether the rates should be levied upon the improved value or upon the site value. This is a fair subject of discussion, and I do not think anyone would suggest that the alterations from improved value to site value is Socialism, or any extravagant or novel proposition."

MR. F. E. SMITH, K.C., M.P., speaking on April 29th, 1910, at the Waldorf Hotel, on the Social Policy of the Unionists, said :—

"Then the Budget was introduced. It was useless for them as a party to pretend or argue that there was not, in fact, a fundamental distinction between land and other subjects of ownership. The essential physical consideration that land was, after all, limited in extent, in a sense which was not true of any other commodity, did make a difference . . . in the degree of control which might be asserted by the community over land on purely public grounds. So far as he knew, no Conservative had ever approved of the land proposals in the Budget . . . But that was a totally different proposition from saying that, for purposes of municipal rating, you might entitle the municipalities to readjust the basis on which their system of oppidan (urban) rating depended . . . If there was anything at all in the cry upon which the land taxes were now fundamentally founded—public increment—it would be a matter for growing consideration in the future how far that increment was national in its character and how far municipal. It might well be a subject deserving of their consideration as a party to determine what would and must be the position of the great municipalities towards the tax."

2.—Conservatives in Parliament.

Ever since the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, proposals for the reform of our local rating system have been continuously before Parliament. The agitation in favour of taxing land values, with the corresponding relief of industry from the burden of rates, became a great municipal movement, and grew until upwards of six hundred local governing bodies joined in petitioning Government to carry this much-needed rating reform into effect, by giving them power to assess land values separately and to levy rates upon them. Numerous Bills have been introduced into Parliament in which the new principles were

embodied. During the Conservative administration prior to 1906 six such Bills reached a second reading, but were not proceeded with. The speeches on many of these occasions are instructive. The record of voting is given below.

In 1903 thirteen Unionists voted in favour of the second reading of the Land Values Assessment and Rating Bill.

In 1904 thirty-six Unionists voted in favour of the second reading of the Land Values Assessment and Rating Bill. Mr. W. W. Rutherford (Liverpool, West Derby) seconded the motion in a powerful speech, and Sir A. Rollit (South Islington) and Sir G. Bartley (North Islington) spoke in support.

In 1905 twenty-one Unionists voted in favour of the second reading of the Land Values Assessment and Rating Bill. Mr. Austen Taylor (Liverpool, East Toxteth) and Mr. Harmood-Banner (Liverpool, Everton) spoke strongly in favour of the measure.

3.—Publications and Press Articles.

THE CONSERVATIVE CAMPAIGN GUIDE (used in the General Election of 1906) says :—

"It is natural that the friends of the working and middle lower classes should desire for them, and that those classes should desire for themselves, more room to live in, more commodious dwellings, and more air and sunshine and light around them, and more relief from the burden of house rent, which probably in proportion to their incomes presses more heavily upon them than upon other classes of the community. No policy could be more fatuous than to meet these aspirations, when moderately pressed, with a blank *non possumus*, or with a cry of 'Robbery!' A man may be quite justified, as a matter of business, to refuse in the meantime to let at a feu of £50 per acre land which he expects in a few years to let for a feu of £100, and to be content instead to let it for agricultural purposes at £3 per acre; but whether or not it is economically a sound policy, it is certainly not robbery to require him to make a contribution to the revenues of the community, on whose growth and prosperity he relies for the enhanced value of his property, upon a scale which shall bear some relation to the return he might have obtained, but prefers in the meantime to forego. The proposal is advocated, however, not only on account of the advantage to the rates, but also because of its tendency to bring building land into the market on reasonable terms."

THE MORNING POST has been a consistent advocate of the rating of land values, and has frequently referred to the subject. On December 21st, 1906, a leading article said :—

"A rate levied on the value of buildings (the present system of rating) is a tax upon building enterprise; it is a direct discouragement to an industry which in these days of an urgent housing problem is one of the industries most in need of encouragement. A rate levied upon unimproved land values is not only free from the charge of discouraging industry, but may directly assist in a solution of the housing problem by hastening the development of building estates in the outskirts of great cities."

