

JAN 10 1951

A New Order for New Zealand

- A survey of the economic problems which confront the Dominion and the presentation of a programme for the restoration of real democracy, paving the way for the establishment of economic and social justice, securing equality of opportunity for all and abolishing undeserved poverty in the midst of super-abundant plenty.



by ARTHUR WITHY

"Individuals and classes can obtain their own just rights only by struggling for the rights of others—and herein may we see the deep philosophy of Him who bade men love their neighbours as themselves. In that spirit, and in no other is the power to solve social problems and carry civilisation onward."

— Henry George

Published by the Henry George League of New Zealand

P.O. BOX 126, AUCKLAND.

OCTOBER, 1941

1998

"I have no hesitation in saying that if the world of tomorrow is to be a civilised world, and not a world that has relapsed into barbarism, it can be so only by applying the principles of freedom Henry George taught."

Judge Saeabury,
New York, 1939.



ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORM

"What I, therefore, propose as the simple yet sovereign remedy, which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals, purify government, and carry civilisation to yet nobler heights, is to Appropriate Rent by Taxation."

—HENRY GEORGE.

DEDICATION TO SERVICE

"It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Why speak of brotherhood and yet allow our brothers every day to be trampled, degraded, despised? The earth is the field of labour; we may not curse it, we must sanctify it. The material forces which surround us are instruments of labour, we may not reject them; we must use them for good."

—MAZZINI, the famous Italian Patriot.



The New World Order:

That of Hitler or That of Christ?

*Gangsterdom and Slavery
or The Kingdom of God on Earth*

By ARTHUR WITHY



These are days that try men's souls. This is the time spoken of in the Scriptures (Hebrews, XII, 27) for "the removing of those things that are shaken . . . that those things which cannot be shaken (Truth Love, Justice and Righteousness) may remain."

Hitler has arrogantly thrown down the gage of battle to the civilised world—to the whole of Christendom. He has declared for a "New World Order," which, when it is all boiled down, simply means that the Germans, "the superior race," as they fondly imagine themselves to be, are to be the masters of the whole world and all other peoples, "the inferior races," as the Huns call them, are to be their slaves. Hitler's much-vaunted "New World Order" amounts, in short, to government of all the peoples of the world—including even the majority of the German people themselves—by the Gestapo, its spy methods and its concentration camp horrors, for the Gangsters and for the Gangsters alone! In the final analysis, the choice lies between Gangsterdom and Christendom.

IF WE ARE TO WIN THE PEACE

Our present very imperfect Democracies may succeed in winning this, the Second World War. Indeed, by his Aid to Britain Bill, President Roosevelt has practically assured a democratic victory. But to Win the Peace as against Hitlerism, Fascism and Communism—and especially as against those evil forces within the Democracies themselves—nothing but True Democracy and a Truly Christian Civilisation can possibly suffice.

As against the Gangster's criminal-lunatic "New World Order," the Democracies—if we are to Win the Peace—must declare at once strongly and unmistakably in favour of, and begin forthwith to work for, True Democracy on the lines of Abraham Lincoln's ideal—a Democracy ensuring actual "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

Further, if they are to Win the Peace, the Democracies must not

merely denounce Hitler's monstrous New World Order of Gangsterdom and Slavery, but they must also declare at once in favour of, and begin forthwith to work for, a Truly Christian World Order—a New World Order based, not on lies, brute force, blood and iron, but on Truth, Love, Justice and Righteousness.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD ON EARTH

Only the Truly Christian Civilisation that such a New World Order would constitute can Win the Peace and rid the world of war for ever. And nothing can be more certain than that Civilisation must end War, or War—one World War following fast upon the heels of another—will end Civilization.

But, how are we to bring about a Truly Christian World Order? There's the rub.

"There is in human affairs one order which is the best. That order is not always the one which exists; but it is the order which should exist for the greatest good of humanity. God knows it and wills it; man's duty it is to discover and establish it."

This striking and inspiring declaration by Emile de Laveleye was quoted by Henry George on the title-page of his "Social Problems"; and it is not too much to say that in that book, as also in his "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade," "The Condition of Labour," and other works, Henry George set himself to discover and to expound that "order which is the best," that order known and willed by God Himself."

How well he succeeded in doing this is testified by the many hundreds of thousands of thinkers throughout the world to-day who believe in "the economic gospel according to Henry George."

