

THE SINGLE TAX.

Devoted to the Cause of Taxing Land Values.

Eighth Year—No. 91.

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Notes and News.

Bailie James Fairlie, Falkirk, a member of the executive of the Scottish Single Tax League, has been elected president of the Falkirk Branch of the Young Scots Society.

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The taxation of land-values will come up for discussion at the Birkenhead Town Council on 4th December, on a motion by Councillor James Moon.

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Bailie Ferguson, Glasgow, has again given notice of motion at the Glasgow Town Council in connection with the taxation of land values.

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The Glasgow Trades Council and Workers' Committee have issued a programme in connection with the coming Parish Council Elections. "Taxation of Land Values for Parish Council purposes" is one of the planks.

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The *Municipal Journal*, 15th November, states that a Bill for the Rating of Unimproved Land Values by municipalities has been introduced into the Victoria Legislative Assembly by Mr. A. Robinson.

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Mr. C. W. Holmes, Shipley, writes renewing his subscription:—"I may say that I find the paper very interesting and I do what little I can to propagate the ideas advanced. In the business with which I am connected, we have a good many transactions regarding land purchase for building purposes, therefore I am able to see frequently the exorbitant charges made for sites, which have cost nominal sums, but have been held back until the improvements made at the ratepayers' expense have made the land valuable. In this district there is a great need for working people's dwellings, but land cannot be procured at a price to put up houses, at say, 5/6 to 6/ per week, suitable for a workman's family."

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In sending his subscription of £5 to the funds of the Scottish Single Tax League, Mr. Walter Menzies, Liberal candidate for South Lanarkshire, refers to the League as a hard-working and deserving political institution.

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Speaking at a meeting in Bradford on 11th November, Mr. Philip Snowden, a representative Yorkshire Socialist, declared that the taxation of land-values was fraught with very grave difficulties, and would tend, perhaps, to inflict great hardships upon a portion of the community. The best method of raising the rates was not by the taxation of land-values, but by a tax upon all income and profits.

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We have had Mr. Snowden before on the question. It seems to give him a great amount of worry, but the oftener he talks on the subject the better for the propaganda of the Yorkshire single-taxers. A tax on incomes, whatever its merits, would pass by the land speculator, and so long as his power remains, there can be no escape from the present grievous social problem.

Mr. George M'Crae, M.P. for East Edinburgh, in an address to the Glasgow Central Liberal Association, on the 21st November, on National Finance, advocated the taxation of land-values.

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The land question is everywhere. It has just occurred to the Berlin Municipal Council, now reinforced by fresh Socialist blood, that a great many of the landlords in the city get off more easily than they ought. So the magistrates have been asked to substitute a tax on the value of land for the present tax on income. It is easy, of course, to see what the effect of the latter tax has been in Berlin. Instead of building on their land, the landowners allowed it to lie fallow, so that when the value had immensely increased because of the city's extension they might haul in huge profits. If the new proposal is carried, such unoccupied land will be taxed.—*Echo*, 11th Nov., 1901.

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The Land Law Reform Association has issued a circular convening a conference on the Housing question, to be held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on 3rd December. Sir Walter Foster, M.P., president of the Association, will preside.

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The *Auckland Star*, 9th September, reports a speech on the land question and the urgency for an extension of the principle of taxation of land-values, by Mr. George Fowlds, M.P. for Auckland, in the New Zealand Parliament. The report is taken from the *New Zealand Hansard*. It is a brilliant effort, well calculated to encourage the New Zealand single-taxers in all their enthusiastic work.

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Dr. Whitelaw, delegate from the United Free Church of Scotland in connection with the recent church federation ceremonies in Sydney, in an interview published in the *Timaru Morning Post* says, "Mr. George Fowlds is a young man of great ability, a prosperous colonial, and one who would certainly leave his mark upon the colony."

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The daily papers announce that the Glasgow Town Council agreed on Thursday, 21st November, to give £500 from the Common Good to the Association for the Prevention of Consumption.

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The hon. treasurer of the Scottish Single Tax League has not, up to the time of going to press, received the £500, nor have we heard that any other similar and real association for the Prevention of Consumption has received it. We are just afraid the Glasgow Corporation cheque has by this time gone to some society labelled "Prevention of Consumption," but with no genuine credentials on the question.

* * *

The credentials of the Scottish Single Tax League were well defined by Dr. Koch at the Tuberculosis Conference, held at London last July, when he pointed out "that the overcrowded dwellings of the poor were the real breeding places of tuberculosis, and it was to the abolition of these conditions that they must first and foremost direct their attention if they wished to attack the evil at its root, and to wage war against it with effective weapons."

This is the view of the Scottish Single Tax League. We seek the abolition of these unwholesome body-and-soul-destroying conditions; and the "simple expedient" of taxing land-values is our "effective weapon to attack the evil at its root." We take our stand on the broad ground of justice, justice which is the highest expediency, and we are backed up not alone by the crying needs of the case, but by the very highest scientific authority.

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The Association for the Prevention of Consumption, so-called; what can it do, what is it doing to go to the "root of the disease"? Nothing. It takes the poor victims, no doubt, and cares for them after the pattern of the most approved charitable and merciful manner, but how futile is the charity that denies justice, let the daily fresh supply of new consumptives who come from the "breeding places—the overcrowded dwellings of the poor"—answer.

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The taxation of land-values is the cure for the consumption bred in our disgraceful over crowded districts. It will open up the natural supply of building sites, so plentiful and suitable everywhere, for an exodus of the poor out into the fresh air and sunlight. Until that is made possible, the poor and others will remain candidates for consumption and worse.

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Mr. F. C. Tireman, Harrogate, writes:—"The public is at last being awakened to the fact that trams, and all public improvements are creating a vast unearned increment of value for the few, and surely it cannot be long before the people realise that that value is their own property, and should be taken by taxation for public purposes."

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A correspondent writes:—"I have made the delightful discovery that the new President of the United States is a single taxer. From articles in the October and November numbers of the *Contemporary Review*, I learn that Roosevelt sat at Henry George's feet in his youth, and that during his term as Governor of New York State the bill was framed and passed by which the franchises of the great corporations owning street railways, gas and electric light properties, etc., are taxed on the full commercial value of their monopoly."

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The Memsie Mutual Improvement Association are going to devote a night to the taxation of land values.

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Professor Smart is to read a paper on "The Duty of the Municipality as regards Housing," at the Glasgow University Free Lectures course. The meeting is open to the public, and will be held in the Botanical Lecture Room, University Avenue, on 9th December, at 8.30 p.m.

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The *Speaker* continues to devote space each week to the free discussion of the taxation of land values. In the issue of 9th November, Crompton Ll. Davies, referring to the "Special Drink Monopolies" given away every year by J.P's., says:—

"These are special privileges attaching to particular pieces of ground, and as such would be included in the value of those pieces under a scheme for the taxation of land values. The privilege of exclusive occupation of any piece of land with the enjoyment of the rents and profits thereof is the fundamental and all-embracing monopoly which is being given away every year by the people of this country. Whether as a question of practice it would be well to assess the license as a separate item apart from the rest of the value of the land need not be gone into now. Perhaps it would be a convenient method in the case of licensed premises and other pieces of land to which special monopoly privileges are attached, as, for example, the ground occupied by railway lines. But whatever might be the

method in practice, on the principle all advocates of taxing land values would agree with you that all values due to monopoly, whether natural or artificial, should be impartially taxed, and that the banner inscribed with such a principle of taxation would rally round it the whole "working population of this country."

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"A Defrauded Shareholder," writing in a special article in the *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 12/11/01, on "The British Empire, Limited," says—"Some two hundred years ago the Board then in power imposed, as a sort of "conscience money," a tax of 4s. in the pound on the "full true yearly value of the land." But their consciences have never been equal to the strain, and that tax is still levied on the values of 200 years ago (!), and brings in £750,000 instead of the £40,000,000 it would realise if levied, as it should be, on present values."

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"A Citizen of the World" points out in a Glasgow newspaper that "some 8,000 more voters in Scotland recorded their support for the Liberal party in October, 1900, than were induced to homologate the policy of the Unionist Government."

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The *Single Tax* from January, 1902, will have an increased circulation of not less than 3,000 copies, to be used by the English Land Restoration League. The paper will be published at the beginning of each month. By post 1/6 per annum.

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A note on the Irish land purchase policy, as advocated by T. W. Russell, and supported by Michael Davitt, in last month's *Single Tax*, gave Morrison Davidson a text for a column article on the subject in "Reynolds," 17/11/01. Needless to say Mr. Davidson condemns peasant proprietary and advocates the single tax as the true solution.

THE RATEPAYERS' REAL GRIEVANCES.

MISS LILIAN HARRIS, general treasurer of the Women's Co-operative Guild, concludes an admirable article on the above subject (*The Co-operative News*, November 16th), in which she treats of the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, as follows:—

"The proposals in the report are a step—and a long step—in the right direction. But all land reformers will wish they went still further, and that the principle of taxing land-values had been applied to rural districts as well as to large towns. It is just as necessary to take the burden of taxation off buildings and improvements in the country as it is in the towns, and in both the true test of capacity to bear taxation is the unimproved value of the land. In the country the unimproved value of a great deal of agricultural land would be very low, and so this land would be justly relieved of rates, without recourse to the objectionable method of giving a dole to a particular industry. It is doubtful whether the areas proposed by the Commissioners (large towns of over 10,000 inhabitants) would be large enough to secure the full benefits indicated in the report. It would be necessary to have much larger areas, such as counties, in order to include agricultural land, and to give greater facilities for starting factories and workmen's dwellings in the country.