THE OBSERVER, March 13th, 1910, said :—

"It would be perfectly in accord with Unionist argument during last Session to give the local authorities the option of taxing local site values for local benefit."

MR. ELLIS BARKER (the well-known Unionist pamphleteer), writing in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, says :—

"No reform of the land system can be complete without a reform of the rating system. The British system of local taxation is a most unjust system. . . . It is indefensible . . . that a castle such as Chatsworth should be rated no higher than the shop of a struggling tradesman. It is equally indefensible that the owner of building land worth £100,000 who lets it at £300 for grazing, should be rated only on that £300, and thus be encouraged to restrict the extension of the town, and to increase the rent and living expenses of its inhabitants."

Truly, as Lord Robert Cecil has said, a large number of hon. gentlemen of Conservative opinions have pledged themselves to the taxation of land values.

Why the Workers should Support the Taxation of Land Values.

WHEN the working class is referred to there is invariably a doubt as to exactly what class of the community is indicated. Sometimes the unskilled labouring class is meant, sometimes this and the artisan class together. It is a common occurrence to exclude clerks, travellers, shop assistants, managers, foremen, in fact, all other workers who earn their daily bread by their own exertions, otherwise than by manual labour. The workers of the nation really comprise all those who assist in the production of wealth, from labourer and artisan to managing director.

THE WORKERS CREATE WEALTH, LANDOWNERS APPROPRIATE IT.

The working class of the community is really the backbone of the State. Upon their activities and competence depend the prosperity and well-being of the nation. The wealth that the nation creates, uses, and accumulates is the direct result of their labours. They bear by far the largest share of the rates and taxes, yet, strange to say, the recompense they get for their exertions is greatly out of proportion to the energy, enterprise, and skill they expend and the wealth they create. The landowners, who reap the lion's share of the wealth brought into existence, do nothing as such towards its creation. They are the leeches who, willingly

or unwillingly, suck the nation's blood, so that the nation, outwardly appearing healthy, is in a chronic state of anæmia. Its energies are cramped and weakened by this terrible disease.

These individuals own—at any rate, their possession is recognised as legal by the law, even by the Church—the soil on which we live. They control the fundamental element in all production, the prime factor in the existence and welfare of humanity. Every known want of the human race—food, clothing, implements of commercial and domestic use, anything that can be thought of, depends on the use of land, either directly or indirectly, for its production. To breathe the air we must have land to rest on; even when we take passage in an airship, or in a vessel on the sea, let us not forget that land is necessary to the production of the airship or vessel. These individuals have complete control over this necessity to existence, to hold out of use, as the whim seizes them, or to demand or extort the uttermost limit for permission to use it. By all mortal reasoning, how can it be just that the control over this, the first and principal gift of nature to mankind, should be in the hands of individuals to exercise as they choose without restraint of any kind? Can we saddle the blame on the actual individuals? No. The fault lies in the law of the State; the system that legalises such conditions. It is only human nature, after all, that an individual, in possession of the means whereby he can legally obtain wealth without raising a finger to produce it, will and does stick to the privilege like a limpet. There are few, in a like position, who would not do the same.

THE EVILS OF LAND MONOPOLY.

Before seeking a remedy let us examine some of the evils this system propagates, and how these evils affect the workers. First of all, for all industry—agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial—land is an absolute necessity, and in order that industry should flourish it must be obtainable in sufficient quantities, and on fair and reasonable terms. Factories, workshops, furnaces, mills, all these and similar human beehives require land in abundance, and on such terms as will allow of profitable working. It is necessary, with the same qualifications, to raise raw materials; crops for the

feeding of the people ; to build dwellings to house the people. The abundance and accessibility, or otherwise, of cheap land also affect industry through the railways. If a railway company has to pay dearly for the land over which its track is run, the freights it charges must be proportionately high, and it is easy to see how this taxes industry and adversely affects the travelling public.