TOLSTOY'S TESTIMONY

As Leo Tolstoy, the great Russian writer, philosopher and seer, declared: "Henry George composed a multiplication table—clear, universally comprehensible, irrefutable. He has done his work. Let those who can put it in practice do their part. One thing is certain; as those who desire to make calculations cannot avoid the multiplication table so also those who wish to organise the social life of mankind on juster foundations will not be able to avoid George's plan, and will take it as their basis."

While John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University, New York, regarded as one of the foremost educationalists in the U.S.A., has said of him: "It would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who, from Plato down, rank with Henry George among the world's social philosophers No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution, has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker."

Henry George has often been accused of being a pessimist; but that, fundamentally, he was far from being a pessimist, is shown by his declaration: "However pessimistic I may be as to present social tendencies, I have a firm faith in human nature—I am convinced that the attainment of pure government is merely a matter of conforming social institutions to moral law." That is not pessimism. It is the sanest optimism.

SEARCH OUT AND FOLLOW THE DIVINE PLAN.

It is true, indeed, that, as Mr. David Davidson affirmed in the "National Message" for January, 1938, "Righteousness is the essential condition for the perfect operation of the ideal world order"—a world order "without avarice, covetousness, deceit and strife." But, in order to secure the ideal world order, there is no need to establish, as so many set out to do to-day, a "planned economy"—that is to say, a man-planned economy. All that is necessary is to search out diligently and follow out faithfully the Divine Plan, the Plan of the Great Architect of the Universe.

Our Lord Himself said (Matthew VI, 33): "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and His righteousness; and all these things (peace, plenty, prosperity—all the things we have need of) shall be added unto you."

Some sixty years ago Henry George showed, with a logic as clear and inexorable as that of Euclid himself, that all that is necessary to bring about in human affairs the "one order which is the best," is (1) to get rid of the man-made "laws," which, by flouting and making of no effect the Laws of God, destroy the just economic balance of Nature; and (2) to give free play and full play to the Laws of the Lord, as set forth in His Word. That, in short, all that is necessary is to give that organism—national and international—which we call human society, freedom to grow in accordance with the Natural Law, the Divine Law, of its growth.

THE BEDROCK FACT OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE.

In his various works, Henry George, "scientifically tracing economic laws to their roots in the moral law," demonstrates that this Divine Law is "the Law of Equal Freedom"—the law that each man and each nation shall have freedom to do as he or it will, limited only by the equal freedom of other men and other nations. He shows that, as the great American philosopher and seer, Benjamin Franklin, declared: "Unless there is economic freedom, there can be no other freedom"; and, stating that political economy may be defined as the Science of Making a Living, he tells us that, since in political economy the term "land" embraces the whole of this planet Earth, thus comprising the whole of God's material providence for mankind, "the bedrock fact of economic science is that man can make a living only by labour and only on and from the land."

The Law of Equal Freedom; the Law of Equal Opportunities, necessarily requires, therefore, that all men shall have equal rights to make a living; and that, since they can make a living only from the Earth, all men must have equal rights to use the Earth.

IN FULL ACCORD WITH BIBLE TEACHING.

This, of course, is in full accord with the Bible teaching, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof" (Psalm XXIV, 7), and "The earth hath He given to the children of men" (Psalm CXV, 16). Just as the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," and the Scripture, "The sea is His for He made it, and His hands formed the dry land" (Psalm XCV, 5), are in complete accord with the Economic Law, the Natural Law, the Divine Law, that the product justly belongs to the producer. See also Isaiah's description of the coming golden age (Isaiah LXV, 21-23): "And they shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them."

"They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant,

and another eat; for . . . mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands"; "The land shall not be sold forever for the land is mine."

"They shall not labour in vain"

GOD'S LAW OF ECONOMIC RENT.

Henry George, further, shows (1) how, by the just application of God's law of economic rent—that is to say, by taking for the whole community the community-created value of the land—by abolishing all robber rates and taxes, all trade barriers and all forms of monopoly and privilege—the equal right of every man to the use of the land of his country and to the full product of his labour, also the equal right of every nation to its full earnings — i.e., to the community-created value of its land—can be assured; and (2) how, by allowing to each and every man full freedom to trade the product of his labour, or his services, for the services or the products of the labour of others, whether his own countrymen or foreigners, there can be secured to every man and to every nation their equal rights of access to all the foodstuffs and raw materials—to all the God-given natural resources of the globe.

