

Land Values

JOURNAL OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

Sixteenth Year—No. 190.

MARCH, 1910.

1d.; Post, 1/6 per annum.

Telephone No.: WESTMINSTER 5774.

Telegrams: "EULAV, LONDON."

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NOTES OF THE MONTH.

The Cause of the Crisis.

On December 10th, in his speech at the Albert Hall, the Prime Minister said: "We shall not assume office, and we shall not hold office, unless we can secure the safeguards which experience shows us to be necessary for the legislative utility and honour of the party of progress." Speaking at the National Liberal Club a few days earlier, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said: "I would not remain a member of a Liberal Cabinet one hour, unless I knew that that Cabinet had determined not to hold office after the next General Election unless full powers are accorded to it, which would enable it to place on the statute-book of the realm a measure to ensure the limitation of the veto."

The Irish Nationalist Party, and some of the more Radical section of the Liberals, have put the most obvious and literal interpretation upon these statements, and are pressing the Government to carry through a measure limiting the veto of the Lords before they pass the Budget. Mr. Asquith has definitely stated that he never intended to obtain assurances from the King which would enable him to do this. On February 21st he said:—

"I see that in some quarters I am supposed to have intended to convey that a Liberal Ministry ought not to meet the new House of Commons unless it secured in advance some kind of guarantee for the exercise of the Royal prerogative. I have been engaged for many years in political life, and I do not think that even among those

opposite there is anyone who will deny that I am a man of my word. (Ministerial cheers.) If I had given such a pledge as that I should not have been standing at this box. I have not received any such guarantees, and I have not asked for them."

This statement roused the indignation of the Nationalists and Radicals, but we cannot agree with their views. We think they fail to appreciate the magnitude of the struggle on which we have entered. The Lords cannot be deprived of their political privileges within a few weeks, nor perhaps within a few Parliaments. They will only be deprived of their power when the people realise that by its exercise the Lords are depriving them of something which is of vital interest and importance to them. Nothing that the Lords have rejected appeals strongly enough to the people. The Budget was the first thing that did, but the people do not yet know how much the Budget and its sequel contained for them. When they do understand this, the veto will soon disappear. The weakness of the Government is due to the fact that the merits and meaning of the Budget were not sufficiently explained.

The London County Council Election.

The election for the London County Council takes place on March 5th, and is exciting more than ordinary interest in view of the declaration of the leader of the Progressive Party, in a manifesto published on February 7th, that "at this election the taxation of ground values will come at the top of the Progressive programme; 'Back up a Budget which makes a beginning in relieving our rates,' will be inscribed on one of our banners"; and the fact that in all probability an official valuation of land apart from improvements will shortly be commenced. Thus for the first time it is possible to promise, with some degree of confidence, a reduction in rates, to be accomplished by rating on land values.

The United Committee and English League for the Taxation of Land Values are taking an active part in the campaign on behalf of the Progressive candidates. Speakers are being provided, and some effective leaflets have been published by the United Committee, dealing with the anomalies of our present rating system, and explaining the benefits of the new system. In addition a small speaker's handbook has been issued, dealing with the question generally, and giving many concrete examples for use in speaking.

The New Policies.

Beneath the changing and conflicting views which have found such large expression since the Election, there has been a steady development of policies on both sides. The interview with Mr. Chamberlain, which we give in another column, is the best indication of the stiffening process in the demand for Tariff Reform. The Tariff Reformers have had enough encouragement to redouble their activities. Mr. Hewins, secretary of the Tariff Reform League, who fought and lost the Shipley Division of Yorkshire, declared that "the distinctively Tariff Reform organisation requires to be increased tenfold in efficiency, before we can expect to make any proper headway against the Labour propaganda." By the Labour propaganda here Mr. Hewins means the Taxation of Land Values. Associated with this Tariff Reform programme is some shapeless scheme of social

and land reform. Mr. Chamberlain advocates "some serious and definite proposals with regard to the land question. He had always been in favour of increasing the number of occupying owners and helping them in every way with the resources of the State." Against these Unionist schemes we have still the Budget, representing the policy of the Government, but after what has happened, we have a right to expect that this policy will be speedily developed and strengthened.

The Liberal Campaign.

One promising result of the Election is the outburst of activity on the part of the Liberals. THE DAILY CHRONICLE and THE DAILY NEWS have started funds for a campaign throughout the country. We have a word of warning for these Liberals, who in the first statements of their policy have only declared that they are going out in defence of Free Trade. There is a grave danger to Liberals and Liberalism in playing this Conservative part too long. Speaking of the reactionary policy of the Conservatives and the House of Lords in the Albert Hall, Mr. Asquith said: "The result is, what at first sight seems a paradox, that we, the progressive party, find ourselves here to-day in the first place, occupying Conservative and Constitutional ground, defending the liberties which have been transmitted to us from the past, against the invasions and usurpations which, for the first time, received the official countenance of the Tory Party." Quite apart from the interests of party the welfare of the country demands much more than a reactionary party on the one hand and a Conservative party on the other. If account is taken of the volume of legislation which comes out of the Parliamentary mill, or of the policies which are advocated by the leading statesmen, it would be difficult to find anything considerable that bears the mark of Liberalism or Freedom. Yet the country needs more of these things and would appreciate them.

Referring to THE DAILY CHRONICLE fund, THE INVESTOR'S REVIEW of February 5th says: "He (the rural voter), should be instructed not only in the meaning of a protective tariff by help of illustrations from the conditions of other countries now groaning under this curse, but he should be taught something of the history of landowning in his country, and of the relation between prices, wages and rents."

Mining Developments.

A splendid new seam of coal—described as the nearest approach in the Midlands to the Wallsend of Tyneside—has just been found at Longton, Staffordshire. The seam is six to eight feet thick, and is believed to underlie the entire area of the north-western side of the Potteries coalfield, about 300 feet below the well-known Cockshead seam. The Bullhurst coal, as it is classified, is extensively used for gas and coke making, and for the London house-fire market, and so one result of the new find may, perhaps, be cheaper supplies for our metropolitan millions. We may hope so, at any rate. The growing importance of the Staffordshire coal industry is exemplified by Lord Dudley's great mining venture in Baggeridge Woods, a beautiful woodland district four miles or so equi-distant from Dudley and Wolverhampton, which is being developed rapidly, and is now being fitted up as the largest colliery in the world. The plant has been designed to wind three thousand tons in eight hours, and at present there is no colliery in the country of such capacity, though it is pretty nearly approached by the Cresswell Colliery, which, however, draws from two shafts, where Baggeridge is to draw from one only and so lessen working expense. The bringing of the mine into full working service means the giving of a fresh lease of life to Midland mining, and the opening of a new industrial era. Preparations are being pushed rapidly forward, and it is anticipated that the end of the present year will see the pit in active operation.

These evidences of the unexhausted wealth of our natural resources are encouraging, but somehow or other politicians and Press people seem to have little appreciation of the importance of this fact. They point to an increase in trade, especially in exports, but pay little or no attention to such increases in production which are the main causes of the increases in trade.

Overcrowded Schools at Tottenham.

The Board of Education has sent a letter to the Tottenham Education Committee stating that the information in its possession discloses a state of affairs in the overcrowding of schools in the parish, "probably unequalled in the rest of England." It, therefore, deducts £1,543, or £1 per head for each unit of overcrowding. The Committee have resolved to appeal on account of the financial position of the parish, and to point out that the Board itself is partly responsible for the state of things owing to its recent re-assessment of school places, which limited the accommodation, to the action of the Local Government Board in having refused a loan for a temporary school, and to the high prices demanded for land, the London County Council having asked £3,000 an acre and another owner, against whom compulsory powers are to be put in force, a sum nearly approaching that price.