"We call ourselves a practical nation, and yet we are often content to allow financial methods to be continued in public departments which no business man would tolerate for a moment in his own private affairs. Municipal finance needs to be put on a just and sound basis, and it is to be hoped that co-operators will take their part as citizens in supporting the reforms advocated by the Minority Commissioners."

HEREFORD DIOCESAN CONFERENCE.

*Second Day—October 24th, 1901.***Subject for discussion**—"The Housing of the Working Classes
"in our Towns."**Resolution**—"That it is the Duty of Churchmen to assist as far as
"possible in securing that the Working Classes live in homes, and
"under conditions favourable to a decent Christian life."*Rev. C. A. Treherne, V. All Saints, Hereford.*Speech by Rev. A. C. Auchmuty, V. Lucton, following
that of the seconder of the Resolution.

My Lord President and Members of Conference,—I do not propose, I think it superfluous, to add any words in direct support of the resolution. At the same time, in cordially endorsing its general statement, I would like to express my particular appreciation of the introduction of the word "securing," in place, I mean, of any such term, e.g., as "providing." "To assist in securing that the working classes live in homes." To speak of "securing" the consummation of a desired event, is, I take it, to imply that that event would, in the nature of things, consummate itself, were it not for the intervention of some one or more removable hindrances. And that is emphatically the case here. It is not the business of man, of any men, to provide that themselves or others live, during their sojourn here, under conditions worthy of their divine relationship. Our Father has provided, and from moment to moment continues to provide, for that. What remains with us is, as the Resolution correctly expresses it, to secure that His provision be not frustrated. That it is, then, the duty of churchmen to assist as far as possible—if we should not rather say, to take a definite lead—in getting rid of such obstacles as prevent the working classes from being housed as they ought to be, I will, as I said, take for granted. It is more to the purpose to come to ways and means. Our attention is more especially directed to the housing of the working classes in our towns. The most obvious difficulty there is, I suppose, the apparent want of room. I say "apparent," because, to a great degree, the real difficulty is, not so much the want of room, as the want of available room. To take a single, but typical, example. It was recently stated, on official authority, that there were within the boundaries of the city of Edinburgh no less than 2,200 acres, excluding parks and gardens, still unused for buildings for any purpose whatever. Now, the question arises, Has any prominent and responsible person ever suggested a practical means of getting hold of such land for the purpose before us? Because, no doubt, there are many churchmen who would naturally like to know of some reasonably promising direction in which to assist. There is an answer to that question. Sixteen years ago the Prince of Wales, now the King, set his hand with others to the Report of a Royal Commission on this very problem; recommending that all such land should be "rated at, say, 4 per cent. on its selling value," on the ground that "the owners would thus have a more direct incentive to part with it to those desirous of building." If, then, there is any churchman present who, realising his duty as affirmed by the resolution, is at a loss how or where to begin, here is an opening for him; let him begin with a loyal and open-minded study of that Report and recommendation, put forth sixteen years ago over the signature of one who is to-day the first lay churchman in the land.

But, my lord, for my part, I confess that I would like to see churchmen, churchmen in conference, approach this subject on a higher plane altogether. "The housing of the working classes." Are not the very terms something of a paradox? "Man"—not a specialised class of humanity, but man—"goeth forth to his work and to his labour until the evening." Human beings are, by the necessity of their nature, working beings. Whence, then, to begin with, this chronic anomaly—"the working classes"? No wonder (shall we say?) if some of the rest should at times be short,

among other needful things, of houses. But here is another strange thing. It is not such at all, but the workers themselves, who are short. And, then—perhaps strangest of all—given the division into workers—and others, and given the inability of the former to furnish themselves with a sufficiency of satisfactory houses, it is assumed that that inability might be, and ought to be, supplemented by some action or other on the part of the latter, who do not so much as profess to be workers at all, at any rate in the production of such things as houses, even for themselves. The whole problem is an unnatural one. The housing of the houseless one could understand: the housing of the widow and the orphan, of the unfortunate, the incompetent, the idle and the shiftless, by some extra work on the part of others: but the housing of the working classes? By whom? Who is there left? If working men, able and actively disposed men, with the Father's earth under their feet and under their hand, cannot, out of it and upon it, supply themselves with homes of the best, it is not because they are not assisted by outsiders, it is because they are systematically prevented by outsiders. And what prevents them (we know it well enough) is just that one thing, which makes them to be "the working classes" to begin with, namely, their forcible exclusion from that equal access with one another and with all others to the common storehouse and standing-ground of nature, to which their common birth with all others on this earth entitles them. And, when I say their "forcible exclusion," I mean their exclusion, in the last resort, by the aid of those "armed forces," which, as Bishop Westcott, at the Church Congress last year, very pertinently reminded us, "stand behind" the administrators of the civil law. Yes; what prevents them (and it is all-sufficient) is the persistent legalisation of what is loosely called private property in land, but is, essentially private property in land or ground-value, in the value, namely, which, apart altogether from that of any results of human agency involved in it, comes to attach to land in direct proportion to the need and pressure for its use. In other words, it is the persistent legalisation of a civil right to retain, as personal emolument, such amount of compensation for unavoidable superiority of advantage, as the pressure for the use of particular land at any given time shows to be owing from the then holder to the community at large, as the only rational means of keeping all upon an equal footing with regard to that access, direct or indirect, to the common earth, which is equally indispensable to all. The laws, which sanction the continuous withholding from the community of such periodical compensation, are laws which stand directly in the way of that equal footing, and, in so doing, perpetuate that scandal to every thoughtful Christian, I mean, the apparent dependence of vast numbers, from generation to generation, upon man instead of upon God for the opportunity of employing themselves in procuring the necessities, conveniences, and comforts of their life in this world. I conclude, then, that the duty of churchmen, to do what in them lies towards securing that themselves and all about them live in homes and under conditions worthy of God's children, resolves itself into, and is, in fact, but one phase of that perennial duty incumbent upon all, to seek first and foremost the kingdom of God, *i.e.*, the confirmation of human regulations to the divine or natural order, and His righteousness, *i.e.*—surely at the very lowest—the establishment of perfect fairness and equality of opportunity in dealing with this earth, which He has "given"—not to a favoured few, but—"to the children of men"—and all these things will be added unto them.

PROVIDED that the equal rights and liberties of every individual citizen remain inviolate; that all have equally free access to the opportunities of Nature; and that each is secured the full results of his own industry; it matters not by what means these things are secured. The essential thing is to guard against aggression and injustice, whether of individuals or communities.—*Government by the People.*

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

THE LORD MAYOR OF MANCHESTER ON THE QUESTION.

MR. ALDERMAN HOY, in his speech at the Manchester City Council meeting on Saturday, 9th November, on the occasion of his election as Lord Mayor of Manchester, referring to the Housing question, said:—

"Public opinion is at this moment directed to the consideration of the matter, and will, if rightly informed, prove of the utmost use in helping the solution of the involved and difficult problems which will arise. Looking at the enormous cost involved in any general scheme for dealing with the housing and other questions and the increasing burden of the rates, the difficulty of effective action appears to be considerable. We are all looking to the tramways to give substantial assistance in the reduction of the rates, and the experience of other towns appears to warrant such expectation. It is impossible to fathom the effect of the movement of population which will surely follow the development of the tramway system—(hear, hear)—which, whilst it will be of great benefit to the persons concerned, by giving them the advantage of suburban life, will unquestionably at the same time enhance the ground value of the land in districts on the confines of the city, which, like other such land, is everywhere exempt from rating. Let me note in passing that this question of the rating of ground values is assuming a practical shape. The Corporation of Glasgow, which is in many directions in advance of other cities in its municipal enterprises, has already prepared, and had under consideration, a bill for the taxation of land-values, in which it is suggested that a land-value assessment shall be imposed and levied at a rate not exceeding 2/ in the pound. The vital importance of this movement may be measured by the fact that the annual ground value of the area administered by the London County Council is so enormous that a rate of only 1/ in the pound would realise an annual revenue of upwards of £750,000. Figures in respect of this important matter as affecting the area of this city might well be obtained."

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We commend to the notice of the Lord Mayor, Bailie Ferguson's remarks, published in another column, on the tramway profits. Rents and rates together make up the price the tenant pays for his occupancy. The less the tenant pays in rates, the more he will pay in rent; and to apply the surplus earnings of the tramways, or any other municipal service, is but to hand over so much money as a free gift to the landlords. The better regulation and extension of the tramways will undoubtedly enhance the value of the land, and in the taxation of land-values lies the only proper and enduring method of securing a reduction of the rates. This system of taxation will also prevent speculation in land, and thereby keep the price at its true economic figure. It will do this by compelling owners of land, whether used, partially used, or held idle, along the tramway routes, and all over the city and suburbs, to put such land to use on pain of paying taxation on its value—a value be it remembered that springs entirely from the presence of the people, municipal growth and expenditure. Without the taxation of land values the new tramway service, no matter how well it may serve the public directly, can only carry with it the blighting curse of land monopoly.

WHAT though the crowds who shout the word,
Pervert the meaning it should bear,
And feel their hearts with hatred stirr'd,
Even while their plaudits load the air;
Yet shall not we, thou mighty Thought,
Despair thy triumph yet to see,
Or doubt the good that shall be wrought
In thy great name, FRATERNITY.

—Charles Mackay.

DRAWERS OF WATER.

