

capital finds itself at a disadvantage. Marx quotes from E. G. Wakefield (author of ENGLAND AND AMERICA and of A VIEW OF THE ART OF COLONIZATION) who tells how Mr. Peel took with him to Swan River, Australia, means of subsistence and production to the amount of £50,000, and 3,000 workers, men, women and children, but on arrival there "he was left without a servant to make his bed or fetch him water from the river." In the words of Marx, "Wakefield discovered that in the Colonies, property in money, means of subsistence, machines and other means of production does not yet stamp a man as a capitalist, if there be wanting the correlative—the wage worker, the other man who is compelled to sell himself of his own free will" (p. 791). He proceeds, "We know that the means of production and subsistence while they remain the property of the immediate producer are not capital. . . . So long, therefore, as the labourer can accumulate for himself—and this he can do so long as he remains possessor of his means of production—capitalist accumulation and the capitalist mode of production are impossible. The class of wage-labourers essential to these is wanting" (p. 792).

But what "means of production" is it that he must remain possessor of? Evidently the land. Mr. Peel took with him a great mass of capital, of seeds, implements and cattle, but could exploit no one, because the workers had access to land.

There is nothing proposed in DAS KAPITAL for the remedy of the abuses of capitalism. For that we have to go to the Communist manifesto, which is composed for the most part of the same ideas as are stated in DAS KAPITAL, but he also gives there a summary of the measures which he thinks will be generally applicable to most advanced countries for the overthrow of capitalism. The first item in this programme is abolition of private property in land and confiscation of ground rents to the State.

COBDEN'S HOUSE

Your report of the gift of Dunford House, Cobden's home for many years, to the Liberal Party should draw attention to the Liberalism which Cobden so successfully taught. He was never weary of quoting Cowper's lines:—

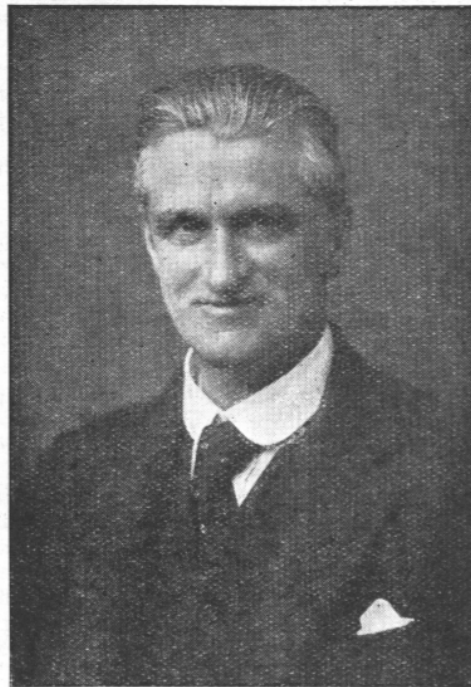
'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume,
And we are weeds without it. All constraint
Except what wisdom lays on evil men
Is evil.

Again: "The fate of empires, and the fortunes of their peoples, depend upon the condition of the proprietorship of land to an extent which is not at all understood in this country. We are a servile, aristocracy-loving, lord-ridden people, who regard the land with as much reverence as we still do the peerage and baronetage. Not only have not nineteen-twentieths of us any share in the soil, but we have not presumed to think that we are worthy to possess a few acres of mother earth."

The following quotation shows, I think, that Cobden would have demanded the removal of all local taxes from houses in order to obtain a plentiful supply at fair rents. "I had observed an evident disposition on the Tory side to set up as philanthropists. When I told them at the close of my speech that I had been quietly observing all this, but it would not all do unless they showed their consistency by untaxing the poor man's loaf, there was a stillness and attention on the other side very much like the conduct of men looking aghast at the first consciousness of being found out."

Liberty was the foundation of Cobden's Liberalism, and against government interference and bureaucracy he was the consistent opponent.—*Chapman Wright in the BIRMINGHAM GAZETTE, 27th May.*

"LAND-VALUE POLICY"



J. DUNDAS WHITE, LL.D.

Some Press Notices and Reviews

In the LABOUR MAGAZINE (June) A. L. S. treats it as the book of the month, and, quoting the Chancellor of the Exchequer's recent declaration on land-value taxation, says: "For this reason LAND-VALUE POLICY, by Dr. Dundas White, has been issued at an opportune moment. It states the case for the taxation and rating of land values clearly and succinctly. . . . The text of the book is devoid of all verbiage or propaganda in the generally accepted sense of that term. The nature of rent is clearly stated, and we are reminded that John Stuart Mill called it 'one of the cardinal doctrines of political economy.' . . . In this connection it may perhaps not be out of place to recall the assertion of Karl Marx that the exploitation of the workers commenced when the labourers were expropriated from the soil. . . . The present rating system is worse than idiotic. It penalizes the industrious and enterprising and subsidizes the landlord, both in town and country. . . . The above indicates the invaluable character of Dr. White's book, and Labour supporters would be well advised to purchase a copy and make a close study of the technical question of taxation and rating reform in its relation to the land question, which is so ably discussed."

In the DAILY HERALD (4th June) MR. HUGH DALTON, says: "Mr. Snowden's proposal to strengthen the Land Valuation Department is, presumably, a prelude to the taxation of land values in next year's Budget, if the present Government is still in office. A new and up-to-date discussion of this branch of land policy is, therefore, opportune. Mr. Dundas White's little book is a little dry, but it gets to grips with practical problems and difficulties, which are often ignored, such as the basis and methods of land valuation and the apportionment of a rate or tax on land value between the various parties who hold interests in the land. There is also a good deal of information about land taxation in other countries, and a storehouse of effective quotations from speeches. . . . In the present phase of the land question in this country there need be no conflict between land nationalizers and land taxers. Indeed, the two policies are really complementary."