THE MORNING POST of February 17th gives this information. We should think that this is a case for prompt and serious action. The policy which leads to such a mischievous state of affairs is surely indefensible. Nothing essential to life and health seems to be secure to men so long as land monopoly exists. In this matter of getting school accommodation, the inhabitants of Tottenham and Walthamstow, northern and north-eastern working-class suburbs of London, have to wage a deadly war against landlordism.

Progress Increases Inequality.

The injustice of the present electoral basis was brought out clearly in the recent election. The principle of taking a man's land or house property as the basis of his right to vote was always unjust, but it is only now with the advance of science and engineering that this injustice is beginning to appear on a colossal scale. A hundred years ago a man might have twenty-five votes, but with the help of the stage coach he might only use three; now with the advent of the train and the motor car he can use seventeen and when the airship comes he may use the full twenty-five.

Mr. W. W. Walker, of Henley, has voted seventeen times during the election, and his brother, Mr. J. W. Walker, thirteen times. According to the HENLEY AND OXFORDSHIRE STANDARD, Mr. W. W. Walker, began by giving nine votes in three days, travelling by train and motor-car. The places were Henley, Stratford-on-Avon, and Wallingford on the first day; Basingstoke and Saffron Walden on the second day; and Wycombe, Newbury, Alton and Witney on the third day. During the next four days he visited Ely, Banbury, Cirencester, Evesham, Yeovil, Devizes, and Farnham. In all, Mr. Walker covered 1,315 miles by train—by sixty-five different trains—and 110 miles in twelve different motor-cars. Mr. Walker complains, the newspaper says, that, through the laxity of political agents, he has lost three votes by not being put on the registers at Windsor, Stroud, and Warminster, places where he and his brother are entitled to votes. In all, Messrs. J. W. and W. W. Walker (who are proprietors of Walker's Stores) are entitled to fifty votes between them (twenty-five each).

There is another case recorded of a gentleman, who voted six times in one day and travelled 276 miles to do it, with the help of a motor-car. "He was not to be beaten, with six votes for Tariff Reform in his pocket. The secrecy of the ballot did not worry him. It was Tariff Reform or nothing, and he meant to poll the lot."

"Many Remedies."

Mr. Sidney Webb gave the fourth lecture of a series on "Unemployment: Facts, Causes and The Remedies," at the London School of Economics on February 10th. There seem to be two defects in Mr. Webb's argument. He fails to make his case clear and he repeats what is now, an old, old story, about the *laissez-faire* policy. "The State," he said, "had always neglected to look after those who might be described as martyrs of industry. For too long they had been dominated by a set of people, who said it was best to let things alone. The Liberal assumption was that on the *laissez-faire* plan things would right themselves in the long run." The inaccuracy of speaking of unemployed men as martyrs to industry instead of as martyrs to privilege or monopoly, or to positively wicked State legislation, is a little worn out. This contention had a fascination for comfortable students of economics for many years. It is time that the old platitude about Liberalism and *laissez-faire* was dropped. There are three schools of thought with regard to this problem of unemployment: (1), those who maintain or wink at the privileges that cause it, and take little or no account of the victims; (2), those who maintain or wink at the privileges that cause it, and who doctor up the victims and send them back through the torture-mill again; (3), those who believe that the privileges which cause it should be razed to the ground, and work for this end.

Child Emigration.

The social unrest expresses itself in a multitude of forms. A new move has been made for the emigration of children from our towns to the Colonies. The MORNING POST has given itself to this proposal, and one of its correspondents, Mr. R. Palmer, of Oxford, urges that "a definite scheme should be inaugurated, which should be the complement of Tariff Reform in reducing unemployment to a minimum." These movements illustrate the amusing positions taken up by the Tariff Reformers. Sir Gilbert Parker and his friends come out one day with the cry, "Tariff Reform, and back to the land," and another crowd come out the next day with the cry, "Tariff Reform, and away from the land, over the sea." Nevertheless, we are making steady progress in the midst of these changing views.

An Escape from the Reversion Net.

A few days ago the LIVERPOOL MERCURY announced that the leases on the Sefton estates were to be extended on renewal to a term of 999 years. The present leases are for 75 years. This is the first case of any importance of an attempt to evade the operation of the Reversion Duty, but it illustrates the weakness of these Budget proposals. The endeavour to secure a portion of the land value by limiting taxes to such conventional lines as the termination of leases is too ineffectual to accomplish anything. Such a provision will cause a great deal of trouble to those who attempt to carry it out, as well as to those who attempt to evade its operations. The principle of the Taxation of Land Values if consistently applied would catch everything in its sweep, but when that principle is torn into fragments, it tantalises the fisherman, who uses it as a net, and does little else.

The View of a Successful Business Man.

Mr. John Cowan, chairman of Redpath, Brown and Co., Ltd., Steel Constructional Engineers, Edinburgh, Manchester, and London, speaking at a meeting at Penicuik on January 22nd, said his firm had leased land of a marshy nature near the Thames. The rent of the ground previously was £50, but under the lease the company had to pay a rent of £1200. We understand that this land is situated at Greenwich, just off Blackwall Lane.

Discussing the Unemployment question, Mr. Cowan cited his credentials, as a member of the Distress Committee in Edinburgh as well as of a Commission which inquired into the best means of finding employment for Highland boys. On this last point, he asked why these boys should ever have to leave their Highland homes and come down to our cities. It was because the landlords would not give the use of the land, when God himself had given it to the people.

When men of such proved business experience speak in this sane yet sympathetic way about business matters and social problems, there is great hope for the future of our country. It indicates that the Taxation of Land Values is making consistent progress in the worlds of business and morals.

The Unsettled Question of Small Holdings.

That every scheme providing small holdings has failed is proved by the perennial springing up of evidence in the most impartial quarters. Here is an instructive note from the MARK LANE EXPRESS of January 21st:—

"In last week's NORTHERN NOTES reference was made to a successful allotments farm where the rents average 24s. an acre. The landowners inclined to fix low rents are few, and glancing cursorily through the minutes of a county council allotments and small holdings committee, it is a matter for surprise to notice how many are the futile negotiations to secure land at a figure sufficiently reasonable. Take a typical case.

An enquiry relating to 23½ acres was made by the land agent of a council, and he reported: 'Part of the land is in a very bad state, and the rent of £42 per annum is excessive.' Result, no further action to be taken. Another farm of over 100 acres was sought after. The rent asked was 31s. 9d. per acre. Existing buildings in bad repair, and would not divide. To erect a new house and buildings would entail an expense prohibitive of recouping the council for the outlay. And so on *ad infinitum*."

We had occasion, a short time ago, to remark that the rejection of budgets was the lifelong business of the Lords, and we are not surprised that this impartial agricultural writer has noticed "how many are the futile negotiations to secure land at a figure sufficiently reasonable." This is the very centre of every tormenting problem which confronts legislators, and during this new Parliament, they should be made to appreciate the importance of considering it. It would be a great advantage if these legislators simply walked round this question, looked at it and asked what it meant. Having done this often enough they might realise that a greater outrage than the violation of the British Constitution is perpetrated every day. The rejection of national Budgets every year would be utterly intolerable, but no less so is the rejection of innumerable individual Budgets. Something even more sacred and more fundamental than the British Constitution is at stake here.

Unequal Rating in London.