IT fell upon a day that I would instruct my son; therefore, I read unto him from the book of "Equality" these words, saying: "There was a certain very dry land, and all the water was brought together in one place, and there did the capitalists make a great tank for to hold it."

"Why didn't the people make some tanks?" asked the boy.

"Because," said I, "banking laws prevented them. Don't interrupt." And the capitalists said unto the people:

"For every bucket of water that ye bring to us, that we may pour it into the tank, which is the market, behold, we will give you a penny, but for every bucket that we shall draw forth to give unto you, ye shall give to us two pennies, and the difference shall be our profit, seeing that if it were not for this profit we would not do this thing for you, but ye should all perish."

Said my son, "Why didn't the people drink the water instead of putting it into the tank?"

"Because," said I, "it didn't belong to them at all. Do be quiet." "And it was good in the people's eyes, for they were dull of understanding. And after many days, the water-tank, which was the market, overflowed at the top, seeing that for every bucket they poured in, they received only so much as would buy again half a bucket."

"I would think," said the boy, "that these people would have drawn water for themselves and left the tank to rot."

"I told you before," said I, "that they were not allowed. Please let me go on." And the capitalists said to the people—

Again interrupted my boy. "Weren't any of the people capitalists themselves, in a small way?"

And I said, "Be quiet, please."

"See yet not the tank, which is the market, doth overflow? Sit ye down, therefore, and be patient, for ye shall bring us no more water till the tank be empty. And the saying went abroad, 'It is a crisis.'"

My boy asked me, "Why didn't the people get together and say we won't have any more of this plan?"

"Because," said I, "each one is trying to get ahead of the rest, instead of helping them. That's a foolish question."

"And the thirst of the people was great, for it was now as it had been in the days of their fathers, when the land was open before them, for every one to seek water for himself, seeing that the capitalists had taken all the springs, and the wells, and the water-wheels, and the vessels, and the buckets, so that no men might come by water save from the tank, which was the market."

"Why did they want to take the wheels and the buckets," said my son, "when they could have charged two pennies for drawing from the springs?"

"Because," said I. "I'll answer this question another time. You're spoiling my story."

"Well, pa," said the child, "didn't the capitalists really begin by getting the springs? If they didn't, they had no more sense than the story. If I—"

Well, you see, my boy," said I, "the trouble with you is that you are not fitted to discuss this matter, because you have not read 'Das Kapital.'"

You see it is no use to teach little fools, whose questions are embarrassing.

BOLTON HALL.

TWENTY years of experience and frequent opportunities of studying foreign countries have deepened my conviction that while there is no finer breed of working men in the world than the British workman, there is no civilised country in which his interests are so little cared for, and in which the institutions, laws, and customs are so unfavourable to his material and moral development.—Scott Russell.

DEMOCRACY *versus* SOCIALISM.*

(Second Notice).

"Two kinds of co-operation are possible. One is the co-operation of many men, who, for the time, abandoning most of their mental activities, obey the will of one man in their physical exertions, leaving mental guidance to the one. This is the compulsory co-operation at which Socialism aims. The other is a voluntary co-operation, where every man more or less utilises both his physical and mental powers in the production of goods, which, through the act of exchange, shall satisfy the desires of all of them. This is the capitalistic system, world-wide in its extension, upon which our civilisation is based. While socialistic, *i.e.*, enforced, co-operation tends to the repression of the mental energies of most of the co-operators, this voluntary co-operation tends to excite them, and thus, in its results, no less than in its character, far surpasses the former. Capitalistic production, so contemptuously called chaotic and anarchic by the men who cannot conceive of any co-operation except that which is enforced, and of which the lowest savage is capable, is, in reality, the most marvellous system of co-operation which the human mind can conceive: a voluntary world-wide co-operation of independent units which alone has enabled mankind to raise itself above a state of savagery, which has enormously increased the sum of human happiness, and which, when freed from the incubus of monopolism which the interference of the State has grafted on it, will lift mankind above want and the fear of want into a sphere of, as yet, unimaginable intellectual and moral activity."

This bold defence of the capitalistic or commercial system, which we could not refrain from quoting in full, well defines the essential difference between Mr. Hirsch's social philosophy and that held by the average Socialist. In his somewhat chivalrous defence of that which is so often wantonly and ignorantly attacked, Mr. Hirsch is still always careful to point out its present lamentable shortcomings, and also to lay bare the causes to which alone they are attributable. Thus, when ably defending Individualism against the charge of being the cause of "the industrial evils which disgrace our civilisation," he says—

"The prevailing condition of the vast majority of every people, so far from being that at which Individualism aims, is practically identical with that which Socialism proposes to make general. They are not free to choose their own occupations, because in the one direction private ownership of land, in the other the cost of a suitable education, closes many occupations to the masses of the people; they have no full and equal opportunity, frequently no opportunity at all, for the exercise of all their faculties for the same reasons; and private ownership of land and monopolies deprives them of the beneficial results of their acts, and reduces their reward to below the value of the services which they render. Individual freedom exists, but far from being equal and general, it is confined to a small minority of every people, to whom the rest have been subjected and made tributary by organised society—the State. Organised society having established these infractions of equal rights, likewise now maintains them, and it is, therefore, social action, the unjust action of the State, which is responsible for the evils which flow from them. Not such approach to Individualism as has arisen in the slow evolution of the social organisation, but the survival of primitive Socialism, is the cause of existing social injustice."

ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES—DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

The essential difference between Individualism and Socialism, or rather Democracy and Socialism, is well summarised by our author in the following telling words:—

"Socialism, denying the existence of individual, natural rights, seeks to reconstruct society in a direction opposite to its past evolution: to make the individual absolutely subservient to the State: to deprive him of his equal right with all others of exercising his natural faculties as he will, and to compel him to exercise them in such manner, time, and place as he is directed: to annul his right to benefit by his own beneficial acts: and to allot him a reward bearing no reference to the service rendered by him.

"Individualism (or Democracy), affirming the existence of equal natural rights, seeks the further evolution of society in the direction of its past evolution until society shall have become fully subservient to the welfare of the individuals composing it: seeking to attain such general welfare through the removal of the remaining infractions of the natural and equal rights of all individuals—"the freedom of each to exercise all his faculties as he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other": the right of each to the fullest opportunities for the exercise of his faculties, limited only by the equal rights of all others: and the unlimited right of each to benefit by his own beneficial acts, reward being proportioned to service rendered."

SHORTCOMINGS—PRESENT SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

Mr. Hirsch formulates the shortcomings of the State as it exists to-day in the following paragraph, which we quote with special pleasure, as it will show the uninitiated how far earnest Individualists find themselves able to support many radical reforms often regarded as essentially "socialistic." He says—

"Individualism, regarding the State as a means towards an end—holding that end to be, not the greatest happiness of the greatest number, but the greatest possible happiness of all the members of the State; holding, further, that this end can be subserved by the State in no other way than by the maintenance of 'the freedom of every one to do all he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other'—accuses the State of sins of omission as well as sins of commission. Interfering where its interference infringes upon the equal rights of all. It fails to carry on some of the industries which rest upon special privileges, and to procure adequate compensation for the community with regard to others; it fails to establish equal opportunities of justice by making judicial trials free of charge; it fails to procure equal opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge by making education free in all its branches. In these and in hundreds of minor ways the State has so far failed to assume the functions incumbent on it for the maintenance of equal rights and freedom, while in many other ways—the most important alone have been examined—it has assumed functions which unjustly curtail individual freedom and establish inequality of rights."

CAUSES—PREVAILING SOCIAL INJUSTICE.

Thus, like ourselves, Mr. Hirsch realises to the full that

"To the creation of legal privileges, especially to the privilege of private ownership of the only source of wealth, the land, upon and from which all men must live, must, therefore, be traced the industrial and social injustice which disfigures our civilisation, and not, as Socialism posits, to the private ownership of real capital and the private ownership of non-privileged industries."

And that

"Social injustice, therefore, prevails, not on account, nor in spite of Individualism, but through the absence

*DEMOCRACY *versus* SOCIALISM: A Critical Examination of Socialism as a Remedy for Social Injustice, and an Exposition of the Single Tax Doctrines. By Max Hirsch (Melbourne). Published by Macmillan & Co., London. Price, 10/- net.

of Individualism, through the active and passive disregard of equal individual freedom by the State. The removal of social injustice, therefore, is not to be obtained by still further interference with equal individual freedom, and still less by the abolition of individual freedom which Socialism contemplates. It can be obtained only by the removal of all interference with individual freedom which exceeds that necessary for the maintenance of equal freedom for all."

THE CAUSE OF ALL THE TROUBLE.

In the closing part of his powerful, logical, and timely book, our author thus summarises the fundamental wrong of our present civilisation, the direct source, cause, and origin of the social and industrial injustice which stunts and disfigures it, and is to day hindering all further social progress—

"All men have equal rights to the use of land, and each of them is entitled to the exclusive possession of all the wealth which his labour produces or his services procure, provided he infringes not the equal rights of all others. Disregard of the equal right to land necessarily involves violations of the unequal right to wealth. Social injustice in the production and distribution of wealth thus arises from the disregard of the equal rights of all men to the use of the earth. Hence social justice cannot be achieved till, through the recognition of the equal rights of all to the use of land, each of them is made free to produce as much wealth as his capacity and industry enable him; and till, through the abolition of all private monopolies and of the taxation of justly acquired wealth, each is secured in the exclusive possession of all the wealth which his labour produces or his services procure through free contract with its producers."

THE DEMANDS OF JUSTICE.

