

If a bread tax is morally and economically indefensible, so is a house tax. If it is wrong to make production difficult by taxing foreign machinery, it is equally injurious to tax machinery when in use in the mills and workshops. If it is a blunder to make the struggling shop-keeper and small-holder pay high prices for all he needs for his industry by means of a tariff, it is no less a blunder to tax all his improvements in and on the soil. Yet all these taxes in restraint of trade a Free Trade nation tolerates in the present rating system. We ask for the complete abolition of these bad local taxes on industry and enterprise.

"The basis which we aim at substituting is the selling value

of land. And I should like to suggest that the most necessary thing to-day is to make the new Land Valuation available for local comparison with the existing rate-assessment. The revelation of the difference between the real value of quantities of land and the insignificant rates with which it now escapes will shock moderate men. The new Doomsday Book will expose the workings of the Land Monopoly.

"To-day the outcries of our opponents reveal their uneasiness at the rapid growth of public opinion. Still more the series of election triumphs show that the coming question is the one to which we have specially devoted our efforts."

## HANLEY BY-ELECTION.

### A GREAT VICTORY FOR LAND VALUES TAXATION.



*Elliott & Fry.*

**R. L. OUTHWAITE, M.P.**

Owing to the death of Mr. Enoch Edwards, the sitting member, a by-election was occasioned in the Hanley division of Staffordshire. There were three candidates, Mr. R. L. Outhwaite (Liberal), Mr. S. Finney (Labour), and Mr. G. H. Rittner (Unionist). Polling took place on Saturday, July 13th, and resulted as follows:—

R. L. Outhwaite (L.)	..	..	..	6,647
G. H. Rittner (U.)	..	..	..	5,993
S. Finney (Lab.)	..	..	..	1,694
L. majority over U.	..	..	..	654

Scenes of unparalleled enthusiasm took place at the Hanley Liberal Club, following the declaration of the poll, says the STAFFORDSHIRE SENTINEL of July 15th. For quite an hour before the result was known the largest room in the club was crowded to excess by a band of Liberal members, men and women. The assembly resolved itself into an informal meeting, Mr. J. Shufflebotham occupying the chair. Impromptu speeches were delivered by various persons, including the Mayor of Crewe, and recitations,

&c., also helped to while away the time. To an impartial observer the assembly was a study. Although they probably would not have admitted it, many were very pessimistic as to the result. One member expressed the opinion that the odds met proved too great, whilst one of the officials anxiously asked, "win or lose, are you satisfied with the land policy?" a query which elicited a decisive "Yes." As 10 o'clock gradually approached, the pent-up feelings of the meeting became more intense, and every fresh arrival was greeted with looks of eager expectancy. Never did time seem to pass more slowly. Eventually, about 10.15 p.m., someone rushed excitedly upstairs and burst into the room with the news that "Outhwaite was in." Scenes which almost baffle description heralded this announcement. The meeting almost went wild with enthusiasm. The cheering was tremendous, hats and sticks were frantically waved, and men and women wrung each other's hands in an ecstasy of delight. Then a temporary lull occurred, when another arrival stated that the result was not yet known. Others contradicted it, and for some minutes the meeting was held in suspense. At length an official arrived with the news that although the majority was not known, Mr. Outhwaite was in. Shortly afterwards the actual result was conveyed to the members in rather a dramatic manner. Suddenly there was a rush up the staircase, and into the room there burst a body of men bearing on their shoulders Dr. A. Rowley Moody and the Rev. F. H. Chambers. Their entry was the signal for a renewed outburst of wild enthusiasm. Cheer after cheer rang out, and the "Land Song" was sung vociferously. Such scenes were unprecedented in the memory of the oldest member of the club.

When something like quietness was at last restored, brief speeches were delivered by the principal supporters of the victorious candidate. Incessant inquiries were made for Mr. R. L. Outhwaite, but it was explained that the police had found it impossible to make a way through the dense crowd outside, and Mr. Outhwaite had accordingly gone on to Burslem, and would return to Hanley later.

#### The Mandate.

Mr. Outhwaite, being unable to leave the motor-car, stood up in it and said:

"I am on my way to thank the men of Burslem. (Cheers.) But to my friends in Hanley I wish to say this. I came down here to show how the people may be emancipated. I told you I thought you could trust the Liberal Government to adopt the policy. (Loud cheers.) You believed that, and you have sent me with a mandate to the Government. (Cheers.) That mandate will be delivered in all honesty. Believe me, we have to-day done a great thing for freedom."