GOD'S JUST ECONOMIC BALANCE.

There will then be no have-nots within each nation and no have-not nations; and the just and natural, God-ordained economic balance will be restored. There will then be no need "to equate production and purchasing power," a phrase often on the lips of our late Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. M. J. Savage; no need for any man-planned economy to balance supply and demand and to do away with unemployment. There will then be no so-called "over-production," no "under-consumption" and no unemployment.

No unemployment, because each man will then be able to exercise his God-given right to employ himself on the land. No "over-production," and no "under-consumption," because the production (the supply) of one class of goods constitutes in itself (to the value of those goods) a demand for the consumption of other classes of goods.

In short, under just and natural conditions, supply is demand and demand is supply. It all depends upon the angle we view them from. Therefore, under just and natural conditions, demand and supply must needs balance one another.

COMPETITION, THE JUST BALANCE.

The Almighty required His people—and still requires them—to have a just balance. (Proverbs XI, 1; "A false balance is abomination to the Lord") And He, as is only meet, uses a perfectly just balance.

Strange as it may seem, that just balance is competition; but competition under just, natural conditions — **not with the balance weighted against the great mass of the people** by means of land monopoly, public utility monopolies, tariff-based monopolies and all the rest of them.

Under just, natural conditions, as Henry George demonstrates in his "Protection or Free Trade," &c., there could be no cut-throat competition for employment between the workers in any country. Indeed, in place of competition for work, there would be competition

for workers. And there would be no literally cut-throat competition—no ghastly, suicidal, fratricidal wars—between nation and nation for markets.

CO-OPERATION BY COMPETITION.

Instead, there would be the God-planned "co-operation by competition" between all men within each nation and between all nations. There would be no need for man-planned, State-enforced co-operation within the nations; no need for reciprocity treaties nor for trade pacts, unilateral or multi-lateral, between the nations. It would then be manifest to all that the true interests of the nations, of all nations, are identical, not antagonistic; and war would be no more.

Rudyard Kipling, like many another, "builded better than he knew" when he wrote, in his "Song of the English":

Keep ye the law, be swift in all obedience—

Clear the land of evil, drive the road and bridge the ford.

Make ye sure to each his own,

That he reap where he has sown;

By the peace among our peoples, let men know we serve the Lord.

CIVILISATION'S GREATEST CRIME.

In "My Part in a Changing World," written in 1938, Mrs. Petherick Lawrence rightly says: "Poverty and unemployment are not evils that affect merely a section of the people in many countries: They have become two outstanding causes of international war."

And the root cause of poverty and unemployment is demonstrably that outstanding crime against God and man, the monopoly by the few of the natural bounties that the Creator intended for all. This, civilisation's greatest crime, is, I venture to say, responsible for the upgrowth of the anti-God totalitarianism of Italy, Germany and Russia, and for its fearful menace to the whole world to-day.

This Second World War, within twenty-five years of the outbreak of the first, is, I firmly believe, due to the fact that our soldiers of 1914-18, who had fought in the trenches for their country, of which very few of them owned more than enough to fill a flower-pot, did not carry on the fight for their country—but by ballots, of course, instead of by bullets—when they got back home. Due also to the fact that we failed to free the people of Germany from the galling yoke of the Junkers—the Prussian big land owners and military caste.

The mistakes must not occur again, if we would avoid yet another World War.

THE GREAT MONEY QUESTION; ALSO A LAND QUESTION.

One school of thought, which has been making a great deal of noise, if not a great deal of progress of late, holds that the money question is of the utmost importance and that its solution would solve a great many world problems. What they envisage as the money question, is at bottom, however, the land question.

What, may I ask, would be the good to a man of all the money in the world and of all the bank credits in the world, if another owned all the land and gave him notice to quit?

If you dig down below the mere surface of things, you will find that contrary as it may be to prevailing ideas, a man is not poor

because he has no money, but he has no money because he is poor. And he is poor because he is robbed. Land ownership allows a select few to rake off all the surplus wealth in the form of money. This results in a "corner in money," thus land ownership is the source of "the money power."