Mr. Hirsch then formulates the demands of Justice, to promote which is the most sacred duty of every ethical-minded man, in the following masterly manner, which we need scarcely say we gladly welcome and cordially endorse:—

"All men and women being members of a social body—the sole object for which a social body exists being to secure the greatest aggregate sum of happiness to its members: such happiness being unobtainable except through the establishment and maintenance of justice: justice demanding the recognition of the equal rights of all to the use of land, and the individual right of each to the produce of his labour—it is the paramount duty of every social body to frame and enforce regulations which will safeguard these rights for every one of its members."

He then continues—

"That the land of civilised nations is now owned by some to the exclusion of others, that, consequently, the equal rights of the majority of members of every State are violated, cannot affect this duty. Were men now for the first time confronted with the question how land shall be dealt with, were a body of men now to discover an uninhabited and fertile island, the rights of each of them would be no greater and no less than the rights of those who live in countries where all the land is held as private property. For violation of rights does not abolish or even lessen rights. All the difference that can be claimed is that the establishment of justice would inflict no hardship in the former cases, while in the latter case it might inflict hardship upon some of the persons who profit and have profited by existing injustice. On the other hand, however, it must not be forgotten that the continuance of private ownership of land, and consequential injustice, inflicts hardship, and inevitably much greater hardship, *not only once, but perpetually*, on those far more numerous persons who are injured by it. All that can be claimed on behalf

of those who profit by social injustice, therefore, is that the injustice shall be removed in a manner which, while inflicting no avoidable hardship upon them, shall not needlessly prolong or aggravate the hardship of the victims of social injustice. Hence the substitution of the equal rights of all for the unequal rights of some to the land, having as its aim the greatest production and the just distribution of wealth, must be effected in a manner which will avoid all unnecessary hardship to both classes."

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

Our author then proceeds to indicate the method of application of the fundamental and far-reaching reform he advocates, the taxation of land values and of all monopolies of public services not owned by the State—to show its sufficiency, and to defend it against the well-known attacks of the learned, disinterested, and impartial men of the Liberty and Property Defence League, and the similar, but feebler, objections recently raised by some combative Socialists. His arguments against any system of land nationalisation by purchase seem to us so masterly as likely to convince, at least, the thoughtful of those who cling to this dangerous compromise with the demands of justice; while his careful exposition of the great difference, both in principle and results, between a tax on rents and the taxation of land values will, we think, be instructive even to many advanced Single Taxers. His defence of the Single Tax philosophy and method leaves, we need scarcely say, absolutely nothing to be desired.

THE ETHICS OF COMPENSATION.

Though we feel we have somewhat trespassed on the patience of our readers by the long and numerous quotations we have felt ourselves compelled to lay before them, we cannot refrain from here quoting his summary on the ethics of compensation. He says—

"The arguments on which the demand for compensation is based are untenable. But it is not a question of argument; it is one of sentiment. Men hesitate before adopting a truth fully; they desire compromise with error. Could not existing injustice be removed without depriving its beneficiaries of the advantage which they derive from it? This, unconsciously, perhaps, is the desire of those who, recognising existing injustice, and desiring its abolition, nevertheless claim that compensation must be paid to those who benefit from it. This desire cannot be fulfilled. Justice in the distribution of wealth cannot be achieved without reducing the amount of wealth which goes to those who receive more than their just share. Reward cannot be proportioned to service as long as some receive rewards for which no service has been rendered. As fire and water cannot mingle, so it is impossible to combine the removal of injustice with compensation to those who benefit by injustice. Those who advocate the one thereby oppose the other."

CONCLUSION.

Mr. Hirsch devotes the closing chapter of his masterly work to showing, by numerous quotations, that "from the father of modern Socialism downward, thinking men among the Socialists have been unable to close their eyes to the fact that social injustice, the subjection of labour, and the exploitation of labour have as their cause and origin private ownership of land. They admit that were land free and equally accessible to all, labourers would be free to enjoy the wealth which they make. They, therefore, also admit that capital is powerless for evil in the absence of land monopoly." "Why, then, are they Socialists?" Mr. Hirsch pertinently asks. "Why do they insist upon the necessity of measures which they themselves thus declare to be unnecessary, and which, as has been shown here, are fraught with the utmost danger to society? Is it that the Single Tax doctrine is too simple to satisfy for long the craving for

extended action which possesses so many men? Can it be that the truth, the light of which occasionally illuminates their thoughts, cannot be retained by minds enamoured of the fascinating occupation of devising vast projects for the regeneration of mankind? Whether this be the true explanation or not, this much is certain, that these Socialists themselves bear witness to the sufficiency of the Single Tax system for the attainment of the ultimate objects at which Socialists aim, and which Socialism cannot attain." Leaving this most suggestive question to be answered by his readers according to their knowledge and predilections, Mr. Hirsch concludes his masterly work with the following passage, with which, after cordially thanking and congratulating him on his able and powerful contribution to the social and economic science of day, this long, but yet insufficient, notice of his labours may fittingly close:—

THE CENTRAL TRUTH.

"Social happiness is not to be found outside of the happiness of those who constitute society; their happiness cannot be achieved by any one but themselves—by each for himself. All that the State can do is but negative—to prevent any one from invading and curtailing another's happiness, or the opportunity for producing his own happiness, to which he is entitled. Equal rights and equal opportunities, these the State can secure. Beyond this, not only can it do nothing, but every step beyond involves a curtailment of opportunities for the happiness of all and an infringement of the equal rights of some. This truth, so clear, so simple, so obvious, must guide all attempts at social reforms. To have overlooked it is the central error of Socialism—the point where its teaching leaves the path which, leading upwards and ever upwards, must ultimately lift mankind to the greatest heights attainable by it—where it enters upon the path which, leading downwards and ever downwards, must deprive mankind of all the progress which it has wrung from the pain and suffering of untold generations."

L. H. BERENS.

NOTES ON DEMOCRACY.

(From Articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1901).

In the *Atlantic Monthly Magazine*, for September, there are two remarkable articles, one on "The Future of Political Parties" and the other entitled "Notes on the Reaction." The latter, by "Emersonian Democrat," is extremely well written, and most encouraging to single taxers.

The writer discusses the marked reaction from democracy which has taken place in late years in England, America, and other countries, and the revival of the "monarchical" or "superior being" theory of government.

He prophesies the coming reaction to democracy, and points out certain signs which herald its approach in his own country, and which indicate the line it will take. I give you some extracts (abridged) from the article.

"Democracy has disappointed its advocates—dethroned old tyrants to create new ones—yet we believe in the persistency of democracy in its infallible rising to new life and power. It has the lip adherency of two classes of disbelievers; one regards it as a power to be dreaded, the other as a power to be tricked. The former class temporises and makes terms with the monster; the latter sees in democratic government so much bribable material. Rich men buy their way through City Councils, State Legislatures, and National Congresses, and with the coveted profitable franchise, charter or bounty, safe in pocket, chuckle over the gullibility of those who think there is anything in democratic principle, except the main chance of shrewd and unscrupulous wealth."

"The corruptors of democracy are the really 'dangerous classes.'" Contemporary and pending political movements hint at the method by which their ignoble tyranny will be

met—not by directly socialistic measures, in spite of 'Billion Dollar Trusts' and the open joy of socialists at getting such water for their mill—but by trying, by rule of thumb methods and experiment heaped on experiment, to find ways of gradually undoing excess by gradual distribution."

"Bryan called for the repeal of all duties upon trust-made articles and has lived to see the chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee introduce a bill for that purpose, and organise a powerful movement for the support of the measure."

"Western cities returning Republicans in November, in the April municipal elections returned democratic candidates on the issue of reforming municipal taxation, and the more vigorous control of corporations holding public franchises."

"Governor Odell, of New York, coolly picked up 3 million dollars a year in taxes from corporations that never before paid the State a penny, impressing on the minds of the farmer and artisan, whose taxes were remitted, the simple fact that a way has been found to correct by State taxation the evils incident to State incorporation."

"The power to tax! Let the multitude once grasp the range of that weapon, necessarily left in its hands, and the bargaining and bribing millionaire will not find the partnership so pleasant!" "We are in for a period of eager discussion and experiment in all this province of taxation and restraint of corporate wealth. That way lies our coming reaction to democracy." There is a good deal more in this article, every line of which is enjoyable reading.

IN THE FUTURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Mr. Connant also truly discerns the signs of advance. He tells us that the *New York Herald* recently computed that 3828 millionaires own 16,000,000,000 dollars, or nearly 1/3 of the wealth of the country.

Here are one or two extracts.

"Italy was ruined by the conquests of Rome, which substituted slave labour for free labour, and gradually absorbed all the arable land into the hands of a few landlords. The French nobility originally rendering service to the State, became useless parasites upon the body politic because they retained and extended their privileges after ceasing to render services."

"To ensure to all something of that equality of economic and social opportunity which is the dream of profound thinkers, should be the aim of a political party."

I think readers of your paper would find these extracts interesting. The following passages are less relevant to the main question, but you will like them.

"In England we see a king whose policy is to impress and overawe popular imagination by gorgeous display and pageant, while Liberals who, on the occasion of the last grant of Parliament to pay the debts of this king—then Prince of Wales—vowed that the rising democracy would soon smash all that tinsel majesty, look on in a daze, or else go home to see that their own court dress is ready to be submitted to the severe scrutiny of Edward VII."