If land suitable for any particular industry is not easily accessible, either because of the abnormally high price, or because the owner will not lease or sell in sufficient quantity, it logically follows that the operations of these particular producers are cramped and handicapped. A large proportion of any profits that might otherwise accrue is swallowed by the high price or rent demanded.

High-priced land directly hits the industrial capitalist, the individual or company whose capital is invested in the concern. Either their operations are limited and stinted because of insufficiency of space or the high proportion of their capital swallowed in land purchase or rental. They have, therefore, insufficient room for machinery and materials, or else insufficient capital to buy the requisite quantity. It therefore follows that they employ less men than they otherwise would do. **Here is one of the root causes of unemployment, causing "cut-throat competition" among workers, small wages, and long hours.** And with this heavy tax upon enterprise profits are encroached upon, and employers must work their employees for all they are worth. This further tends to reduce wages and lengthen hours.

An example of how our existing system prevents the extension of industry comes from Derbyshire :—

Glossop draws all its prosperity from three or four cotton factories and the great paper mills of Messrs. Partington. Messrs. Partington are on freehold land, and some time ago Mr. Edward Partington said that every foot of that land that could be utilised had been brought into use. More land can only be had from Lord Howard of Glossop on prohibitive terms. Some time ago the firm wished to make a private railway to the works. A lease, they were told, could only be

granted on terms which involved the entire surrender of the enterprise after a term of years. So the railway was not made.

Thus we see that the extension and development of this industrial concern was checked. Many hundreds of men might have been employed building that railway, many more hundreds in manufacturing the necessary materials and transporting them to the scene of operations. Further, there would have been employment for many in operating the railway, and the scope of the firm enlarged, the output increased, and more hands employed. This is only an instance of cases that are frequently occurring all over the country. Whenever an enterprise is ripe for extension its progress is barred by this land famine. Not only is production hampered by scarcity and dearness of suitable land, but many new industrial concerns are prevented from starting. And not only at the commencement or extension of industries does the land question intervene. There is another aspect. Many businesses—a large proportion, we should say—are carried on on land that is held on lease at a fixed yearly rental, which rental is always the same whether profit is made or not. When this lease expires, if—as is almost invariably the case—suitable land in the neighbourhood is unobtainable, the landowner is in a position to demand what price he thinks fit for a renewal. So just, perhaps, when an enterprise is beginning to make headway, when the heavy handicap of excessive rent and cramped space is being overcome, round comes Mr. Landlord and demands a nice fat ransom for the privilege of being allowed to continue on his land, and an increased rental under the new lease.

The high prices paid for land eventually come out of the wages fund. **High-priced land means low-paid labour, and low-paid labour means reduced purchasing power of the wage-earner, and thus restricted trade.**

THE RELATION OF RATES AND TAXES TO INDUSTRY.

It is given as one reason for the bad state of industry and commerce, and rightly so, that rates and taxes are abnormally high.

At first glance, this might not appear to be connected with the land question. On looking into the matter deeper, however, it will be seen that the question of high rates and taxes is but another phase of this ever recurring problem. Rates and taxes are payments for services rendered, services that can only be rendered practically and efficiently by the Government of any state or community. They are necessary services, and include the provision of Army and Navy to secure immunity from invasion and protection to commerce, the making and repairing of roads, the cleansing and sewerage of towns, police protection, and every want of the community as a community. These duties help forward the progress of the community as they are carried out efficiently or otherwise. The effect of good administration is reflected in the value of land. Good administration creates a desire in people to live and work under that administration. It is natural that people should want to live and work where they and their property are securely protected, where the roads are good, where there is a good water and lighting supply, and the cleansing and sewerage systems are efficient. Thus a demand for land arises in a well-governed country or district, causing a rise in its value. When a demand for land is so created the supply is totally inadequate—inadequate because some landowners specially hold land out of use, the object, of course, being to keep prices and rentals at an inflated height. Our system of assessment for rating and taxation encourages this state of affairs, for individuals are rated and taxed according to the use the land is put to and not according to the benefits derived from the administration. And yet the more extensively and efficiently these public duties are carried out, which means the higher the rates and taxes, the greater the value of the land over which they operate. It is plain, therefore, that landowners receive benefits for which they pay little or nothing. But these benefits are paid for, and it is apparent that the other portion of the community, the industrial classes, pay more than their share. Their proportion is further increased every time land is required for public purposes. Whenever it is found that land is so required the landowner concerned knows that it is practically an absolute necessity, and is then in a position to charge enormous prices. And he is generally not slow to take advantage of the position of the authority in need of his land, as the following instance bears out :—