As Henry George shows in "Protection or Free Trade," the worker is like a man who as he goes home from his work is waylaid by a series of robbers. One of whom doubtless is our monopolistic banking system. One takes this much and another that much; but last of all stands a robber, private monopoly of land, who takes all that is left except just enough to enable the victim to maintain life and come forth the next day to work. "So long as this robber remains," pertinently asks Henry George, "what will it benefit a man to drive off any or all of the other robbers?"

IF THE AIR COULD BE MONOPOLISED.

If you would realise the vast power that land monopoly confers, consider what it would mean if a few of us could monopolise the air.

Assuredly, all the rest of the people would have to hand over to that few, for the privilege of living at all on God's earth, all they produced above and beyond a bare living—the wages of a slave; and, no matter what wonder-making machinery might be invented, or what new raw materials, natural resources and forces might be discovered, the workers, whether in town or country, would still be able to retain for themselves no more than a bare subsistence. They would be poor, not because they had no money nor credit, but because we had robbed them of their earnings.

Even if some wizards of finance could give them a million a year, or tens of millions a year apiece, just a little extra pressure upon the windpipe-meter of each of our little brethren would, manifestly, enable us to rob them, one and all, of every one of those wizard millions.

Some of my readers may be inclined to ask: What about the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations? How can we achieve Abraham Lincoln's Ideal Democracy? And why should we abolish tariff-based monopolies, and how?

"GOD'S LEAGUE OF NATIONS."

As for the Versailles Treaty, more than enough has already been said about its alleged harshness and injustices. It is true that these have proved good "talking-points" for Hitler; but, when all is said and done, the Peace Treaty was a mere circumstance compared with the treaty that the Prussian military caste would have imposed upon the Allies if Germany had won the war.

With regard to the League of Nations, little could be hoped for from a League in which believers were so unequally yoked with unbelievers and our democratic Democracies were tied up with nations that were not democracies at all. But already what has been well called "God's League of Nations"—a league of the Anglo-Saxon peoples—the United States of America, the British Commonwealth of Nations, and such kindred peoples as the Scandinavian nations, Belgium, Holland, the Free French and the Greeks—is coming into being before our eyes. One or two of these nations have even asked to be allowed to

join the British Commonwealth. No League of Nations, however, can hold out much hope for permanent world peace, unless it stands out boldly and determinedly for the Three Fundamental Freedoms—Freedom of Access to the Land, Freedom of Production, and Full Freedom of Trade.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S IDEAL: HOW TO ACHIEVE IT.

Even in New Zealand we have still a long way to go in order to attain to Abraham Lincoln's ideal — actual "government of the people, by the people, for the people." The first steps towards this ideal, I submit, are Proportional Representation, ensuring that every school of political thought shall be represented in Parliament in due proportion to its voting strength in the country; and the abolition of the Legislative Council, our New Zealand "House of Lords." For this Second Chamber, this fifth wheel to the legislative coach, should be substituted the Initiative and the Referendum, with which should be associated the Recall. The former of these would enable the electors, by means of an initiatory petition, to initiate measures that the House of Representatives failed to bring in; and the Referendum—to be taken, on demand by a petition signed by a given number of electors—would allow the people to reject any measure passed by Parliament against the wishes of the people; while the Recall, also put into operation by means of a petition, is designed to enable his electorate to recall and replace any representative who fails to carry out the wishes of the electors.

Another very necessary reform is the abolition of the dishonest, reform-burking see-saw of Government by Party and the substitution for it of a truly National Government, on the lines of the Elective Executive, or Elective Cabinet system operating in Switzerland. Under this system the Cabinet is elected by the House and all measures are initiated by the House, not by the Cabinet, which exists only to carry out the will of the House, just as the House should exist only to carry out the will of the people. Whatever happened to a measure, thus initiated, the continued existence of the Government would never be in question. So that each measure would be debated and voted on, clause by clause and as a whole, on its merits. All questions would be dealt with on a non-party basis and settled on lines of principle, instead of by sheer party log-rolling and wire-pulling. The party leader could not crack his whip and bring wandering members into line, because he would have no whip to crack. He could no longer say: "This is a no-confidence motion. You must vote with the Government on this measure, or you will vote us out and vote 'our friends the enemy' on to the Treasury Benches."

TARIFF-BASED MONOPOLIES: WHY AND HOW TO ABOLISH THEM.