"'Is there no gratitude in people?' our superior beings indignantly ask—'among working men whose wages have been raised; from Filopins and Cuban redeemed from tyranny, and the Egyptians a thousandfold worse off under Mehemet or Tewfik who fill the air with complaints of English rule?' Envy is more powerful than gratitude, and every day brings beings into the world who know nothing of past evils, but are keenly alive to present inconveniences. Men will not reflect how much worse off they might have been when they see how much better off they might be. They accept every betterment in the conditions of labour offered them, biding their time and pushing for further advantage."

The *Atlantic Monthly* is one of the leading high-class American magazines, and, like *Scribner's* and *The Century*, quite non-political.

E. LINDSAY.

THE SINGLE TAX.

CONTENTS.

Notes and News.	
The Ratepayers' Real Grievances.	
Hereford Diocesan Conference.	
Signs of the Times.	Drawers of Water.
Democracy <i>versus</i> Socialism.	Notes on Democracy.
The Cobden Club against Free Trade.	
Bazaar Notes.	Glasgow Tramway Profits.
Signs of Progress.	
Housing Problem in Glasgow.	
News of the Movement.	Work.

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THE COBDEN CLUB AGAINST FREE TRADE.

OUR readers will be interested in an anonymous article in the current number of the *Westminster Review*, entitled "The Cobden Club Against Free Trade."

Quoting the declaration of Mr. H. W. Lucy—better known, perhaps, as "Toby, M.P."—in a recent number of the *Strand Magazine*, that he would "not be surprised to see His Majesty's present Government go to the country under the flag of Fair Trade," the writer says that this "sinister design" would be "favoured by the fact that . . . the economic education of the younger generation of electors has been sadly and singly neglected, and Free Trade principles have, as a consequence, to a large extent, lost their grip upon the people." "One of the chief causes of this recrudescence of Protectionist ideas, this general resurrection of Protectionist fallacies dead and buried long ago, is brought out (he continues) most clearly, yet most unconsciously, in the latest publication of the Cobden Club, a memorandum by the Committee on 'National Expenditure and National Income.' . . . A careful study of the pamphlet reveals the startling fact that the Committee of the Cobden Club do not know what Free Trade is. Small wonder, then, that the general public are befogged and bewildered, and fall an easy prey to the specious 'fair trader.' The Committee of the Cobden Club, we repeat, do not know what Free Trade is. Either that, or they have so tender a regard for the vested interests that hamper and well nigh throttle trade and industry, that they

prefer to stultify themselves rather than lead the assault against the citadel of monopoly and privilege."

The Committee of the Cobden Club, after giving the figures showing the growth of revenue from 737 millions sterling in 1870 to 1298 millions in 1900, say, "These figures by themselves furnish a testimony to the general soundness of the fiscal system which has until the present year been accepted by both political parties. Whatever theoretical objections may be brought against the system, or whatever may be its defects of detail, no one in face of these figures can deny that it has proved a marvellous instrument for raising revenue. We hold, however, that the system is as sound in its main theories as it has proved in practice." "'Sound in its main theories'!" exclaims the writer. "In the name of the prophet, figs! Do Free Trade principles involve nothing beyond the abolition of protective tariffs? That would seem to be all they mean to this Committee of the Cobden Club! The abolition of protective tariffs has, indeed, largely increased our Custom's revenue, and 'the resulting freedom of trade,' partial though it is, 'has permitted the commerce of the country to expand enormously, and that expansion has been followed by increased population, and increased prosperity, which, in their turn, have led to increased consumption'—and increased rents, . . . the enormous increase in the commerce of the country, and the resulting increased prosperity, increased population, and increased consumption have materialised in the enormously enhanced site-values of London, Liverpool Manchester, Glasgow, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and other great industrial and commercial centres. The workers, comparatively, have benefited but slightly from Free Trade. The bulk of the benefit has been reaped by the shirkers, who, sitting idly by, levy heavy tribute, in the shape of monopoly, inflated land-values, upon the trade and industry of the country. These things should be obvious to every man who has taken the trouble to master even the A, B, C of economics; but either they are unknown to the Committee of the Cobden Club, or the committee prefer to wilfully ignore them.

"Another elementary fact in economics is that before goods can be traded they must first be produced. Therefore, before trade can be truly free, not only exchange but production also must be free. But production can only take place on the land—man's only raw material, man's only foothold in space. Therefore, in order that trade shall be truly free, the land must be free, production must be free, and exchange must be free. These Cobden Club free-traders, it would seem, however, are content with freedom, and that only partial, of exchange alone!

"But not only do the benefits of Free Trade materialise in ground rents, the same will, on analysis, be found to be true of the advantages accruing . . . from public services, both general and local, of every kind

As Professor Thorold Rogers has well said :—' Every permanent improvement of the soil, every railway and road, every bettering of the general condition of society, every facility given for production, every stimulus applied to consumption, **raises rent.** The land-owner sleeps but thrives.' Surely it is not unreasonable to demand that the tax-gatherer shall awaken the sleeper, and make him understand that inasmuch as he reaps the benefits of public services, *he* must bear the burden.

"At present not only do the labour and capital of this country bear the burden of imperial and local taxation, they bear the burden of the landlord as well. Labour and capital pay, on a peace footing, £140,000,000 in rates and taxes, and then, because of the advantages thereby secured to those who live and work in this land of ours, the so-called 'owners' of the land levy upon labour and capital a rent tribute of no less than £200,000,000 for permission to live in the land of their birth and enjoy the public services, for which, not the landlords, but they themselves have paid! . . . Under our present fiscal system, that is to say, labour and capital have to pay twice over for public services, general and local—and they pay £60,000,000 a year more to the worse than useless landlord than to the State!

"The Committee of the Cobden Club, it would seem, know no more of the true inwardness of our fiscal system than the babe unborn! They speak of its 'general soundness,' 'theoretical objections,' 'defects of detail'! Surely, it would hardly be too much to say that the system is wholly unsound, that it is open to the gravest practical objections, and that it is defective in every detail."

The writer then deals with the suggestion of the Cobden Club Committee, that the £7,000,000 raised by the sugar duties and the coal tax might have been raised by increasing the existing taxes on beer, tea, tobacco, beer and spirit licenses, or incomes, and by not renewing the doles to the landlords. "By the methods here briefly indicated (say the Committee) it would be possible to raise an additional revenue of £25,000,000 to £30,000,000 without disturbing the existing freedom of any trade, and without imposing an unfair burden on any class of taxpayers."

But they say not a single word about the Land Tax. The writer of the article shows that already out of every 1/ spent by the working classes on tea 6d. goes on duty, and that out of every 1/ spent on tobacco 10d. goes in duty; and he contends that "Cobden Club ideas of what is fair or unfair in matters of taxation are of the queerest." "From the standpoint of a short-sighted expediency," he says, "it might be argued that an additional tax on beer, on tea, on tobacco, or on incomes would be preferable to the sugar duty and the coal tax; but, from the standpoint of principle, such taxes are, like the coal tax and the sugar tax, sheer robbery, and instead of being

increased they should be repealed as quickly as may be." The writer of the article shows that the doles to the landlords—the Rating Act doles and the Imperial grants in aid of the local exchequer, "grants in aid of the landlords," as Mr. Gladstone called them—total £13,500,000, "representing at the bank rate of 2½ per cent., a capital value of £540,000,000, or **enough to pay for the South African War twice over!**" And he urges that the Land Tax of 4/ in the £ now levied on the values of 200 years ago, should be levied on present values, and that the Rating Acts should be repealed. "This," he adds, "would net a revenue of some £42,000,000, and . . . that sum would not only meet the interest and sinking fund charges on the debt due to the present war, but would enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give payment of members and of election expenses, to abolish the breakfast-table duties, and to establish an old-age pension of 5/ per week for every person over the age of sixty-five."

The writer quotes Bright and Cobden in support of his contention that free trade involves free land, and in conclusion he says, "It is in this direction that true Free Trade principles point us. It is only by carrying out the taxation of land-values to its logical conclusion that the Free Trade ideal—that is to say, the abolition of all rates, and taxes, and monopolies that interfere with the free course of trade—can be realised. . . . It is open to the Cobden Club to help or to hinder those who, true followers in spirit of Bright and Cobden, are fighting for absolute free trade—free land, free production, and free exchange. It is open to them to help or to hinder; but should they choose the latter course, it is, we submit, hardly open to them to retain the name of 'The Cobden Club.' They ought in that case to adopt some such name as 'The Revenue-Tariff Club,' and apply for affiliation with the 'Liberty and Property Defence League.' For this fight those who are not with us are against us. To the realisation of true Free Trade, the mere 'revenue tariffite,' the half-and-half Free Trader, is an even greater obstacle than the Fair Trader or the out-and-out Protectionist.

"Must we write down the Cobden Club against Free Trade?"

The title of his article supplies the answer to that question, and our readers, we feel sure, will agree that that answer is the true one.

SEEING that men are born into the world without their own wills, and being in the world they must live on the earth's surface, or they cannot live at all, no individual or set of individuals can hold over land that personal or irresponsible right which is allowed them in things of less importance.—*J. A. Froude.*

OF course the fact that a chief or landowner has bought and paid for a particular privilege or species of taboo, or has inherited it from his fathers, doesn't give him any moral claim to it. The question is, Is the claim in itself right and reasonable? for a wrong is only the more a wrong for having been so long and persistently exercised.—*Grant Allen.*

TO OUR READERS AND TO ALL
OTHER SINGLE-TAXERS.