About a dozen miles from Trowbridge, Wilts, lies the pretty little village of Steeple Ashton. For many years the question of a proper water supply has been greatly troubling its inhabitants, numbering some six hundred or seven hundred people, and recently application was made to the local Rural District Council to provide such a supply. After considerable expenditure, good and abundant water was found on suitable land a little way from the village, worth, for agricultural purposes, from £50 to £70 per acre. Negotiations were opened with the owner, Mr. Walter Long, who practically owns the whole of the village, and who fixed upon £970 as the purchase of the one acre of land required, plus a royalty of 1d. per 1,000 gallons should any of the water found on his land be supplied to any other area.

This payment has to be made by raising the rates. Thus are the industrial classes further penalised by unfair prices paid for land required for public purposes.

TAXATION REFORM AND FREE LAND MEANS FREE PRODUCTION.

We think that it is clear that production is hampered and impeded by lack of suitable land, the ransom prices charged for that which can be got, and the inequitable system of levying rates and taxes. This hindering and impeding of production affects every branch of the commercial and industrial world. If production were carried on freely and fairly an abundance of capital and labour would be required. The more free and extensive production, the greater the field for those who wish to employ their capital, and the greater the demand for labour. More offices would be needed, with employment for more clerks, book-keepers, etc.; more warehouses and agencies, with more warehousemen, travellers, and agents; more shops would be required to sell the products, with the necessary shop-assistants and others employed in the retail trade. There would be more goods for the railways, shippers, and carters to carry, consequently there would be more employees required in these branches of industry. More machinery and materials would be necessary; and more men would be wanted to make them.

As the demand for labour grew so the position of the workers would grow stronger, for only when labour is in great demand does the opportunity come for a redress of grievances.

The workers would be able to demand and get fairer rates of pay and fairer hours of labour. This alone would create a greater demand for labour by increasing the purchasing power of the wage earner.

This prosperity among all classes would mean an increased demand for goods, and so create a market for increased production.

THE REMEDY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT AND LOW WAGES.

It is certain, then, that the remedy for the present state of industry lies in the solution of the land question. How is it to be solved? How can we ensure that suitable land would be readily accessible on fair and reasonable terms? Our remedy is a uniform and universal tax on the value of land. There is land in plenty could it only be got at. At present land kept idle is either rated and taxed on an absurdly low assessment, or else not at all. On the other hand, the more a piece of ground is used, the more it is improved, the higher the assessment. We propose that all land should be assessed for rates and taxes at its true market value. This would bring held-up idle land into the market, or else compel the owner to make use of it. The landowner would have to do this to meet the tax. Thus the supply of suitable land would be increased, and it would be found that enough would be on the market to meet the demand. Consequently owners would have to be satisfied with reasonable prices and rentals.

THE ONLY JUST SYSTEM OF RATING AND TAXATION.

It may be said that this may be all very well so far as bringing plenty of cheap and suitable land into the market is

concerned, but is it just? It is perfectly just. In fact, it is the only just method of rating and taxation.

It is the presence and activity of people on and around any particular piece of land that give it its value. If there were no industrious people there the land would have no value at all. As the community is responsible for the value land bears, it is only reasonable and just that the community should satisfy its wants as a community from the realisation of that value.

If our rating and taxation systems were worked on the basis of assessment on land value, it would be possible to repeal those obnoxious rates and taxes which bear so hardly on industry at the present time; and instead of a man being penalised for his industry and enterprise he would be encouraged to extend and develop his activities.