In the WEEKLY WESTMINSTER (14th June) Mr. A. S. COMYNS CARR, K.C., M.P., says: "Dr. Dundas White has produced a book which should be in the hands of every Liberal. . . . Dr. White shows clearly that the taxation of land values is not a mere fiscal measure; it is the machinery which is necessary for the introduction of a beneficent reform. There is nothing strange in this, for a little thought will show anyone that many reforms are bound up with taxation. In his introduction Dr. White puts the case in a nutshell. . . . The breaking of the shackles of land monopoly would do much to ensure equality of opportunity. By making it unprofitable to withhold land from use, it 'would bring unused land into the market.' This, with the 'unrating and untaxing of improvements,' would ensure better housing, a greater agricultural development, for buildings and machinery would be unrated, and the improvement and development of agriculture by the unrating and untaxing of farm buildings, glass-houses, orchards, and every kind of improvement. . . . Among the outstanding merits of this book are its moderation of statement and its strictly practical outlook—two points in which it differs from much which has been written on this subject. Owing to the complexity of the existing law and practice of land tenure and taxation, there are difficulties in the working out of a detailed measure for the rating or taxation of land values, although the principle is simple and clear and its merits obvious to anyone who will study the question. Dr. White tackles these difficulties, and, without accepting his solution in every detail, one may say that his book will be invaluable to anyone who has to draft a practical measure.

In LAND & LIBERTY (June, 1923), ALDERMAN F. C. R. DOUGLAS, M.A., says: "Dr. Dundas White's latest work [LAND-VALUE POLICY] is the most important contribution to the literature of the land-values movement that has appeared for many years past. It contains at once a re-statement of the economic foundations of the policy, a history of the development of the idea, a survey of its application in practice in various parts of the world, and suggestions for the legislative steps necessary for its application in this country. . . . This is a worthy contribution to the literature of the most important economic and social question of to-day. We wish it a wide circulation among all parties and classes of society."

In the COMMONWEAL (24th May), R. L. O. says that it "brings together a mass of information which is the result of careful study and research, and that needs to be available when theory knocks loud at the door of practice."

EDINBURGH EVENING NEWS (12th May, 1924): "With the coming of the Labour Government into office, there has been a revival of interest in Land Reform. There is no better authority on the subject than Mr. J. Dundas White, who at one time represented Dumbartonshire and Tradeston in Parliament. He has now written an interesting volume on LAND-VALUE POLICY. It is accompanied by informative notes, and includes many memorable sayings on the land question.

In the IRISH WEEKLY AND ULSTER EXAMINER (31st May), J. O'D. D. writes: "The book is of entrancing interest with not a single dull page for the student of the political problems of the time. It contains many explanatory notes and quotations from world-famous authors and speakers, including the present Prime Minister and Mr. Philip Snowden. The book in particular ought to be read by all M.P.'s and Parliamentary candidates. Others will also find in it food for thought, perhaps anchorage in definite principles, and a policy that can be legislatively applied in all countries. The book points a path along which

men of varied political beliefs might travel harmoniously. The author says, 'The immediate aim of the policy is material progress,' and he very definitely points out the way to achieve it. . . . Dr. White's book is a splendid contribution to the cause of Free Trade in Production."

MR. P. WILSON RAFFAN, M.P., writes: "Your patience and industry have their reward in the production of a work which, in its own field, can have no rival in our own time. . . . I think it is the most valuable contribution to the literature of the movement since Henry George wrote PROGRESS AND POVERTY and his other epoch-making books. . . . We are all deeply indebted to you, and those of us who have to grapple with the problems involved in legislative action most of all."

MR. CHARLES H. SMITHSON: "I believe that this latest contribution to the literature of our movement is destined to become a classic; and I regard it as the most important book which has been published since George's SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. It appears at the psychological moment when it is most needed, and will prove invaluable as a guide to the sound application of our policy."

MR. CHARLES E. CROMPTON: "It is a most interesting and valuable contribution to the literature of our cause."

MR. F. SKIRROW: "It is just a storehouse full of good things."

MRS. JOSEPH FELS writes: "I want to thank you for the good thought and the good book. It is the latter, indeed, both by its nature and its timeliness."

MRS. ALICE THACKER POST (Washington, U.S.A.) writes: "The arrangement is fine, and the Appendix was an inspiration—a wholly new departure into the field of the Appendix—instead of documents, spiritual adventure."

MR. LOUIS F. POST (Washington, U.S.A.): "I have read it with the utmost interest and admiration. You have made a comprehensive book, full of interesting and important detail, in narrow compass, yet as consecutive in structure as a well-told narrative."

MR. JOHN B. SHARPE (Pittsburg, U.S.A.): "I have read it with much pleasure. It is most gratifying to meet with such a contribution to the literature of the land question. Its fund of information, together with its logical exposition and clearness of statement, make it equally valuable both to the heathen and the initiated. I hope it may have the wide distribution it deserves."

SEÑOR ANTONIO ALBENDIN (Cadiz, Spain) says: "The book is a masterpiece."

MR. DOUGLAS MACDONALD (Glasgow) writes: "Please send me 10 copies of LAND-VALUE POLICY. My very hearty congratulations to the author on his latest production. It is a textbook for which I have been mentally hungry and I devoured it almost at the first sitting. The book should be an absolute godsend to people like myself who want the facts and figures of our question in a comprehensive compact and well-indexed form."

C. E. C.: "Please send me one dozen copies of LAND-VALUE POLICY. Some of the copies I shall give to my friends. Others I shall hand to my bookseller for display in his shop and one copy I shall send to the public library and reading room. Can you get others to do the same?"

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LAND-VALUE POLICY

By Dr. J. DUNDAS WHITE.

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