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE SCOTTISH TAX LEAGUE

have arranged with the executive of the English Land Restoration League to take the *Single Tax* as their monthly journal, commencing January, 1902. The paper will be printed as at present in Glasgow, and published at 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow, and 376 Strand, London. W.C. The *Single Tax* has, for several years, been regarded as the journal of the Single Tax Movement in Great Britain; it will now represent the movement more officially, and deal more fully with all the growing interest of the propaganda. The English League will take not less than 3000 copies per month; they hope to increase the order as the paper becomes better known in reform circles in London and district. This step adds enormously to the usefulness of the paper. We feel sure it will add to the strength of the English League, by making known all their splendid work to their thousands of friends and supporters, as well as to Single-Taxers all over the English-speaking world. Already it has brought the two principal organisations, the English and Scottish Leagues, into closer touch, which will certainly pave the way for more efficient work being done, and in many new places. We trust our readers everywhere will support this new development by doing what they can to enlist new subscribers in the coming year. It is a decided advantage to keep the news and progress of our movement before the public, and especially before those interested in the land question and its solution. This can best be done by the regular monthly issue of a paper like the *Single Tax*. We earnestly renew the invitation to all friends to make the most of this opportunity open to all who wish to do something to advance our growing movement.

The Single Tax League of South Australia now take 600 copies of the *Single Tax* each month, which is issued with their own Supplement, edited and published by Crawford Vaughan, Secretary of the League, 30 Pirie Chambers, Pirie Street, Adelaide.

BAZAAR.

Mr. F. BATTY, London, writes:—Dear Sir, I beg to suggest that designs be invited for a literature stall on wheels for street sales, provided with rain proof cover, with space for large gramophone, fitted with record containing a simple and direct reference to the need for assessment reform. Who among the well-wishers of the Scottish Single Tax League and the English Land Restoration League, will enter into friendly rivalry by producing designs to be exhibited at the Single Tax Bazaar, and to be rewarded by a suitable prize? This will induce subscriptions from visitors to the Bazaar, the object being to place one or more of the stalls on the Glasgow streets, with a certainty of a brisk sale of our educational literature among the hard-headed dwellers of your great city.

THE GLASGOW TRAMWAY PROFITS.

BY BAILIE JOHN FERGUSON.

Those who talk of utilising the tramway profits for reducing the rates are children in economics, and should be treated as such. Let us see how the matter really stands. The wage-earners of Glasgow number nearly 400,000, and live in one-room and two-room houses. They have occasion to use the trams much more frequently than their wealthier neighbours, who occupy houses with four, five, or six rooms. Every man and woman in a working-class family makes use daily of the trams, but the women of the upper classes are not so dependent upon them, and require them less often. I shall assume, however, for the sake of argument that all the people in Glasgow, rich and poor, male and female, take advantage equally of the tramway service. What is the result in so far as it affects the proposed appropriation of the profits? A man in a £100 house pays only the same to tramway profit as the man in a £10 house. Suppose, then, you devoted £100,000 per annum surplus to reducing the rates, say, 6d. in the £. The result is, the occupier of the £100 house would benefit by about £2 10s., whereas the man in the £10 house would be reduced only 5s. Yet the one paid as much into the £100,000 from which the reduction came as the other. As the workers travelling by the trams greatly outnumber the wealthy classes, this silly cry about appropriating tramway profit resolves itself into a scheme for taking the pennies of the poor in order to reduce the rates of the rich.

What, then, should be done with the surplus? is a question often asked us. As a member of the Tramway Committee, I reply that so long as it is in my power I shall oppose any other use of it than to give increased facilities to the citizens. Every day the Committee is pressed from many parts of the city for cross-lines and for country extensions. That is the best purpose to which the surplus could be put, and, as a consequence, those who create it, and, indeed, the whole city, will benefit both directly and indirectly.

"ALTHOUGH A LANDLORD."

Mr. Hall Caine as candidate for the little Home Rule Parliament, in the Isle of Man, called the House of Keys.

According to a London paper, Mr. Caine issued a manifesto saying he would nationalise the steamship service, and run it for the general good of the island and its visitors, without regard to the profits, which must be the first consideration of a private company, however enterprising and obliging. In the same way he would nationalise the railway and the electric and other trams with the sole end of carrying the visitors with the least possible expense and inconvenience to every corner of the island. Then, although a land-owner himself, he would go so far towards the nationalisation of the land as to control its drainage, cultivation, and tree-planting in the interests of the industry on which the island chiefly lives. Finally he would nationalise the banks and so make practically impossible a repetition of the almost universal disaster which lately devastated the island. Mr. Hall Caine allows that these reforms may not be for the immediate future, but he thinks that they lie in the line of progress for the Isle of Man.

Our contemporary evidently thinks it odd that "although a landlord," Mr. Caine is in favour of doing at the public expense a large number of things which will increase the value of land in the island. It would have been much more surprising if Mr. Caine, "although a landlord," had advocated taxation of land values.

THOSE who make private property of the gift of God pretend in vain to be innocent. For in thus retaining the subsistence of the poor they are the murderers of those who die every day for the want of it.—*Pope Gregory the Great.*

BAZAAR TO PROMOTE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

To be held under the auspices of The Scottish Single Tax League in the Trades House, 85 Glassford Street, Glasgow, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, 20th, 21st, and 22nd March, 1902

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Mr. HENRY GEORGE, Jr. (New York, U.S.).
Bailie A. J. HUNTER, (Glasgow).
Coun. GEO. LAMB, ex-Mayor (Bootle).
" WM. MARTIN (Glasgow).
Mr. WM. MAXWELL (Chairman Scottish Wholesale Co-Operative Society).
" J. A. MURRAY MACDONALD (London).
" RICHARD MCGHEE, ex-M.P. (Lurgan).
Ex-Bailie J. D. M'GREGOR (Greenock).
Mr. A. MACKIE NIVEN (Johannesburg).
Coun. J. NORTH (Leicester).
" H. H. PAIN (London).
Provost PATON (Largs).
Mr. P. S. PEAT (Glasgow).
" LOUIS F. POST (Chicago, U.S.).
" A. D. PROVAND, ex-M.P. (London).
Coun. A. H. SCOTT (Manchester).
Provost SPITE (Clydebank).
Bailie D. M. STEVENSON (Glasgow).
Coun. H. W. STEWART (Edinburgh).
TRADES COUNCIL (Burton and District United).
TRADES COUNCIL (Glasgow).
TRADES COUNCIL (West Bromwich).
TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL (Wolverhampton).
UNDERWOOD CO-OPERATIVE COAL SOCIETY (Paisley).
Coun. THOS. UTLEY (Liverpool).
Ex-Provost WATSON (Falkirk).
Coun. J. C. WHITELEY (Sheffield).
" D. WILLOX (Glasgow).
Bailie ROBT. WILSON (Pollokshaws).</p> |
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GRAND PRIZE DRAWING.

A few friends have given several articles to the value of £105, to be devoted to a **Prize Drawing** in connection with the Bazaar. They are as follows:—

12 Prizes, - - - value	£105.
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10. "Acme" Wringer, - - - "	£1 5 6
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10/- per book of 21 tickets.

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SIGNS OF PROGRESS.

CO-OPERATORS AND THE LAND QUESTION.

The Co-operative Societies in the South of England seem to have determined energetically to carry out the advice of the United Board Educational Committee, to study the land question. The following meetings have been already held and many more have been arranged.

At Woolwich.

The First Conference in the Co-operative Institute.

On Saturday, October 19th, at 3.30, Mr. C. F. White, the chairman of the Educational Committee, welcomed a good gathering of members in our Institute to hear Mr. Lewis H. Berens, of the English Land Restoration League, on the land question. Mr. Berens, after referring to the encouragement given to land reformers by the fact that the central committee of the Co-operative Union has this year specially recommended the study of the land question, pointed out that it was impossible for anyone to reflect on the condition of society to-day without recognising that there is something very wrong somewhere. Land values, he argued, were natural and inevitable. The right to control the more favourably situated land yielded an advantage, which might be expressed in terms of money. The community cannot prevent such value springing into existence; it can decide whether such values shall be allowed to furnish unearned incomes for the benefit of a privileged class or caste, or whether they shall be appropriated for the common benefit of the whole community by the Taxation of Land Values. Under such a system of raising the necessary public revenues, no one would long care to hold a single acre of land, unless he was desirous of putting it to the best use of which it was capable. Hence, though the private possession of land would continue, land monopoly and the withholding of land from its best uses would be a thing of the past. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

“That this conference believing that an economic solution of the land question would be of the greatest possible advantage to the prosperity of the State, heartily approves of the efforts of the Co-operative Union to bring public opinion to bear upon it, and pledges itself to do all in its power in furtherance of so desirable an object.”—*Comradeship*, Nov., 1901.

At Leman Street, London.

The Southern Co-operative Educational Association held its quarterly conference of educational committees in the Co-operative Wholesale Society's Assembly Room at Leman Street, on Saturday, October 26th. Mr. J. J. Dent presided, and was supported by members of the executive council and the Southern Sectional Board. There were present about 140 delegates, representing forty-eight societies. Mr. F. Verinder read a paper entitled, “The land question chiefly in relation to labour and taxation.” Mr. Verinder's paper, which is obtainable from the Co-operative Union at the price of 2s. 6d. per 100 copies, has attracted much attention, and is in great demand. The Co-operative Union has ordered 3,000 copies, and other organisations have asked for nearly 6,000 copies.—*Co-operative News*, 9th Nov., 1901.

At Erith.