We assert, therefore, that the solution of the evils of Poverty, Unemployment, Bad Housing, and the other social ills which are results of these anomalies, lies in a reform of our systems of land tenure and rating and taxation, and a corresponding relief of Industry from the burdens it now bears, and which affect the industrious classes so grievously, by the Taxation of Land Values.

S. J. PHILLIPS.

The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values are always willing to answer inquiries bearing on the land question, and especially, where possible, to send a lecturer or speaker to take part in a debate.

You are invited to interest yourself in the land question, and to communicate with the Publishers, who will be glad to supply you with Land Values literature.

LAND VALUES AND THE BUILDING TRADE.

WHY IS THE BUILDING TRADE SO STAGNANT AND SO MANY MEN IN THE TRADE UNEMPLOYED?

FIRSTLY.—Because the builder cannot get land on which to build on terms that will allow him to offer his buildings at a price that will tempt buyers and lessees, and at the same time leave a reasonable margin of profit.

SECONDLY.—Because our systems of rating and taxation further tend to minimise his chance of profit by penalising him in proportion as he is industrious and enterprising.

THIRDLY.—Because the same land and taxation systems that penalise and handicap the builder, handicap all industry, and thus restrict the demand for the builder's services for new or extended houses, shops, and factories.

Let us give an illustration. We know a case in point—a very typical case—which will show what we mean very clearly. It is a pretty village in Berkshire, where city men in particular would like to dwell, because of the good railway service, and because of the beautiful and healthy surroundings. All the land is owned by two landowners. There are some beautiful sites for houses suitable for men of moderate means, and in certain positions the owners of the soil have put up boards: "This valuable building land to be sold or let on building lease." For fifteen years these boards have been up, and there have been hundreds of applications for sites, but rarely has a deal been done, for the treatment applicants receive stops business. This is what happened a short time ago: A certain city man wrote to one of the landowners' agents asking the price of three acres upon which he had set his heart as a site to build a house on. It was a corner of a bare ploughed field of about fifty acres. After about six weeks' delay an

answer came that the price was £1,500—or £500 an acre—and it was stipulated that a house of not less than £1,500 cost should be erected by the purchaser. The man who was inquiring, knowing something of the rental value of houses, pictured in his mind the sort of house that could be put up for £1,500, and found that the average kind of tenant for that kind of house standing on three acres of ground could not afford to pay more than £100 a year rent. He figured that this £100 a year rent, the income which would come from his investment should he ever want to let the house, would not, as a marketable investment, fetch more than £2,000, so that he was really being asked to pay £3,000 for what was only worth £2,000. This meant that the price asked for the land—£1,500—was £1,000 more than its market value. He thought it over carefully, and came to the conclusion that, being a wealthy man, he would not mind being bled to the extent of £500, and so he made an offer of £1,000 for the land. Months passed, but he got no reply.

See what is happening here. A man is willing to give employment to a builder to erect a house. The builder is then willing to give employment to bricklayers, to stonemasons, to carpenters, to joiners, to plumbers, to gasfitters, and various other workmen, who, in their turn, would handle things produced by brickmakers, by quarrymen, by wood merchants, by hardware makers, by pipe drawers, by metal merchants, by glass makers, and all kinds of tool makers, who, again, in their turn, would employ labour. A golden chain of wages would immediately be set up. Employment for wages, which would arise simply from the bringing of a small piece of land in Berkshire into proper use. But the landowner prevents it. It costs him nothing to keep the land idle, and he knows that if he holds on long enough pressure of population will force men to pay a high monopoly price for access to his land.

This is but an example of what is happening in every district, whether land is wanted for building operations or for any other industry. This is why builders cannot build houses at a profit, and why other trades, affecting all classes who create the demand for the builders' services, are stagnant and dull.

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES WOULD RIGHT ALL THIS.