As with one impulse, the crowd broke into the chorus of the Land Song.

Mr. Outhwaite fought the election on the Taxation of Land Values, and made this policy the dominant issue of the campaign. The people of Hanley had the Taxation of Land Values fully explained to them. Members of the Land Values Group in the House of Commons in the persons

of Mr. E. G. Hemmerde, K.C.—fresh from his triumph in N.W. Norfolk—Mr. J. C. Wedgwood, Ald. P. W. Raffan, Mr. F. Neilson, and Mr. R. McGhee, went into the constituency and threw their whole energies into the struggle on behalf of Mr. Outhwaite, supporting the policy outlined in the Land and Taxation Reform Memorial and the policy of Land Values Taxation generally. From all parts of the country all those supporters of the policy who could possibly manage it concentrated on the borough, and took part in a hurricane campaign of speaking and literature distribution. Meetings were started at eleven in the morning, and kept going continuously till eleven at night. Speaker after speaker showed in his own way how the land question was the root question in all our social problems; how by throwing the land open to industry the rural workers would be kept on the countryside and cease competing with town workers and reducing wages; how by forcing idle land into use and relieving improvements of rates the housing problem would be solved.

The United Committee and the various Land Values Leagues took the fullest advantage of the opportunities offered, and sent every available speaker and worker into the Division. Thousands of leaflets and pamphlets were distributed.

Prominent Single Taxers who took part in the campaign included Harry de Pass, Wm. Reid, Fred. Skirrow, H. H. Spencer (Bradford), John Bagot, Dr. McDougall, A. H. Weller, Chapman Wright, James Busby, J. L. Kinloch, Andrew Kinloch, J. O'D. Derrick, R. C. S. Wade.

Outside the immediate political boundaries of the Division the contest provoked an all-commanding interest in political circles. The Tory newspapers devoted columns each day announcing the progress of the campaign, and giving some new view of the Taxation of Land Values, or the impossible or fantastic theories of the Single Tax. It was a veritable recrudescence of the great Budget days, and it is difficult to measure the enormous gain to the movement as a result both at home and abroad.

#### THE NEW MEMBER.

Mr. R. L. Outhwaite is the son of an Australian farmer, and he spent his youth on sheep and cattle farms in Australia and New Zealand. He left this work to devote himself to the advocacy of land values taxation in Australia, and by his constant work paved the way for the adoption of this system of taxation by the Labour Government of Australia. He went to South Africa on a tour of investigation after the Boer War, and assisted the miners to organise resistance to Chinese labour. After the 1906 election Mr. Outhwaite went to South Africa again on behalf of several English Liberal newspapers, and he took a leading part in the movements which led to the withdrawal of Chinese labour. Mr. Outhwaite has fought two former elections. He contested West Birmingham against Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in 1906, and he led another forlorn hope at Horsham in January, 1910.

Mr. Outhwaite's work in the movement is well known to readers of LAND VALUES, and to tens of thousands outside our subscribers' list as Special Commissioner for the DAILY NEWS. In the columns of that paper he has for years been engaged in exposing the wretched conditions of the great estates in England and Scotland, and how land monopoly creates and maintains the slums of our industrial centres. At the instance of the United Committee Mr. Outhwaite has been speaking and working among the villagers and rural workers in Wiltshire, where over 10,000 signatures have been obtained in support of a petition to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in favour of the taxation and rating of land values. His enthusiasm is expressed in untiring efforts both on the platform and by his gifted pen. He is in the first rank of platform exponents of the case for land values taxation, impressing and convincing his audiences with a courage born of deep conviction. The electors of the Hanley division, at least those of them who are for progress and reform, have in their Member of Parliament one of the ablest and most devoted leaders, a foremost standard-bearer of the new crusade which he has already done much to advance. In all his unselfish and brilliant work, and it has been at times uphill, Mr. Outhwaite has been encouraged and helped by his wife, who is at one with him in all his endeavours to hasten the solution of the land question.

#### MR. OUTHWAITE'S VIEWS ON THE CONTEST.

After the declaration of the poll Mr. Outhwaite motored to Burslem to give his thanks to his supporters there. He returned to the Liberal Club at Hanley about 11.30, and was accorded a magnificent reception, both outside and inside the club. He was carried into the room on the shoulders of an enthusiastic band of supporters and hoisted on to the table. Mrs. Outhwaite and their two children were also placed on the table beside the new member. For some minutes Mr. Outhwaite was surrounded by his enthusiastic supporters eager to shake him by the hand. The "Land Song" was sung with great heartiness.