A conference on the “Land Question” was convened by the educational committee of the Royal Arsenal Society, at West Street School, on Saturday, November 2nd., when Mr. F. Verinder, secretary of the English Land Restoration League, gave an able address on the subject. Several questions were asked and answered, and the discussion was well sustained. On the motion of Mr. F. Best, seconded by Mr. M. A. Deans, the same resolution as was passed at the Woolwich meeting was unanimously adopted.—*Co-operative News*, 9th Nov., 1901.

At Enfield, London, N.

Enfield co-operators have this year organised a series of P.S.A. gatherings, which are highly appreciated in the neighbourhood, and are very largely attended. On Sunday, November 3rd, Mr. F. Verinder was the chosen speaker, and lectured on “The land and housing problem.” On Sunday, November 17th, Mr. Berens spoke on “The kernel of the housing problem.” In conversation, the local organisers assured both lecturers that interest in their question was daily increasing in Enfield.

Women's Co-operative Guild Meeting.

The Southern Section of the Women's Co-operative Guild held their autumnal conference at the Assembly Rooms of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, on Monday, November 11th. This was a most encouraging gathering. Mrs. Abbott, of Tunbridge Wells, read her paper on “The people's claim on the land,” in which the fundamental truths of the land question were ably presented, and the taxation of land values justified and shown to be the first step in the direction of effective radical social reform. There was a good attendance, over sixty-five different branches being represented. After the lecture, delegate after delegate rose to speak in support of the paper, and by their vigorous and pertinent speeches betrayed that they had already realised the fundamental importance of the land question. Many flattering references were made to Mr. Verinder's able and lucid pamphlet on the question, which promises to have a phenomenal circulation amongst co-operators throughout the length and breadth of the land.

At Wallsend—Guild Conference in the Northern Section.

The Northern Sectional Conference of the Women's Guild was held at Wallsend on Monday, October 29th. Mrs. M'Blain occupied the chair, and after a stirring address by Miss Llewelyn Davies, General Secretary Women's Co-operative Guild, on the urgent work of the coming winter, Mrs. Baker, of Stockton, read Mrs. Abbott's paper on “The people's claim on the land.” An animated discussion followed, the general character of which can be gathered from the following short report of Mrs. Baker's speech, which appeared in the *Co-operative News* of November 16th:—“Mrs. Baker, Stockton, followed with an admirable speech. She pointed out that a very small land tax already existed, having been imposed about 1650, when this now insignificant contribution represented one-fifth of the value of the land. The tax had not changed, though the value of the land had changed indeed; for landlords had got themselves elected to Parliament, where they could look after their own interests. Landlords had not feared the curse laid upon them that removed their neighbours' land-marks, for they had enclosed the commons. Lord Penrhyn had enclosed commons, and she had been at places in the west country where all the common land was enclosed.

At Heckmondwike—North-Western Women discuss the Question.

The fog did its best to interfere with the success of the North-Western Guild Conference held at Heckmondwike on Wednesday, November 6th, but all things considered, the attendance was good, and the meeting well up to the section's invariably high standard. It was a remarkable sight, this gathering of 200 or 300 earnest co-operative women, many of whom had journeyed from “the city of dreadful night” to be present at a meeting where “the people's claim on the land” was the subject for consideration. The discussion excited by Mrs. Abbott's paper is a conspicuous proof of the interest co-operative women are capable of taking in serious subjects. Several honestly confessed they had thought little or nothing about the matter till Mrs. Abbott's paper appeared in the columns of the “Women's Corner” a few weeks ago, and this confession was coupled with remarks of gratitude

to the writer. Mrs. Boothman, President of the Guild, occupied the chair. Mrs. Abbott, of Tunbridge Wells, was present to read her paper, after which the discussion proceeded right merrily.

The discussion was opened by Mrs. Haworth, Accrington, who said:—"Taxation was increasing, and housing reform could not go on unless something were done to get hold of the land. To show the unfairness of present taxation, the speaker related that she had been the first to build on a plot of land which was then not even good for grazing. There were now sixty adjoining better class houses, and the land value had been increased three or four times. Besides paying the ordinary rates and taxes, she paid three guineas a year as ground rent for two houses, whereas the landlord paid nothing more than he did before the houses were put up.

Mrs. Bury, Darwen, said the land would never belong to the people unless they agitated. The whole question was a very complicated one, for the land had gradually been filched from the people, and the theft had been legalised. Mrs. Bury then told how, in Darwen, on a meadow belonging to a farm, eighty cottages had been built, and whereas formerly the rental was only £5, to-day the landlord was drawing £200. Quite recently the trams had been taken to an outlying district, and the landlords had increased their wealth by putting up houses on the road.

Mrs. Ellis, Batley, told how in Batley improvements were made on the land to benefit the absentee landlord.

Miss Davies congratulated the delegates on the debate. She thought all would leave the meeting feeling they had got hold of new and valuable ideas. Land was necessary to the existence of the people for food, industry, and for the means of communication, and she asked whether it was right that a few should have the right to do what they liked with this necessary commodity, when the privilege caused so much suffering and such hindrance to the prosperity of the nation. The land was kept out of the market, and exorbitant charges made it impossible for the people to acquire it. Hence the slums, both in town and country. The increased value of land was due to the presence of the people and to their work. In London the rate of increase in the value of the land was seven and a-half millions yearly, and Southport, once a sandy waste, now yielded half a million, which went into the pockets of two or three landlords. The most practicable proposal was taxing the value of the land, which might be described as the nationalisation of rent. At present buildings and land were assessed together, but there ought to be a re-assessment, and all taxes should be taken off buildings.

In replying, Mrs. Abbott said many co-operators who owned their own houses would wonder whether they would suffer by a tax on land-values. What was proposed was to take the tax off the houses and put it upon the land only.—Abridged from *The Co-operative News*, November 17th, 1901.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN GLASGOW.

FACTS AND FIGURES BY Mr. PETER FYFE,
Chief Sanitary Inspector.

The first of the series of lectures to be given during the winter by Corporation officials was delivered on Saturday night, 16th November, by Mr. Peter Fyfe, chief sanitary inspector, in the Berkeley Hall to a large audience. Lord Provost Chisholm presided. In the course of his address Mr. Fyfe pointed out on a map of the city seven districts tinted red, indicating danger, and stated that in everyone of these districts the average death rate for the last three years exceeded 27 per 1000, the death rate for the whole city being 20½. 1123 children under five years died every year, while out of every five children born one was laid in its grave within a year. The danger to the city lay in the ticketed houses and their inmates. These houses numbered 20,327, and contained

75,000 souls. About 12 per cent. of these houses were continuously overcrowded, and if the sanitary authorities and the magistrates applied the law mercilessly about 3,000 persons would be turned to the streets. There were at present in the city about 718 vacant houses at £6 rental and under. Assuming that all these cheap dwellings were sanitary and could be made available for the unhoused 3,000, they could only legally contain 2,297, leaving a balance of 703 to wander about homeless. But the position was worse than this, for about 2,000 of the ticketed houses were in an insanitary condition, and these represented over 6,000 persons who should be ejected. There were thus at least 7,000 people who were dwelling in insanitary or under illegal conditions.

Lord Provost Chisholm said the question was not one of pounds, shillings and pence, but whether they ought not to see to it that they made it possible for those who lived within the boundaries of the city to live the lives of worthy, decent, Christian men and women. The question of the housing of the poor was one which if Glasgow did not deal with, it would deal with Glasgow. There were growing up in our midst hundreds and thousands who would become not our future paupers, but our future criminals, who would display, if they were permitted so to grow up, a barbarism equalling anything that the history of the world had ever seen. The question would come to be whether they were to allow things to go on as they are, and to wait until a slow, sluggish, landlord-ridden Parliament altered the law. He believed they would say—"No; we shall put our hands in our pockets and pay that which we shall be compelled to pay, rather than permit families to live, children to be born and to die in the condition of things which now exists."

* * *

Of course: Landlordism robs the Glasgow ratepayers of over £2,000,000 per annum in land values, imposes prohibitive prices on the building sites in and around the city, made valuable by the energy of the people, and by the expenditure of the rates. Idleness, starvation, overcrowding, insanitary hovels result, bringing disease and death, and a criminal class that menace the very peace and safety of a society. But we must not attack the unjust privileges of this landlord class. Whatever we do this class must be permitted to continue to dip their hands deep into the pockets of the citizens, and to throttle the legitimate expansion of the city.

Poverty: the poverty of the mass of the people accounts for their want of decent house-room, as it accounts for their want of decent clothing, and decent food. It is this poverty that drives men to despair and creates the criminal class the Lord Provost dreads so much. The Corporation, at the public expense, may shelter the poor, including the desperate and the degraded, in "superior" houses of one and two rooms, but that is a mere act of charity signifying nothing, it leaves these people still the poverty-stricken, hungry, ill-clad, badly-fed victims of the legalised tyranny and plunder of landlordism. There is only one cure—justice. Open up the natural opportunities to employment and the housing question will settle itself. Any proposal short of this, any proposal that fails to overthrow land monopoly, the bottom cause of the housing problem and the poverty problem, is so much waste of time and money. The Corporation of Glasgow is powerful in many ways, but it is written—"as ye sow, so shall ye reap."

TO-DAY a wider, deeper, more beneficent revolution
Than even the abolition of Chattel Slavery

is brooding, not over one country, but over the world. God's truth impels it, and forces mightier than He has ever before given to man urge it on. It is no more in the power of vested wrongs to stay it than it is in man's power to stay the sun. The stars in their courses fight against Sisera, and in the ferment of to-day, to him who hath ears to hear, the doom of industrial slavery is sealed.—*Henry George*.