A good illustration of the undervaluation due to our present system of assessment is the historic Holland House, situated in the midst of a private park of 70 acres. Its rateable value is only £2,917, or a little over £40 per acre per annum, although it was estimated, twenty years ago, that the land alone would sell for £10,000 per acre. It is situated in the middle of the Holland Ward of the Royal Borough of Kensington. The rest of the property in this ward extends to about 360 acres, and is rated at £325,000, or £900 per acre per annum.

The DAILY CHRONICLE of January 10th calls attention to this case, and points out the necessity for a new and impartial system of valuation.

"OUR POLICY."
 "We would simply take for the community what belongs to the community—the value that attaches to land by the growth of the community; leave sacred to the individual all that belongs to the individual."—Henry George.

AN INTERNAL CONFLICT.

What is outside of the melting-pot now? The Budget was breaking down the cast-iron land system which binds men and industry in chains, and, as if in sympathy with the fate of this strongest pillar in the temple of privilege all the accessory jewellery and ornaments were in the crucible, or on their way towards it. Everyone, except the timid Liberal, seemed ready to throw in something which he had hitherto defended as admirable and sacred and to take out something new. Landlords on the large scale, so often praised as indispensable bulwarks of the State, were to be melted down into small owners with the help of Unionist land banks and co-operation. The House of Lords, which had so nobly stood between the country and Socialism, was to be recast in another mould—by its own members. In the crisis precipitated by the Budget no institution or policy seemed to escape attack. The result has been a great advance in political interest. The thought that has been awakened has been largely the correct thought which precedes correct action, and correct action in politics quickly affects the lives of the people for good.

Since the election there has been a renewed attempt on the part of Unionists to formulate a land policy, and we devote considerable space in this issue to the reproduction of statements of that policy by the leaders. These statements have been called forth by the demands of their supporters. Tariff Reform, in spite of the pretensions of its advocates, does not satisfy the Unionist electors. The question of trade, whether under a protective tariff or a revenue tax is superficial, and it is well for the country that the common people are compelling the shallow politicians on either side to deal with the deeper problem of production. Let the present system of trade be maintained, it acts on a system which checks and destroys production. Establish Protection, it acts on the same system. The land question, the question of obtaining opportunities to produce, of finding secure tenure, of retaining the fruits of one's toil, is up, and there are men in the country, who, by God's help, will not suffer that question to go down, in spite of evasion and shuffling on either side.

While all this may be a tribute to the success of our work, the present is no time for relaxation of effort. The Unionists are vigilant enough, and are doubtless ready to

apply their Irish land policy to Great Britain, but this is not the quarter from which the gravest danger threatens. The immediate cause for apprehension lies in the internecine war that rages between the two distinct parts of Liberal policy, the two hostile elements which were present in the Budget itself. In the highest places of the Liberal party influences have been working to perpetuate the division of policy, to prevent the consistent application of Liberal principles to the reform of our land system. These influential people are active in belittling and repudiating the Taxation of Land Values. Previous to the election the Liberal Publication Department issued a pamphlet for farmers. The whole effect of this pamphlet is to discredit the Taxation of Land Values in the view of farmers, and to exalt the regulative legislation which is indicated under such headings as *Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act*, *Butter and Margarine Act*, *Destructive Insects and Pests Act*. The first sentence in this pamphlet runs: "It cannot be too strongly and definitely stated that in the Finance Bill agricultural land is not taxed." This is printed in heavy type. Under the heading *Increment Value Duty* the leading sentence is: "No duty is charged in respect of agricultural land," and, worst of all, under the heading *Undeveloped Land Duty* the first statement is: "Similar provisions, carefully safeguarding the interests of agriculture, govern the collection of Undeveloped Land Duty."

This is a sufficient indication of the views which have vitiated the Liberal policy on the land question. Turning to another side of Liberal activity, to the acts and speeches of leaders, the history of the past year offers, perhaps, the most humiliating spectacle that has been witnessed for many years in politics. The introduction of the Budget, the wonderful manner in which it rallied the Liberal party and won support in the country, the searching of hearts and purgation which it worked among politicians, its efficacy in forcing the Lords to an unconstitutional action, the coldness of its treatment by a large number of its nominal sponsors, its utter abandonment in the Prime Minister's Albert Hall speech, his reaching out in preference to Home Rule, his raising of Welsh Disestablishment,—neither of which, as they have been presented to the country, is calculated to win sufficient support—and, most fatal of all, his emphatic yet careless and loose treatment of the constitutional question in all its emptiness, a question which can only be raised and made ripe for treatment by the advance of some proposal as popular as the Taxation of Land Values and as objectionable to the privileged classes, the abandonment of the current Budget in the subsequent campaign, and the return to the defence and explanation of the 1846 Budget with all the tedious repetition of the speeches and articles that have been heard and read for the last seven years—all this mistaking of routes and landmarks and movements, all this blind leading of the blind, all this dragging of reluctant people who saw and knew better into diverse courses,

has taken place. Does anyone wonder that it has ended in humiliation?

Liberal Ministers chose the constitutional question as the fighting issue. It was unripe as an issue, and the choice, weak and mistaken in itself, led inevitably to mistakes in the handling of the subject. Mr. Redmond, as he was bound to do, has taken advantage of these mistakes, and, soon or late, the result will be confusion. There is no one who hoped to see a new era of freedom and prosperity open in Britain who will not feel the keenest disappointment and regret. Let us be candid with ourselves in this crisis. Let us recognise that ignorance of politics and economics and the consequent inertia are widespread and deeply rooted in the Liberal Government, that the Liberal policy in so far as it is determined by what Cobden called the Whig element is all against liberalism and progress.

The insolent and false assumption of the Liberals who are now starting new campaigns in favour of the old Free Trade is that the people of this country do not understand the meaning of Free Trade. They have had experience of it for sixty years. They have been hungry, they have gone with insufficient clothing, they have been poorly housed, they have had little scope in business, and have been obliged to kick their heels in idleness instead of developing their powers. The narrowness of their circumstances has made them bitter and blighted their instincts of love and generosity. This is the school and this is the language in which millions have learned the meaning of the present system, and the message of the Free Trader delivered in the language of statistics and theory is that the present system is good, by implication the best.

This stubborn conservatism which affects the Liberal party must be shaken off. The presence of injustice and the absence of liberty in the matter of using land are intolerable. What does it profit the farmers and labourers to-day that steam mills and binders do the work formerly done by flails and hooks, that fertilisers increase the crops tenfold? Mechanical and chemical progress unaccompanied by justice that moves and adapts itself to new conditions is a progress which tortures and destroys men. So long as the Government and the Liberal Publication Department assume that the Land System as it affects farmers or labourers is satisfactory and just, so long as they display their anxiety to safeguard the interests not of agriculture, not even of the ordinary improving landowner, but to respect and safeguard the prejudices of the worst obstructive landowner who rejects and drives out the men who would develop his land, there is grave danger that the country will accept any alternative to this policy that may be offered. The fall of the Government which stands for this policy is no loss to the country.

J. O.

THE UNIONIST POLICY OF OWNERSHIP.

TWO-THIRDS of the land in Germany used for agricultural purposes is owned by peasants, the other third is in the hands of the great landowners. By far the greater portion of this land is farmed by the owner; only a small portion is let to tenants, and this little is mostly owned by the State or by public institutions which endeavour to leave it as long as possible in the hands of the same tenant or his family. The result of this division of ownership is a great stability; the vocation and the home are one, while love for his birthplace and for his possession acts as a final incentive to the farmer to retain for himself and his family the property he has inherited from his father. This is only possible, however, if great industry is exercised and many of the joys and pleasures of life are foregone. In many

cases it is possible only when the entire family works conjointly, and when the individual sacrifices his existence to serve the whole.—Herr Zelter, a German landowner and farmer, in the *MORNING POST*, February 18th.