He said, according to the STAFFORDSHIRE SENTINEL of July 15th:—

It was a great victory. He came down there to tell them there was a simple way by means of which they might emancipate the people. They believed in it and backed it up. He told them he believed they had a Government—and two men in particular in that Government—the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—who were prepared to lead if the people were prepared to follow. They knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was laying the foundation for a great campaign that would shake monopoly to its foundation, and that he was simply waiting for a mandate from the people. When he was invited by the delegation to contest the seat he held his political life virtually in his hand by his decision. That mattered nothing, but the appeal to him particularly was to go to a democratic constituency and ask them for that mandate. He would not have come had he not known more than most people knew as regarded the views of Mr. Lloyd George to-day held as to the future of Liberalism, and where he was prepared to go if people would follow. They came down there and put that simple policy before the people and faith in the policy and faith in the Government had enabled them to win. He hoped it would be a victory that would leave no bitterness behind. The only feeling of regret he had was that he was not the only candidate representing the progressive forces. He hoped, however, there would be no animosity towards the party who thought they had a more progressive policy than they (the Liberals) had, but who did not get the majority of the votes of the electors.

He believed this fight was going to have a tremendous effect on the politics of this country. This was no ordinary party fight—it was a fight for a great principle, and he believed that with this great principle they were going to unite all the forces of the democracy. Those who would not join them, well, so much the worse for them. There would be men leave the Liberal Party over this issue, some of them had even been down opposing him—but they had got their answer. It was they who would go, not those who held the views he (Mr. Outhwaite) did, and they would bring the representatives of the democracy over to take their places. It was a tremendous privilege to represent a division like Hanley. Going through those crowded streets where the toilers and the wealth producers lived, and seeing how ill they fared it was a great privilege to have the chance of doing something for them, and his wife shared with him in that feeling. Both of them felt that night as if they had come into their own, because in this cause they had been fugitives and vagabonds on the face of the earth. They had travelled north, south, east, and west on this question, and Hanley was the place they had found, and they were going to identify themselves with Hanley in the future. (A Voice: "You must come and live here," and cheers.)

In conclusion, he desired to say what he should have said at first. They had talked of the cause, but let them remember those who carried that cause to victory. The men who came to speak for him were not ordinary politicians; not one of them came merely because he was in the House of Commons. They came because of the faith that was in them, and because they were preaching what was a religion to them. The other men, who were not Members of Parliament, came simply because of the desire to promote their faith through him. Although he had fought in previous elections, he had never seen such devoted work as he had seen from those who came into that constituency. They had a great cause, and did their very best to dispute the lies told in order to defeat that cause.

Then he came to the local people. They had been true all through. There was a time—when the first meeting



was held and they knew there was going to be a third candidate—when there was a chance that they might have wavered in their faith. Even the Liberal Press, or a section of it, turned against him. From the beginning they (the people) were true all through. Their work was magnificent, and the first thing to do now was to enrol them into a great democratic organisation so that they would secure this constituency for all time for a great democratic faith. One of the things that gave him strength, a strange man in a strange constituency, was the fact that his stalwart friend, Mr. J. C. Wedgwood—was here to assist him. All through this fight Mr. and Mrs. Wedgwood had been guides, philosophers and friends, and he was delighted that they now represented adjoining constituencies.

#### Hanley's Message.

"These Potteries will get a terrible name," said Mr. Outhwaite. They will think it is a place that breeds confiscators and robbers. Mr. Hemmerde brought a message from North-West Norfolk from the villages; I am bringing a message from this great industrial constituency. It means advance undoubtedly. Someone said to him, "What will they be thinking of it in London?" He replied, "What will they be thinking of it in the little villages?" That was the thing that delighted him, and made him rejoice more than anything. What he had been striving to do was at last fulfilled, to bring the people of a great industrial constituency to aid in the work of freeing the land. His work would not be so much in the House of Commons, but he was going back again into the villages and he wanted this opportunity, so that when he returned to the villages he would be a more effective speaker to the people. They would forgive him, if his name did not appear very often in the division list, but he should be working down in the little villages on behalf of the policy he stood for. In conclusion, Mr. Outhwaite again thanked all the workers for their splendid work on his behalf.

#### Mrs. Outhwaite,

There were loud and insistent appeals for Mrs. Outhwaite, and when she stepped forward to respond she was greeted with loud cheers. Speaking under considerable emotion, she said such scenes as she had witnessed that night she had never seen before in her life. It was a triumph for her husband and the great cause he represented. She endorsed everything he had said, and thanked them from the bottom of her heart.