A tax on the value of all land, used or unused, rural or urban, would force landowners to bring their land into use. Builders would be able to get land on reasonable terms. The value of land is created by the labour and expenditure of the whole population, by the roads which the people provide, by the railways which the people cause to be made, by the exchanges, by the markets, by the water supply, by the gas, by the electric light, by the tramways, and by all public utilities made by population for the use of population. All these things increase the value of land which the private owner of land enjoys without lifting a hand. More important still, the land would be opened to all industry, bringing prosperity to all classes, and creating the demand for more houses, shops, factories, and the like.

Land and Taxation Reform

[Copy of Memorial presented to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the other Members of the Cabinet, on the 3rd August, 1910, signed by 143 Members of Parliament.]

We, the following Members of Parliament, desire to place on record our grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the other Members of the Cabinet, in placing upon the Statute Book of the country the Budget of 1909-1910, which for the first time recognises the principle of the separate valuation of land, and thus provides the foundation necessary for such further reforms as will result in securing for the people of this country a more equitable distribution of the burdens of the State, in securing to each the results of his own labour, and in opening up the land to those who can make the best use of it.

We therefore respectfully urge the Government to continue and develop the policy inaugurated by the Budget by—

- (1) Making Land Values available for public needs;
- (2) Freeing industry from monopoly and undue burdens of taxation;
- (3) Completing the policy of Free Trade by
 - (a) Securing greater opportunities to produce in our own country by affording greater opportunities to use the land; and
 - (b) Abolishing the duties that remain on the food of the people.

We ask that this policy may be carried into effect by—

- (1) Hastening the completion of the Valuation of all Land, apart from improvements, provided for in the Budget of 1909-1910;
- (2) Making that Valuation accessible to the public;
- (3) Empowering Local Authorities to levy rates on the basis of that Valuation;
- (4) Levying a Budget Tax on all Land Values, to be applied—
 - (a) In providing a national fund to be allocated toward

the cost of such services as Education, Poor Relief, Main Roads, Asylums, and Police, thereby reducing the local rates; and

- (b) In substitution of the duties on Tea, Sugar, Cocoa, and other articles of food.

It is claimed by the Advocates of the Taxation of Land Values that the advantages of the Reform set out on page 58 will be—

- (1) To take the burden of rates off dwelling houses, factories, mills, workshops, plant and machinery, mining works, shops, warehouses, offices, and all industrial and business premises, and all farm buildings, drainage, fencing, and other agricultural improvements;
- (2) To break down the barriers which land monopoly now opposes to municipal, industrial, and agricultural development and enterprise, and thus to cause the land everywhere to be used in ways more advantageous to the workers;
- (3) To make it possible for more, better, and cheaper dwellings to be provided in towns and villages, to make small holdings and allotments obtainable on fair terms, and generally to free industry of all kinds—agriculture, mining, forestry, building, manufacturing, engineering, public works, transport, distribution—from burdens and restrictions, and extend the field for the remunerative employment of labour and capital in town, suburb, and country;
- (4) To secure for the agricultural industry a genuine measure of relief;
- (5) To make national services a national burden, and thus give effective relief to rural districts from the excessive burden of rates which now falls on them in providing for what are largely national requirements;
- (6) To cheapen the cost of living for the mass of the people, and take away the only plausible argument for tariff-mongering and the pretence that protective taxes can be imposed which will not increase the cost of living.

TAX LAND VALUES AND END UNJUST RATING.

A Striking Object Lesson:

THE MEDIAEVAL CASTLE AND THE TAILOR'S SHOP.

Castle and Ground occupy	508,200	Square Yards.
Tailor's Shop occupies	470	"
Castle and Grounds rated at	£924	
Tailor's Shop rated at	£947	

THIS MEANS: Use Land for pleasure and you are favoured.
Use for industry and you are penalised.
MORAL: Change that by taxing Land according to its value, the only just system.

In the town of Cardiff stands a great mediæval castle, itself covering 11½ acres, surrounded by its moat, its gardens, conservatories, orchards, ornamental lakes, home farm, cedar plantations, recreation ground—in all, a magnificent domain of 105 acres (508,200 square yards), cut off from the sordid world by its feudal battlements; its great keep frowns from a height of 140ft. on the busy hive of industry surrounding it.