This is one form of the remarkable activity displayed by the Conservatives and Protectionists in the attempt to establish landlordism more firmly and to strengthen it by association with Tariff Reform. There is something that wins our admiration in the frank confession of the advocates of this policy that the small owners of land must set their account for a hard time. Herr Zelter's frank confession that great industry must be exercised and that many of the joys and pleasures of life must be foregone is one that we would commend to the people of this country. It is rather strange that Mr. Balfour, in his preface to Sir Gilbert Parker's pamphlet on small ownership and land banks, takes the same frank line. "The life of a small owner," he says, "although honourable and independent, is rarely an easy one. . . . It is laborious and requires the vigorous co-operation of all the members of the family who are able to help, be they young or old, male or female."

These frank and honest avowals are admirable, and we wish for nothing more on this side than that the advocates of landlordism should go boldly to the country and tell the rural people of Great Britain that the only hope for them, as cultivators of land, is for every member of the family to lead a life of toil, unbroken except by short spells, hardly sufficient for taking food and sleep. We are certain that the British people have had enough of that sort of life. The opportunity of toiling as beasts of toil has been given to them in abundance, and if Free Trade and development of manufactures have done nothing else than render people discontent with this mode of life which is less than half human, they have served a good purpose.

We are surprised at the *MORNING POST* with its fine hatred of Socialism allowing another part of Herr Zelter's statement to pass. "In many cases," he says, "it (success) is only possible when the entire family works conjointly, and when the individual sacrifices his existence to serve the whole." We have never been able to see how the interest of the whole has been served by the sacrifice of the part, and certainly the landlords have vehemently dissociated themselves from this view since the introduction of the Budget. The landlord policy seems to be that the poor small owner should sacrifice himself to the family, to the State, and that, on the contrary, the State should sacrifice itself to the large owner.

Herr Zelter goes on to praise "Protective legislation as the saviour of German agriculture. . . . A general improvement set in, the price of corn rose to a height which made the intensive method of cultivating it seem profitable, and the value of the land increased." It all seems a strange argument. Agriculture has been saved by the subjection of the agriculturist to the hardest and most unremitting toil. In this country a general improvement has set in since the introduction of Free Trade. If we have only about one million people engaged in agriculture as against seventeen millions in Germany we must have some seventeen millions engaged in other industries, the intensive pursuit of which is profitable, and under which the value of the land has increased. It is quite obvious that we cannot have seventeen million men engaged in agriculture and another seventeen millions in shipbuilding, house-building and manufactures. We are after much more in this country than a childish, autocratic and socialistic system of Protection and landowning, which compels our population to any one form of industry and to slavish labour at that. We are after a valuation system, and have nearly got it, which, when it is perfect, will leave to our industrious people the full interest on their capital and the full reward of their labour.

NEW ZEALAND EX-MINISTER ON THE ELECTION.

Mr. Robert McNab, Ex-Minister of Lands and Agriculture in the New Zealand Government, has given us the following impressions of the Election in answer to one or two questions.

You took part in the General Election in Scotland?

Yes, I took part in the election in Scotland on account of Dr. W. A. Chapple, a colleague of mine in New Zealand, who was a candidate for one of the country constituencies. Altogether my trip took me into eleven different constituencies, and I spoke on twenty-seven platforms.

How did the British campaign compare with those in which you have engaged in New Zealand?

Altogether the campaign was entirely different from my experience of the seven campaigns I have taken part in in New Zealand. From the point of view of the platform the subjects discussed are international and Imperial rather than Colonial and local as with us. The immense number of questions which are concerned with State enterprises in New Zealand are conspicuous here by their absence. This is a manifest advantage from the speakers' point of view, as it gives a wider range of subjects to deal with, and removes the personal grievance of the elector from the field. I confined myself more to questions dealing with the Colony, and to our experience of subjects brought into prominence in the Budget. Our experience in these matters is fairly wide and covers nearly the whole range of the Budget. For a number of years we have had in operation a land tax, different it is true from the Budget taxes, but open to the same reasoning, and thirteen and a half years of political work in New Zealand gave me a number of illustrations of its working which meet the problems of to-day in this country fairly well. My general impression of the treatment of the Budget proposals by the candidates was that while they were armed with illustrations to show how the taxes would be collected, in many cases advantage was not taken of the opportunity to use the illustrations to show the principle of the land tax, and how it would remedy the evils of the day. Probably many of the candidates were faced with the question for the first time, and were not altogether sure of their ground. In this connection I thought that the New Zealand platform would have made a better fight on the same question. On the other hand, the audiences were much better versed in the principles of land taxation as opposed to tariff reform than I expected to find them. This is true for practically the whole of Scotland and applies to social legislation of all kinds. I formed the impression that as electors they were fully abreast of electors in countries where social legislation is carried so far as in New Zealand and Australia, and it seems strange to me that legislation should lag so far behind public opinion. Probably public opinion is longer in expressing itself on the statute-book of this country than in the case of the younger countries. The taxation proposals and the House of Lords seemed to me to win the election in Scotland.

In the conduct of elections in New Zealand, the candidate is left entirely to himself. Nothing in the way of assistance on the platform is given him. This makes for more resource on the part of the candidate, but has its compensating disadvantage in the fact that the electors do not hear the subject thoroughly discussed. They probably see the candidate on only one platform during his campaign. Our electorates are much larger in area and the difficulties of travel make the conduct of the campaign very trying to the candidate. It seemed to me strange that in the General Election here candidates should be required to bear the costs of officers of the Government, as in the case of returning officers, but this is probably a relic of a Parliament which drew up laws in order to keep representation in the hands of the wealthy. An election in New Zealand will cost probably one twentieth of the cost in this country, our legal limit being £200. Organisation such as is got by Unionists and Liberals throughout the electorate is in New Zealand entirely unknown. I formed a very high opinion of the organisation generally and have no doubt it steadies immensely political opinion throughout the session of Parliament, and secures the maximum of representation on polling-day. Altogether there are many aspects of the campaign in this country which we could with advantage incorporate into our system in New Zealand.

How did the fiscal controversy impress you?

As to the protectionist argument, of course, as I was on the Liberal platform, I did not get an opportunity of hearing it fully stated, and had to trust to newspaper reports. So far as the Free Trade view is concerned it showed me how different were conditions in New Zealand compared with this country.

Here the bulk of the exports are manufactured articles and the bulk of the imports raw materials and foods. With us the bulk of the exports are raw materials and foods and the bulk of the imports manufactures. Nearly all the men who in the New Zealand legislature supported a modified form of protection have in this country supported Free Trade. What demand I encountered for Tariff Reform was due not so much to the merits of Tariff Reform in itself as to a desire for some change in present conditions, the cause of the complaint not being easily located. When attention was drawn to the peculiar condition of the land problem in Scotland I have heard it admitted at once that if Free Trade carried with it free access to land it would modify the view in connection with Tariff Reform. This is a statement given me by a prominent Unionist and it made me regret all the more that the Liberals too often separated their remarks on land taxation from their remarks on Free Trade. There were exceptions and they appeared to me to make the most effective speeches. As Mr. Dundas White said, "We do not want Free Trade taken from us but we want it extended from our manufactures to the occupancy of our land."

Can you give us a brief account of the progress made with taxation of land values in New Zealand and its effects?