Cheers were then given for the Member for N.W. Norfolk, Dr. A. Rowley Moody, Mr. Frank Neilson, M.P., Mr. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., and other principal supporters of the Liberal cause.

#### A MESSAGE FROM AUSTRALIA.

The following cablegram was received by the United Committee for transmission to Mr. Outhwaite from Mr. A. G. Huie, of Sydney, on behalf of the various Australian Land Values Leagues:—

Convey to our old co-worker Outhwaite the earnest hope of the Australian Land Values Leagues that the Hanley electors will return this genuine democrat to assist Lloyd George in abolishing taxes on labour and substituting Land Values Taxation as the true solution of the Labour Question.

#### THE PRIME MINISTER AND CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER ENDORSE MR. OUTHWAITE'S CANDIDATURE.

On July 11th Mr. Asquith sent an encouraging message to Mr. Outhwaite, wishing him success in his campaign, and on the next day the following telegram from Mr. Lloyd George was circulated in the constituency:—

Mr. Outhwaite has, by the earnestness and conspicuous ability with which he has for years exposed the evils of our land system in every part of the United Kingdom made it a living issue in the politics of the day. For this reason, above all others, I wish him the greatest possible success in the gallant fight he is making.

## IMPRESSIONS OF THE HANLEY ELECTION.

By WILLIAM REID.

The Land Values candidate won after a short, sharp fight. Probably it was the most strenuous election that has ever been fought. Coloured impressions of it have been conveyed to the general public through the ordinary party newspapers. Each candidate fought as if confident of success and the man with all the disadvantages came out on top.

There can only be one way of accounting for such a fact. Mr. R. L. Outhwaite fought a straight fight. He did not "whine" that he had a right to the seat, he allowed the electors to say that, and they were the only people who had any right to decide.

The Labour party claimed the right to the seat, and I understand from their own statements that they captured the electoral machinery. A special correspondent of the *LABOUR LEADER* expressed himself on the 11th July as if everything was settled. The Liberal party was smashed; the Trade Unionists of Hanley were rallying under the banner of Independent Labour; Hanley must be retained at all costs, &c., &c.

A week later Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is complaining that they had no organisation; their candidate is "a man of upright character with a past of dull but sterling honest service." He describes the new land policy as "a foolish game." In the end he says "it will split the Liberal party itself." How good this will be from the standpoint of the Labour party, seeing it is out to smash the Liberal party and will be saved the trouble. Perhaps Mr. Macdonald thinks he will be taken seriously when he says "Confessedly, the Budget of 1909 was devised to take the wind out of our sails." Who confessed that? We were suggesting to the Tory party that they ought to have a "discordance" on the margin of their literature and I think the Labour party should follow suit, particularly the titular leader, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. When they make a statement they ought to add a marginal note to inform us where we will find their contradiction of their own statement. This would save us some time and the "smash up" would be hurried up.

For instance, when Mr. Macdonald says: "The Liberals do not love us; they would clear everyone out of the House of Commons to-morrow if they could," he should add a marginal note to inform us where we will find a report by Mr. Macdonald himself regarding fifty Liberal M.P.'s who wanted Mr. Finney to be returned, and who would not come into the constituency except to fight Mr. Outhwaite. There are a few other matters such as the Taxation of Land Values being a fraud and the same Taxation of Land Values being on the Labour programme for twenty years. When you hear of one item of a programme being a fraud you wonder what the other items are. Perhaps we may yet see the Labour party, like the Tory party, bereft of the last shred of an attractive programme. They can then borrow from the Tories as they have borrowed from the Liberals and ask the electors to VOTE FOR DADDY.

Meantime our cause goes on from triumph to triumph. We have no apologies to make. If we said something about something or somebody yesterday it was because it was true and we will say the same or more to-morrow. We do not ask whether all the Liberal M.P.'s want our candidate. Neither do we care if a caucus of Labour M.P.'s in London decide that because they have the miners' money in their party chest they will also claim the mining or partly mining constituencies.

Further than all this we are not interested in the fraudulent part of the Labour party's programme. We believe in the Taxation of Land Values, and we put it as an alternative to Right to Work Bills and Minimum Wage Bills. These Bills are not fraudulent, but simply foolish. The workers have a right to work, whether Parliament decides that they have or not. It is opportunities to work that are wanted and the Taxation of Land Values will provide them. As for a minimum wage except it can be accompanied by maximum house rents, maximum rates