This feudal oasis belongs to Baron Cardiff of Castle Cardiff, otherwise the Most Noble the Marquis of Bute. The defensive works of this feudal fortress, we are told, remind one of the Middle Ages. Similarity with mediævalism goes further; the owner of the castle also owns the greater part of the town, and levies tribute on its people just as his mediæval ancestors did; but, instead of receiving it in personal service, he collects it in ground rents, and the State, in return for these services on his part, relieves him of paying a fair share towards the taxation of the country.

Cardiff Castle, with all its mediæval magnificence and its extensive private grounds, is rated at £924. Near by is a tailor's shop, with an area of 47ft. by 90ft. (470 square yards), which is rated at £947. And the State further comes to the assistance of the Marquis of Bute by treating him as a "distressed" agriculturist under the Agricultural Rates Act with regard to his home farm.

Can such a system of taxation be just? If not just, why tolerated, when by taxing land according to its natural unimproved value, and not according to the uses to which it may be put, we can remove the injustice. This land reform means lower rents and lower rates.

OUR OBJECT.

A TAX ON LAND VALUES IS NOT A TAX ON LAND, BUT ON THE VALUE OF LAND.

THUS it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as *owner*, and not as a *user* of the land.

In assessments under the Taxation of Land Values all value created by individual use or improvement would be excluded, and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighbourhood, public improvements, etc. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar block vacant.

The Taxation of Land Values, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues, not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to the fullest use.

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, THEREFORE, WOULD:—

(1) Take the weight of taxation off the agricultural districts where land has little or no value, irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities, where bare land rises to a value of tens of thousands of pounds per acre.

The Taxation of Land Values, therefore, would—

(2) Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of tax-gatherers, simplify government, and greatly reduce its cost.

(3) It would do away with fines and penalties now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth and employs labour. It would leave everyone free to apply labour or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full products of his toil, whether of hands or brain.

It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities—such as valuable land—unused or only half used, and would throw open to labour the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man.

YOU ARE VITALLY INTERESTED AND CONCERNED IN THE LAND QUESTION

and it is important that you should obtain sound information about it.

Please communicate with the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, Broad Sanctuary Chambers, 20, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W., or with the Secretary of the

SCOTTISH LEAGUE, 67, West Nile Street, Glasgow;

YORKSHIRE LEAGUE, 71, North Street, Keighley;

MIDLANDS LEAGUE, 20, Cannon Street, Birmingham;

LANCASHIRE LEAGUE, 134, Deansgate, Manchester;

NORTHERN LAND VALUES LEAGUE, 90, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne;

LAND VALUES COMMITTEE FOR WALES, 94, Queen Street, Cardiff;

ENGLISH LEAGUE, 376-377, Strand, London, W.C.

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FREE TRADE AND THE LAND QUESTION.

RESOLUTION ON FREE TRADE.

Adopted at a Meeting of the Anti-Corn Law League held at King Street, Manchester, December, 1838.

"Holding one of the principles of eternal justice to be the inalienable right of every man freely to exchange the result of his labour for the productions of other people, and maintaining the practice of protecting one part of the community at the expense of all other classes to be unsound and unjustifiable, your petitioners earnestly implore your honourable House to repeal all laws relating to the importation of foreign corn and other foreign articles of subsistence; and to carry out to the fullest extent, both as affects agriculture and manufactures, the true and peaceful principles of Free Trade by removing all existing obstacles to the unrestricted employment of industry and capital."

RICHARD COBDEN'S plain words on LAND VALUES.

Speech at Derby, December, 1841.

"It is a war on the pockets that is being carried on; and I hope to see societies formed calling upon the Legislature to revalue the land, and put a taxation upon it in proportion to that of other countries, and in proportion to the wants of the State. I hope I shall see petitions calling upon them to revalue the land, and that the agitation will go on collaterally with the agitation for the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws, and I shall contribute my mite for such a purpose. There must be a total abolition of all taxes upon food, and we should raise at least £20,000,000 a year upon the land, and then the owners would be richer than any landed proprietary in the world."