In this country your lands are all held by private owners, and the question of dealing with subdivision and future holding appears to the New Zealander not to admit of any other method than land taxation. But when you come to speak of the land question in New Zealand, the New Zealanders are divided into two camps because of the fact that the larger portion of the country is held by the Crown and some think that no interference should take place with land that the Crown has itself not long since sold to private individuals until it has disposed of the remainder of the Crown estate. A large portion of the New Zealand land legislation has therefore had to do with fixing the terms and conditions under which lands have to be alienated from the Crown. There are two parties in New Zealand, firstly, those who believe that the purchaser should have the right to indicate the class of tenure he will take up the land under; secondly, those who believe that the substantial portion of the land should only be alienated under a leasehold tenure and a large revenue provided from rented Crown lands.

This is one of the subjects on which there is a division into two camps in New Zealand. At present the conditions regarding the holding of land provide for its occupancy, under terms that appear to prevent large estates in the future, and the feeling is gaining ground that in respect to the future generally, if estates can be prevented from growing to unreasonable size, the occupant of the land should have the right of fixing his own tenure, and whatever revenue is desired from land should be got by land taxation. We have at present a tax of a penny in the pound which is known as the ordinary land tax and we have another tax which increases from 1-16th of a penny to five pence in the pound on the larger estates. An estate, therefore, of about £200,000 would pay 6d. in the pound land tax, but if it were held in pieces not exceeding £5,000 worth, would pay only one penny in the pound land tax. I believe that when a settlement finally takes place between the freehold and the leasehold advocates it will be on the basis of freedom of tenure on the one hand, and the collection of the revenue required to be raised from land by land taxation on the other.

Has the land tax injured you in any way?

The land tax was introduced in 1891 and I suppose we have never had a more prosperous period in the history of the Colony than the period which followed that date, until last year when the effect of the big financial upheaval in America struck our country in the form of a sudden drop in the price of wool. This has since been recovered, and the latest reports from the Colony indicate that the worst of the depression is past.

I had an amusing experience in London one day in speaking to a man who came from New Zealand. He told me of the iniquities of the New Zealand Government in having introduced legislation which raised his taxation no less than five times what he had previously paid, and this rendered it necessary for him either to cut up his estate and sell it or hand it over to his family to work. He was so indignant that all I could do was to sympathise with him, and leave him without explaining that I was a member of the Government that was responsible for this policy. It should be stated that in addition to the ordinary land tax and the progressive tax, he was also liable to a special increment as an absentee owner of land. He fixed his own valuation at a higher figure than the Government did so as to secure the maximum price in the event of its being taken compulsorily. All this added to the amount paid as land tax.

TOLSTOY IN THE TWILIGHT.

By HENRY GEORGE, JR.

From the WORLD'S WORK for February.

For me the visit to Tolstoy was like a pilgrimage, yet it was more than a visit to a holy man. It was to meet for the first time the man of greatest moral influence in Russia, and perhaps in all North Europe, despite his excommunication by the Russian State Church.

I had wired from Taiga, Siberia, on my way from Japan asking if he would receive me; for the newspapers had reported him in feeble health. At Samara, three days later along the line, I received the answer: "I shall meet you with joy."

Tolstoy lives on his ancestral estate, a few miles out of Toula, in the prefecture of the same name. Toula is a night's ride east of Moscow. The Trans-Siberian Express put me down there in the morning.

I confess to some feelings of consternation when I found that English would not pass current. Nothing so disconcerts your Anglo-Saxon as to find himself in a place where his language is disregarded. Thus far I had gone round the world with no further equipment than English. It had served all ordinary purposes. Where an interpreter had been needed, some one or other had turned up. But in Russia it was different. Not only did English not meet the common exigencies, but of the outside languages it had less vogue than German and French. However, a young newspaper man, who had heard of my coming and was on the look-out, took me in hand; and although we were separated by tongue—for he could speak only Slavonic—I resigned myself to him and soon was being driven at a mad pace in a three-horse droshky for Tolstoy's home.

Of all the drivers of the world, perhaps the Russian droshky driver is the most brilliantly reckless. One of our horses was hitched between a pair of shafts; the other two swung clear on either side; and, whether over cobbled streets or macadamized roads, they sped with a fiery impetuosity that vividly pictured in the mind the chariot races in the Roman days.

We went out of brick-built, cobble-paved Toula, of perhaps fifty or sixty thousand inhabitants, and struck into a fine, smooth State road that is said to lead down from St. Petersburg and Moscow to Kieff. The road led through a hilly, open country, patched with waving grain and fields lying fallow. Here and there on the way were a few tall chimneys of manufacturing plants which for the most part were inactive; yet active or inactive, they were obvious by their infrequency, for Russia is almost altogether an agricultural country.

Once during our drive of ten miles or less, we came to a formidable toll-gate with a halted line of farm waggons being subjected to what the Chinese aptly call "squeeze." But in many respects China is a land of freedom compared with Russia. With its tolls, taxes, passports, prisons, banishments, exilings, and summary executions, the Russian Government seems to be the most ingenious yet devised for the embarrassment of industry and the brutalisation of the minds of men.

Leaving the open country, our road all at once cut through wooded tracts; and suddenly, without the slightest preparation,

I was impressed with the feeling that we were on enchanted ground—the home of fairies and elves, once perhaps the scene of knightly valour. Great firs—the finest and oldest I had ever seen—mixed with ancient cedars and pines, threw their points defiantly to the sky. Deeply buried in the darkened heart of the woods I pictured in imagination the ruins of a castle that once had rung with the shouts of merrymakers passing the wassail, with the songs of women at their spinning, or the death-cries of besiegers and besieged. So strongly did this feeling attach itself to this place that I was moved subsequently to make inquiry. I found that the woods had a history. There the old Russian chivalry had made a stand against the inroads of the terrible Tartars, and at last had driven them back.

Tolstoy's Beautiful Estate.

It seemed a fitting preparation for the approach to the Tolstoy estate, of which we caught first sight from a hill-top on leaving the woods. To the north-east a single line of trees marked its nearest border.

The estate goes by the old name of "Yasnaya Polyana," which means, if I am correctly informed, "Clearing in the woods." It is more than 2,000 acres in extent, and comprises agricultural lands, woods, and a small park set off for the household. The park is on the south side, and there the house stands, two or three hundred yards back from stately brick and stucco posterns that mark the main entrance. A huddle of straw-thatched farmers' huts you pass to the left as you enter.

The perfume of flowers came with a spray of raindrops from overhanging boughs as we passed up a winding driveway. The gray mirror of a small lake shone on one hand, and on the other a picturesque brook. Rounding between two huge clusters of white and purple lilacs, we came upon the house—white, ample, two-storied, solid, with a curious border of doll-babies and Noah's Ark animals outlined with a saw in a porch balustrade.