We must abolish tariff-based monopolies (1) in the interests of the great mass of our own people, because such monopolies heavily weight the scales of economic justice against our own people. Even non-protective tariffs are bad enough, because they are passed on to the consumer with wholesalers' and retailers' profits added to the duties, and also with retailers' profits added to the wholesalers' profits on the duties; so that the consumer has to pay anything from 50 per cent. to 100 per cent. more than the duties yield to the public ex

chequer. But, in the case of the so-called "protective duties"—the real object of which is not to "protect labour, but to protect the land monopolists against any further taxation on land values"—the local manufacturer adds the amount of the duty to the price of his goods, and the wholesalers and retailers also charge their respective profits on that added price. The more the duty "protects" the less the State revenue it will yield; while the greater will be the rake-off of the local manufacturer, and that rake-off will be passed on to the consumer with wholesalers' and retailers' profits added. Thus a really "protective" tariff may take out of the pockets of the great mass of the people many, many times the amount it puts into the public exchequer.

Yet the people seem to like it! That is because they do not realise what is happening. As a Tory politician in the Old Country put it: "A tariff is a device for plucking the geese without making them squawk." If the people realised how grossly they were being plucked, they would speedily put an end to the process.

(2) We must abolish tariffs, not only because it is the only way to abolish the monopoly rackets based on them, but also because Customs officials are a form of economic warfare; and that economic warfare necessarily breeds international suspicions, jealousies and hatreds, and, when it has come to its full growth, inevitably leads to the warfare of brute-beast force by means of tanks, flame-throwers, gigantic guns, submarines and surface warships, aerial bombers and fighters, high explosive bombs and shells, incendiary bombs, gas-bombs; and, possibly, in the last resort, bacterial warfare, poisoning the very wells of life. If goods don't go over national frontiers, soldiers will.

NOTE: This was a favourite saying of Abraham Lincoln's.

Taxation of Land Values

A Brief Explanation

The object of the Taxation of Land Values is to secure the equitable distribution of wealth by the taking by taxation of communal property—namely, the economic rent of land—for public purposes, and the abolition of all taxation interfering with or penalising production and exchange.

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 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 site erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar site 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 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.
- (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 unlimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man.

"Is it too soon to hope that it may be the mission of this Republic to unite all nations of English speech, whether they grow beneath the Northern Star or Southern Cross, in a league, which, insuring justice, promoting peace, and liberating commerce, will be the forerunner of a world-wide federation that will make war the possibility of a past age, and turn to works of usefulness the enormous forces now dedicated to destruction."

—HENRY GEORGE, U.S.A., 1890.

What we claim the Georgian Plan would achieve.

1. It would eliminate unemployment by opening up natural opportunities to all on equal terms. Natural opportunities being unlimited, and man's wants (not merely his needs) being also unlimited, the result would be more jobs than workers.
2. It would raise the incomes of all who work (that is for all but the parasites that existing conditions create). The absence of a body of unemployed bidding against those in work, would enable all workers to demand and obtain the full value of their work. Wages would at once double and eventually as the new conditions came fully into operation, they would rise to three or more times the present basic rates.
3. The freeing of trade from tariffs, embargoes, quotas and other restrictions, together with the benefits of improved machinery, would keep the cost of living low. The people (even the poorest, who even now save considerable sums, as witness the savings banks deposits) would quickly become "capitalists of no mean order." They would be "economically free" and beyond the reach of exploitation. A pension pool, based on the contributions of the beneficiaries themselves (without any demoralising subsidies), would provide for invalidity and old age.
4. As a result of the greatly increased earning-power of the whole community and the consequent prosperity, hours of labour would be voluntarily and greatly reduced and people would have full opportunity to live a full life, free life, as distinct from a life of almost continuous toil.
5. The present inflated speculative values would be squeezed out of land, and prices would tend to become stabilised and reasonable. Farmers would be considerably relieved from the burden of interest, the removal of the tariff incubus would reduce their other costs, and further all their improvements would be exempt from rates.

Along with other people, farmers would also benefit from the abolition of income-tax, sales-tax, wages-tax and other irritating imposts.

6. These conditions would so "change human nature" that greed, avarice, and all those qualities we deplore — qualities which are largely the result of what the physiocrats called "contempt of human rights by rulers" — would disappear and would be replaced by the Christian virtues which economic slavery has held in check, despite 2,000 years of religious endeavour.
7. Modern wars are largely fought for land and (or) trade, few being for national prestige. Our policy, freeing trade and conferring on all equal rights to land, would put an end once and for all to international strife.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM SPELLS THE END OF WAR.