News of the Movement.

Bearsden. THE first of a course of public lectures under the auspices of the New East Kilpatrick Liberal Association was delivered by Bailie Ferguson, Glasgow, in the old School-room, on 21st November. Mr. Wm. D. Hamilton, Campsie View, occupied the chair, and among those present were Mrs Wm. D. Hamilton, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. C. Menzies, and Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Greig. Mr. Ferguson delivered an eloquent and instructive address showing vividly how landlordism was forcing upon all classes, and especially upon the working classes, a bitter struggle for a living, which if it were to continue would end in disaster to all classes. He urged, along with the chairman and subsequent speakers, the complete overthrow of land monopoly as the only just and ready solution of the difficulty. Bailie Burt, Glasgow, delivers the next address on 13th December, on the subject of the taxation of land values.

Clydebank. THE Clydebank Liberal Club discussed the housing question on the evening of the 19th November. Mr. J. Thomson Findlay, president, in the chair. There was a good attendance, and a very interesting discussion, the various proposals for solving the question coming in for review, the most popular being the taxation of land values. Copies of the leaflet, "Why tax houses?" and the October issue of the *Single Tax* were distributed.

East Kilpatrick. IN THE GRIP OF LANDLORDISM.—At a meeting of the ratepayers of East Kilpatrick Parish held at Bearsden on 11th November, to hear an account of the three year's work from their representatives at the Dumbartonshire County Council, Coun. J. W. Stewart, in the course of his remarks, stated "that the ground acquired for the erection of an hospital at Lennoxton cost about £400 per acre." The ordinary feuing rate for villas in the district is probably £10 per acre, which capitalised at the ordinary number of year's purchase would be £200, or half the amount paid by the ratepayers for this site for an hospital. This same land will let for agricultural purposes at about £2 an acre, and the landlord relieved of a part of the rates under the Agricultural Rating Act, otherwise known as the Landlords Relief Act. Mr. Stewart further explained "that the Local Government Board of Scotland were pressing the County Council to obtain more land in connection with their Lunatic Asylum, so that the patients might have the benefit of the out of door work treatment, which is recognised by the medical authority as most conducive to the health and recovery of the patients." The landlords in the neighbourhood of the asylum, realising the pressure of the Local Government Board, and the necessity of the case, are holding out for exorbitant prices. Mr. Stewart also referred to the urgency of obtaining a site for the deposit of the district refuse, the Health Authorities having stopped the further use of the present coup. Again the claims of the "deadhand." A suitable site was named, but the landlord refused to sell at any price, offering another site at the extreme end of the parish. Councillor Stirling remarked that should this site be taken, it would, owing to the cost of cartage, involve an increase in the rates of 6d. per £.

In this case we get a passing view of the struggles of a County Council to do its duty by the ratepayers, against the tyranny and greed of landlordism. But we live in a free country—free to obey as the law, the public health, and the public convenience determine, provided we square with the men who control the ground upon which we may operate. The taxation of land values can alone bring the proper settlement, and a candidate pleased to support this proposal is the best reply the ratepayers can make to these landlord exactions.

St. Andrews. OUR St. Andrews friends seem now to be very much alive, judging from the way they are pressing the question on the attention of the electors. At a public meeting held on 13th November, to hear an address from Mr. Anstruther, M.P. for St. Andrews Burghs, Mr. Reid, draper, asked if the member was in favour of taxation of land values. Mr. Anstruther replied that the question was a very wide one, to answer which would require another twenty minutes' speaking, but if Mr. Reid would say whether he referred to an imperial or local tax, and whether he referred to the taxation of feu-duties of agricultural land, or unbuilt or urban lands, he would be able to say in a few words whether he favoured it or no. If the question referred to the rating at its full value of unbuilt or urban land, he did favour such a scheme. Mr. Reid then asked if Mr. Anstruther would support the Glasgow Bill, and was answered by a decided "No."

Refused the support of the members of the Town Council, who said the question was one for Parliament, the St. Andrews Single Taxers have applied to their M.P. with the above result. Well, they must just continue educating the electors, make them understand the question, and the Town Council, as well as the M.P., will come into line. We ought to have some new subscribers from St. Andrews soon.

Mr. James T. Haxton is to read a paper next month to the St. Andrew's Literary Society on the Taxation of Land Values.

Keighley. THE Keighley Liberal Association issued a manifesto on behalf of four candidates, Mr. Wm. Midgley, Mr. Joseph Wilkinson, Mr. Jos. Waterhouse, and Mr. John Smith, at the November municipal election, in which it was stated that:—The Liberal party will advocate and further by every means in its power such an alteration of the law as will compel the owners of land to contribute to the cost of improvements by the taxation of site values. Then all would bear in common the cost of municipal improvements, the advantages of which all share in common.

Manningham and Heaton. IN the course of an address to the members of the Liberal Club on 9th November, Mr. W. P. Byles, ex M.P. for Shipley, said:—
"The Liberal party must take in hand the labour question, should try to lift up the mass, and root out the moral and physical poison beds with which our country was infested. It should also master the economics of the land question. A proper solution of this problem would put an end to Imperialism, because if the land of our own country was liberated, and our home markets were developed, there would be no need for new markets and the consequent desire for other people's territory."

Newcastle-on-Tyne. A REPLY TO A. CAMERON CORBETT, M.P.—
"Anti-Monopolist," writing in the *Newcastle Daily Leader*, in reply to Mr. Cameron Corbett's recent statement that a tax on land values can be shifted by the landlord to the tenant, says:—"Not only can such a statement be shown to be absurd, reasoning from first principles, but the experience of our colonies—New Zealand, New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and North West Canada—where the taxation of land values is in actual operation, has demonstrated that in practice the result of a tax on land values is to cheapen land, to relieve buildings and other improvements of burdens previously borne by them, and therefore to lower, not to raise, the price of houses to buyers and the rent of houses to tenants. The reason for this is that a tax on land values falls as heavily on land that is held out of use as on land that is put to the best use of which it is capable, and therefore tends to force idle land into use. A tax or rate levied on land as it is used—for houses, shops, factories, farming, mining, or what not—falls on the user,

i.e., the tenant. A tax or rate on land held out of use falls on the man who holds it out of use, and therefore the taxation of land values quickly makes such men realise that it does not pay to play the dog-in-the-manger; the "corner" in land is broken; land, "the bottom side of the house," becomes cheaper; and so house rent falls. To take a case in point, I am told that Lord Londonderry is demanding £2,000 per acre for some vacant land at Seaham Harbour, but he is rated on that land at 5s. per acre only! Rate him at £2,000 per acre, and he will soon find it advisable to reduce his price so that the housebuilder can utilise the land, and make a fair profit on his outlay. Apply the same principle to the 1,000 or more idle acres in Newcastle, and they, too, would soon be put to use, thus easing the pressure that is now forcing up rents so much."

MR. G. A. FERGUSON, Manchester College, Oxford. writes:—On 13th November, at the Manchester College Discussion Society, I had the honour of introducing the Taxation of Land Values as the topic of the evening. It had a most favourable reception, and there was practically no opposition to it. The subject was quite new to most of the members, but they one and all agreed as to the justice and expediency of the measure, especially as affording the true solution of the terrible housing of the poor problem. An interesting discussion ensued, and after my reply the Principal of Manchester College, the Rev. James Drummond, M.A., LL.D., Hon. Litt. D., reviewed the arguments, and spoke strongly in favour of the measure.

Australia. CRAWFORD VAUGHAN writes:—The tariff is out at last, and the price of commodities has jumped up enormously already. In Broken Hill and N.S. Wales generally it is said that the new tariff increases the cost of living to the average worker by 12/ per week, whilst in this State the increase is estimated a 5/ per week.

Wide-spread indignation has greeted these proposals, and were an election to take place to-morrow, the Barton ministry would be swept almost out of political existence. Still Barton has the requisite majority in the House of Representatives, and, though items may be altered, the tariff generally will be ratified. Under the fiscal proposals, it is expected that £9,000,000 per annum will be raised. This represents a tariff equal to 26% on the whole of the goods imported, or, if we eliminate the free list, the average duty equals 35%. To raise £9,000,000 a year from less than 4,000,000 of people is equal to a tax of £2 7s. 9d. per head for every man, woman, and child throughout the Commonwealth.

This is the price we are paying for the blessings of Federation, but the very iniquity of the thing has converted more people to our way of thinking than years of agitation. We are urging that a tax of 1d. in the £ on the £337,325,000 land-values of the Commonwealth would raise £1,400,000 per annum, and this would meet all the purely Federal requirements, leaving the States to make up their revenue by direct taxation.

There is no question as to the popularity of our movement, and we mean to take the tide of agitation at its flood, and secure at least some of the land-values for the whole of the people, and reduce the iniquitous taxes upon the needs of the community.

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"He had there seen both sides of the hateful world whose framework was falling to pieces from sheer rotteness: the iniquitous misery of some, the pestilential wealth of others. Work, badly remunerated, held in contempt, unjustly apportioned, had become mere torture and shame when it should have been the very nobility, health and happiness of mankind. Luc's heart was bursting at the thought of it all, and his brain seemed to open as if to give birth to the ideas which he had felt within him for months past. And a cry for justice sprang from his whole being. Ay, there was no other possible mission nowadays than that of hastening to the succour of the wretched, and setting a little justice once more upon the earth."

**Work.* By Emile Zola. Publishers: Chattus & Windus. Price, 6s.

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