A couple of stone steps and a small platform were in front of the doorway where we drew

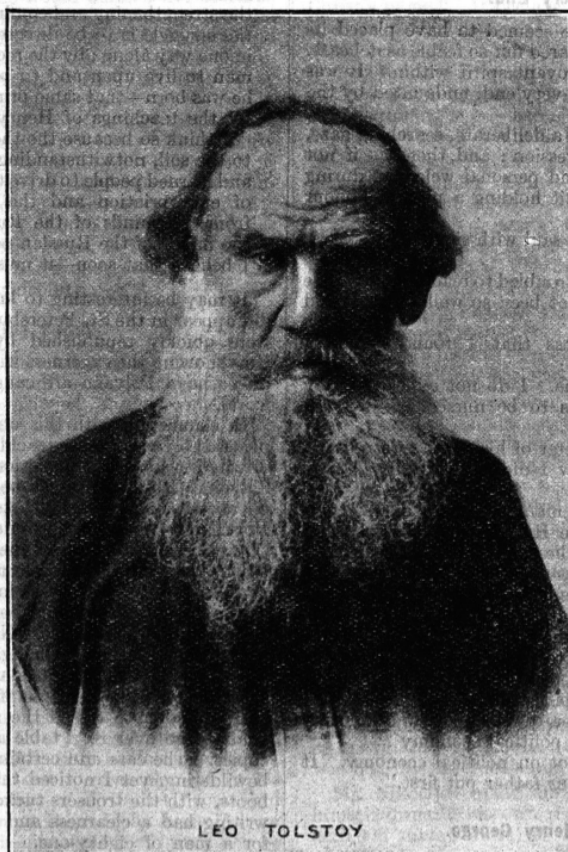
up. At the sound of our horse's bells several men came forth, two in blouses of some blue stuff. Word of our leaving Toula had been sent, so that we were expected.

Presently Count Leo Tolstoy, the namesake and third son, appeared in a business suit of mixed cloth. He is something past forty and has a striking head and personality, with fine large, brown, luminous eyes. He wears a reddish beard, and his hair is thinning on top.

He gave me a cordial welcome in English. I presently found that all the members of the family spoke English—easy, ready, fluent English—although at times, from a delicate politeness, affecting to apologise for it to soften a compliment.

Young Count Tolstoy said that his father was waiting, so after laying aside our outer things we proceeded upstairs.

The stairs and the floors generally were of unvarnished and unpolished wood, but spotless. There were few rugs. The walls were mostly white; in places, they carried a soft, unobtrusive colour. Everywhere you caught the feeling of simplicity, utility, and strength. Everywhere you also caught the feeling



LEO TOLSTOY

of art and literature, although many of the pictures were only photographs and portraits, at that. But there were books, anywhere, everywhere; not for show, but obviously for use.

At the top of a winding stairway was a turn, and going through an ante-room, we entered Tolstoy's workroom, and the presence of the seer himself.

He was seated in a wheel-chair, which he had begun to use at the Crimea some six or eight years ago, when seriously ill at that time. His feet were on a level with his hips, and covered with a rug. He wore the long peasant's blouse of light yellow coarse stuff, such as appears in some of his latter-day pictures, and on his head was what does not so often appear—a skull-cap of the same material. The face was the one familiar the world over—grey eyes sparkling through shaggy, overhanging brows; seamed forehead; thin, floating grey hair; thin, flowing moustache and beard around a restless mouth; and a nose that at times seemed sharp and at times flat.

Working to the very End.

As he sat there in the chair, age seemed to have placed its hand heavily upon him; yet he appeared not so feeble as delicate. But the eyes revealed the keen, buoyant spirit within. It was a life joyously spending itself to the very end, undaunted by the approach of death.

Before he spoke, Tolstoy gave me a deliberate, searching gaze, mixed with a peculiarly kind expression; and then, as if not displeased, offered a very cordial and personal welcome, during which I noticed my father's portrait holding a post of honour on the wall.

"Your father was my friend," he said with singular sweetness and simplicity.

I asked after his health. "I was troubled to read in a Japanese newspaper a report that you had not been so well," I ventured to say.

He answered with the frankness that I found to be a characteristic of the whole family:

"I am now quite old—eighty-one. I do not expect to stay much longer. One of my feet has to be nursed. But I am keeping at work."

He gave me a smile as if the matter of his death was nothing at all; as if he said: "To-morrow I die. Meanwhile, I have another book to write."

What could death be to such a man? What could excommunication be, or that edict of the Holy Synod to refuse him burial in consecrated ground when he should die? What cares he for Synods, consecrated ground, and all the rest of it? His business is to work while life is in his body. As to what happens when the breath has fled—well, "that is the business of Jupiter."

And as for the common view of the Synod's decree—a decree now some years old—it is likened to the Russian saying that, "while the iron is hot, one dare not approach too closely; but when time has cooled it, you may spit on it."

As to the work, I said I had heard that there was another book under way. Did it deal with political economy?

"No," he answered; "this is not on political economy. It treats of moral questions, which your father put first."

Tolstoy endorsing Henry George.

This led him to refer to an article on my father's teachings, for which my visit had served as a text and which he had just sent off to a Petersburg newspaper. "Perhaps the paper will fear to print it, for we have little freedom here, and there is little discussion. But if that paper will not print it, then I hope to get it into another."

He handed me a copy of the article. It was in the Slavonic language. When translated, I found the following passages, which throw a strong light upon social, governmental, and revolutionary conditions in Russia to-day, as well as showing the vigour and hope of this wonderful old man's mind:

The land question is, indeed, the question of the deliverance of mankind from slavery produced by the private ownership of land, which, to my mind, is now in the same situation in which the questions of serfdom in Russia and slavery in America were in the days of my youth.

The difference is only that, while the injustice of the private ownership of land is quite as crying as that of slave ownership, it is much more widely and deeply connected with all human relations; it extends to all parts of the world (slavery existed only in America and Russia) and is much more tormenting to the land slave than personal slavery.

How strange—one might say how ridiculous, were they not so cruel, and did they not involve the suffering of the majority of the toiling masses—are those attempts at the reconstruction of society proposed and undertaken by the two inimical camps—governmental and revolutionary—through all kinds of measures, with the exception of that one which alone can destroy that crying injustice from which the overwhelming majority of the people are suffering, and which at once would extinguish the revolutionary mood of the people, which when driven inward is still more dangerous than when it outwardly appears.

I rejoice at the thought that, no matter how far may be the governmental and revolutionary workers from the reasonable solution of the land question, it nevertheless will be—and very soon—solved, especially in Russia; and by no means by those strange, groundless, arbitrary, unfeasible and, above all, unjust theories of expropriation, and the still more foolish governmental measures for the destruction of village communes and the establishment of small land-ownerships, i.e., the strengthening and confirming of that system against which the struggle is to be directed; but it will and must be solved in one way alone; by the recognition of the equal right of every man to live upon and to be nourished by the land on which he was born—that same principle which is so invincibly proved by the teachings of Henry George.

I think so because the thought of the equal right of all men to the soil, notwithstanding all the efforts of the "educated" and learned people to drive that thought by all kinds of schemes of expropriation and the destruction of village communes from the minds of the Russian people, nevertheless lives in the minds of the Russian people to-day, and sooner or later—I believe that soon—it must be fully realised.

It may be interesting to know that these vigorous utterances did appear in the St. Petersburg newspaper, and from that paper were quickly republished by many journals in many lands, thus showing the eagerness with which the utterances of the Sage of Yasnaya Polyana are caught up and spread throughout the world.

In connection with this unqualified espousal of what he was pleased to call "the teachings of Henry George," my host directed that the translations of the George books into the Slavonic (Russian) tongue be brought to him. They proved to be all of the principal books except *THE OPEN LETTER TO THE POPE* (obviously inappropriate for Russia where the Greek Church holds sway), and the unfinished *SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY*. He also showed me a large number of the translated pamphlets and lectures—all in cheap form for popular circulation. The translator and populariser of the works is his intimate friend and neighbour, Sergej Dm. Nikolajev, who, he said, would come to the house in the evening.

Tolstoy talked with the utmost fervour and enthusiasm of the truth of these books as if the matter was impersonal to me, and he suddenly tossed the rug off his feet and got out of his chair to go over to a table and write his name in some of the copies. The ease and certainty with which he moved was quite bewildering, yet I noticed that he wore a pair of old-style high boots, with the trousers tucked inside the boot-legs. The handwriting had a clearness and firmness that was truly wonderful for a man of eighty-one.