Social Justice and Freedom.

A NEW EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT NEEDED

(By the late Hon. Sir George Fowlds, Kt., C.B.E., J.P.)

Every human being born into the world has an equal right to life with every other human being. No human being can exercise the right to life without the use of God's earth. Therefore, every human being has an equal right to that by which alone life can be sustained, viz., God's earth.

Therefore, "the earth hath He given to the children of men." Surely that means all the children, not merely the firstborn. He included in His gift the fish of the sea and the fowl of the air, and all the live stock "wherein there is life." Truly a noble gift, ample for all requirements, and capable of indefinite development by the application of labour to land.

The great contribution of Henry George, to the thought of the world was to show how that natural and essential right could be secured, without any great upheaval of existing institutions, by the simple process of gradually abolishing all existing taxes and substituting in their place one single tax on land values

That the existing social order can continue much longer is in my judgment both impossible and undesirable. The method by which transformation and reformation comes will depend more largely upon the holders of wealth and privilege than it does upon the social agitators.

At present you (the holders of wealth and privilege) can have the choice of bringing the change about in a gradual and peaceful manner, conferring a great boon on all the human race, including in a very special sense your own children; or you can stubbornly and successfully resist all radical change for a short time and—after that the deluge. It will be very poor consolation to your children, as they go down in the surging waters of social upheaval, that the agitators and their children are being carried down to destruction in the same turbid stream. And when the waters have subsided, it will be necessary to begin building anew the foundations of civilisation on the impregnable rock of the equal right of every human being to the use of the earth.

May I say, then, that the single tax simply means the bringing of human institutions into harmony with natural or Divine law; we may continue to resist or violate the law as at present, but we will do it our own hurt as well as to the hurt of our fellow men.

What we need is a new emancipation movement to free mankind from industrial slavery, to get the land-owners and monopolists generally off the people's backs. As a Churchman, I ask: Is the Church unable or unwilling to lend a hand in denouncing this monster of iniquity which like a canker, is eating the heart out of our civilisation? Knowledge is the first essential to reform. I appeal to every Christian man and woman to study the arguments of those who contend that the private appropriation of rent is the main cause of the anarchy and chaos which abound to-day.

The land is the great storehouse provided by the Common Father for the support, comfort and well-being of the common family. The earth is the table of the Heavenly Father, and we want to make room, and equal room, at the Father's table for all the Father's children. How is it to be done? By evolution or by bloody revolution? The answer to these questions cannot long be delayed

The people of New Zealand, in particular, have a splendid opportunity to strike a blow for freedom and justice and I call upon them to rise in their might and herald in the dawn of a new day of human emancipation.

Progress and Poverty.

This association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times. It is the central fact from which spring industrial, social, and political difficulties that perplex the world, and with this statesmanship and philanthropy and education grapple in vain. From it come the clouds that overhang the future of the most progressive and self-reliant nations. It is the riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilisation and which not to answer is to be destroyed.

I know that present social adjustments cannot continue. Even now I see the clouds are rising. Will the dams hold till the floods rise to fury and we pass back into bloodshed and anarchy?

The truth is, and from this truth there can be no escape, that there is and can be no just title to an exclusive possession of the soil, and that private property in land is a bold, bare, enormous wrong, like that of chattel slavery.

For every social wrong there is a remedy, but that remedy must be nothing less than the abolition of the wrong.

We cannot leave politics to the politicians, or political economy to college professors. The people themselves must think, because the people alone can act.

I believe that there is a power in true Christianity to regenerate the world, but it must be a Christianity that attacks vested wrongs, not that spurious thing which defends them.

HENRY GEORGE.

*No Question is ever settled
— until it is settled right.*

However the battle is ended,
Though proudly the victor comes
With fluttering flags and prancing nags
And echoing roll of drums,
Still Truth proclaims this motto
In letters of living light:
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

Though the heel of the strong oppressor
May grind the weak in the dust,
And the voice of Fame, with one acclaim,
May call him right and just,
Let those who applaud take warning
And keep this motto in sight:
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

Let those who have failed take courage,
Though the enemy seems to have won,
Though his ranks are strong, if he be in the
wrong,
The fight is not yet done.
For, sure as the morning follows
The darkest hour of the night,
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled Right.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