And, even as he wrote, his mind indicated its variety and range. For instance, he touched upon Japan, whence I had just come. "I want to know many things about that progressive country," he said. "I believe the Japanese are a great people. I have had most instructive talks with Mr. Kenjiro Tokutomi, a Japanese writer. Do you know him?"

I said that I had met his brother, Mr. E. Tokutomi, editor of the powerful Tokio daily, *KOKUMIN*, which is popularly regarded as the special mouthpiece of the present Katsura Government.

Leaving the subject of Japan for special consideration later, the philosopher spoke of the volume and wide extent of his correspondence, some letters coming from parts of the world and in languages of which he knew nothing. They put him to some pains to learn what they were about. A large part of his correspondence was made up of inquiries about his writings, and a considerable portion asked about the land question.

He showed with some satisfaction a letter from Mr. William J. Bryan, whose moral nature he holds in high admiration. The letter accompanied a published reply to ex-President Roosevelt's attack in *THE OUTLOOK* on Tolstoy's views on passive resistance as applicable to present-day individual and national affairs. Tolstoy made no direct comment on what Mr. Roosevelt

had said, as if not worth the while. But as to politics, he remarked: "I take no interest in them, and I cannot understand why your father risked his life in them."

"To bring his ideas into practical discussion," I answered. That brought up England's hysterics about national defence. The Sage's observation was characteristic:

"Navies are not necessary to people who desire to be at peace," said he, "but only to people who wish to rob and murder. For robbery logically ends in murder. All this building of warships is a sign that some people who have the power are preparing to go off on new expeditions to rob and murder."

In this touch-and-go way Tolstoy ran over many subjects until I asked permission for a friend to take some photographs. Confident of consent, I had invited this friend, who was an expert photographer, to accompany me to Yasnaya Polyana. The Count readily acceded to my wish, and the pictures thus specially taken are presented with this article.

Even here the philosopher's mind revealed its alertness. For when the photographer said that he would make a five seconds' exposure, owing to the poor light that came into the room from the grey day without, our host evidently counted, and announced that the pose had been longer than five seconds—to the photographer's surprise and embarrassment. But the test of the pudding is in the eating, and the pictures turned out well.

It now being the time of afternoon for the daily nap, which is part of Tolstoy's present necessary routine—for the family watch his health with loving care—we withdrew. There is now no labouring in the fields, or cobbling of shoes or strenuous physical toil, as of yore. While not ailing in any alarming way, except for the swelling of the feet, Count Tolstoy, with his crowded life of more than four-score years, is in very delicate health; and for a man of his high-strung temperament he yields to medical advice with surprising docility.

Tolstoy's Interesting Family.

While our host was sleeping, I strolled through the gardens with the son, Leo junior, whom I found to be delightfully companionable—full of reading, wide-visioned, and arriving at his conclusions by independent thought; proving that he is not a mere follower in the footprints of his famous father. He has an artistic bent, and without any instruction whatever has taken to sculpture as a pastime, having a fine bust of his father in process when I visited Yasnaya Polyana. He was pleased to allow my photographer friend to take for me a picture of him standing beside the unfinished bust of his father.

But young Tolstoy's serious business in life is as a playwright; and, like his father, he strives to make his writings teach things. One of his plays deals with Russian politics. He knew full well that if he placed the scene in Russia the play would never pass the censor. So he laid it in America, and used American names. Its application to Russia was obvious, but it passed the censor and had a very successful run in St. Petersburg.

As we walked in the garden on the south side of the house, under boughs filled with raindrops from a recent shower, young Tolstoy said that the family studied to keep his father in happy surroundings; and that this had been a great element in his father's career—happiness in his work. "My father," remarked my companion, "says that the man is made by himself from within; but I say that my father is unconscious of how much he himself owes to things from without. One thing—he has had my mother." And love rang in the young man's voice.

When I met this mother presently, I appreciated this love and admiration. Countess Tolstoy, at sixty-four, is a commanding woman. She married the Count when she was seventeen and he was thirty-four. She believed in him, moulded herself to him, helped him in every turn, taught herself to be his confidant and counsellor, without losing her own independence of character and will to assert her diverging views, where such occasionally occurred. She gave to him the strength of her body, mind, and spirit; and he leaned on her—leaned a great part of his weight—drew from her, depended on her in a thousand ways. Suppose she had been another kind of woman—one who thought chiefly of herself, with other kind of ambition for him, and had tried to bend him to it: What then? The world would have had a different Tolstoy—perhaps one who would not have spoken so to the hearts and spirits of scores of millions of men.

Another great element in Tolstoy's life has been the possession of the estate Yasnaya Polyana, which meant freedom from the harrying cares of finding a subsistence. Suppose he had been born poor?

And then that south garden in which I walked under the

Count's workroom windows—that garden with its perfumes and nightingales, its ancient trees and beauties of water, lawns and shrubs; that garden that changes its aspect with changing seasons—it must have powerfully influenced his mind, as when, for instance, he drew out the life-story of ANNA KARENINA, or set down the self-interrogatories of MY RELIGION, or wrote with lava heat WAR AND PEACE, or poured out his heart's sympathies in OUR SLAVERY OF TO-DAY. That south garden must have had a part, and a large part, in all this.

It was with something of these reflections, between the chatings, that I was viewing this garden, when three tattered men came up the main drive, and, at a motion from my companion, passed to the rear of the house. "Beggars," it was explained. "It is a rule here that any one asking alms shall not go away empty-handed." And I found that each beggar received five kopecks (about three cents).

It flashed on me that here was a fruit of the great moralist's witnessing a beggar in Moscow arrested "for begging alms in Christ's name." It occurred twenty-eight years ago—in 1881—the first time Tolstoy got a real conception of the poverty of a modern city. It is vividly described in the opening of WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

These three beggars whom I saw at the Tolstoy house were of the cringing type—bereft of hope and pride, and transformed into dogs that lick the feet.

It was pleasant to turn from them to a primitive game of tennis which, under the trees at some distance, the youngest daughter of the house—the Countess Alexandria, a splendid type of physical woman of twenty-five—was playing with some friends. She is her father's secretary, but, as she said, "one can't keep writing all the time; so I come out here in all possible weathers and engage in this not over-clean exercise."

She held up her hands, which truly were "of the earth earthy"; but roses were in her cheeks and vigour in her form, and she hurled a club instead of a ball a distance of twenty-five or thirty feet in a way that made the blocks, instead of pins, fly.

The hour for the evening meal had come. We repaired to the great room of the house. It was flanked by large windows. On the other two walls hung oils of the Count and his line. The floor was of polished hardwood. A long table, set for a dozen or more, ran down the centre, with piano, chairs, and various other furniture distributed about.

The Countess took one end of the table, a great samovar in front of her. Her daughter occupied the other end. On the Countess's right sat the Count; on her left, her son. I sat beside the Count, with Sergej Dm. Nikolajev, the translator of the George books, on my other hand.

When questioned about my recent journey across Russia, I remarked that I had observed that the land was everywhere cultivated, but that the houses of the farmers were the poorest of huts.

The Count's comment was that the working farmer got little of his produce in Russia; that the great part of the best land was held by the nobles and other favoured individuals.

Mr. Nikolajev made the astounding statement that the Czar himself owns in his own right more than 500,000 square versts (220,000 square miles) of the finest land of the Altai district, near Barnaul; and that he owns much land elsewhere besides.

Just then I perceived that a manservant was presenting a platter of chicken croquettes.

"You are not a vegetarian?" asked the Countess. "I feel myself getting in that direction," I answered, but nevertheless I helped myself.

"You should become wholly so," exclaimed the Count. Glancing at the plate of his son across the table, and observing a croquette, I said: "I observe that your son is not so."

The Countess, who had also taken a croquette, spoke up: "No, the Count did not come to vegetarianism until after his son was born."

I relate this incident to indicate the personal independence of the members of the family.

Another side of this wonderful man was exhibited when he was asked what the thought of his own novels, now that he looked back through the years at them.

"I believe I've forgotten what they are about," he answered.

"I can promise you a great treat if you will read them," I said.

"No," was his reply, "I have more important work to do. The times remind me of the conditions that existed when I was a young man and chattel slavery was being destroyed in America

and serfdom in this country. Now we face industrial slavery, and that will be destroyed too."

Closing the Day with Melody.

After much more, and the meal had been finished, and the dishes cleared away, the feast of the evening—music—came; something that the Count had looked forward to, as he had early in the afternoon promised me a treat. A youth of eighteen, from the Petersburg conservatory, played a pianoforte accompaniment, with remarkable precision and delicacy, for an older man, Boris Trojanovsky, perhaps twenty-five, who proved to be a marvel on the "ballalajka," the Russian national instrument, a kind of triangular, three-stringed guitar. He played for the best part of two hours from Tchaikovsky and other masters. He held his audience entranced. He is pronounced the finest player in Russia and undoubtedly will, before many years, be heard on this side of the Atlantic.

Tolstoy was chief listener, but what struck me most was when he arose, took me by the arm, and led me off to his work-room, leaving the intervening doors open. "They are going to play 'The Nightingale,'" he said. "I want you to say if at times from here it does not sound like a woman's voice?"

I listened to the subdued notes as they floated into our retired place, and some of them did sound like a woman's voice—a voice filled with a heart-longing. It revealed in the old man of eighty-one the active spirit of poetry and romance that had created ANNA KARENINA.

While we stood there in his workroom I asked him for a portrait of himself, with his autograph. He immediately produced a picture from a cupboard, and sat down at a table to write on it.

"Would it be good English to say, 'With best love'?" he asked.

"It would be the English that honours most," I replied.

"I loved your father," he rejoined simply. And then, after a pause, during which he wrote his name on the picture, he said: "They arrest men here in Russia for circulating my books. I have written them asking why they arrest such men, who are blameless. Why not arrest the man who wrote the books? But they did not reply, and they do not arrest me."

Then he said, rising: "if you will not stay and sleep with us, I must urge you to go at once to catch your train."

And at the head of the stairway he stopped and took my hand, saying simply: "This is the last time I shall meet you. I shall see your father soon. Is there any commission you would have me take to him?"

For a moment I was lost in wonder at his meaning. But his eyes were quietly waiting for an answer.

"Tell him the work is going on," I replied.

He nodded, and I departed, feeling that I had been privileged to talk with the greatest man on earth.

HERE AND THERE.

"The mind of the country elector is an unknown quantity."—DAILY TELEGRAPH.

Labourer: "Maister Jarge, be you a-goin' to take them stairs away?"—Maister Jarge: "Noa, Willum."

Labourer (after weighing the matter carefully): "Then be you a-goin' to lave 'em oop?"—Maister Jarge: "Ay."—PUNCH.

"The recent General Election does not represent Scotland as it is, much less Scotland as it will be." This was Mr. Balfour's telegram to a Conservative meeting in Glasgow, on February 9th. We cannot understand why Mr. Balfour took the trouble to express this opinion. We thought everyone knew Mr. Balfour's opinion to be that the House of Lords represents Scotland as it was, is and shall be.

Mr. Rhys, the defeated Unionist candidate for East Denbigh, said after the declaration of the poll, that "he had been fighting in that contest, not Mr. Hemmerde—against whom he had nothing to urge—but a greater man than he, Mr. Lloyd George, and it was because of him and his Budget that they stood beaten that day."

Sir Reginald McLeod stood as Tory candidate for Inverness-shire. He was rejected by a heavy majority and immediately rushed to the TIMES to tell the Englishman what a dour, ignorant and prejudiced crowd of people the Highlanders are. The Highlanders still remember the tyranny of Sir Reginald McLeod's ancestors and other landowners who evicted them from their homes.

"It is doubtless the case that, if Tariff Reform had been submitted to the people as the single issue, it would have swept the field. But the Government, well knowing the deep unpopularity of Free Trade, were careful to confuse the issue. They complicated it with the Budget."—DAILY MAIL.

Yet there are dear old gentlemen of the Early Edwardian era, with memories stretching back to November, 1909, who can still recall the legend, current at that time, that the Lords "referred the Budget to the people"! Yes, the Budget, dear DAILY MAIL.—PUNCH.

Sir A. Conan Doyle, in a letter to a Selkirk gentleman, writes: "I have seen a good bit of this world during my 50 years, but if I were asked what was the queerest thing I have ever seen I should certainly say it was to see the British workmen voting hard to get manufactured articles free into this country. Think of the Hawick Burghs voting for free imports of woollen goods. However, in the South and Midlands sanity has begun to prevail, and we hope it will get North through time."

The village of Donington, Lincolnshire, with a population of under 1,500, has an abundance of charities, no less than £1,600 per annum being distributed from charitable funds by the parish council and various trustees. The largest trust is that held by Cowley's trustees, who have an income of about £1,100 to administer, and devote it entirely to educational purposes. The whole of the elementary education rate is paid from this source, and the balance allocated to the grammar school. Millson's trustees disburse about £350 a year. They provide a dozen pensioners with 6s. per week, and at Christmas give away a large number of tickets for coal, meat, grocery, &c.

Dear Mr. Punch,—I am rich beyond the need of further avarice, and from time to time I have liberally fed the Party coffers. I should therefore in the ordinary course of things have a claim to be one of the few selected for the rare honour of a Peerage. But if the Upper Chamber, upon which I have been careful to direct only modified ridicule, is going to be swamped by the creation of five hundred outsiders from the Lord alone knows where, what becomes of my well-earned nobility? Every new Peer will become a laughing-stock, without distinction of persons. Yet I dare not vote in the Commons against the removal of the veto, lest I should get into trouble, and not be included even in the five hundred. It is a rotten dilemma, isn't it? Yours faithfully, Vox Clamantis.—PUNCH.

Some of the farmers on the Thorney Estate who availed themselves of the Duke of Bedford's offer to acquire their own holdings are reselling at handsome profits though the purchase has not to be completed before Lady Day. Over 20 farms have already changed hands again, in one case a profit of several thousands being made.

Mr. Lester sends us a cutting from the OTTAWA JOURNAL:—"Canadian politics at their best—or worst—cannot touch a certain brand of British. For instance, at Dereham, in Mid-Norfolk, when the Conservative was going from one fainting fit to another, from excitement and overwork, a mob chased the Liberal candidate into the canal, and having got him there, stood on the bank howling for his gore. In the meanwhile for good measure a group of suffragettes was hurling rocks at everything breakable and smashing windows on every side. Even West Elgin in its palmy days would look like a prayer meeting beside that Bedlamic combination, and yet they say the British are a phlegmatic race."

This is a good instance of story-telling, as we believe there is no canal within 50 miles of Dereham.

At Ruthin, in Denbighshire, a movement has been started for the establishment of a factory for the slaughter of pigs and the curing of bacon. A new company has been registered, and a meeting was held on February 1st to discuss business. The

benefits which would accrue to the district from the new industry were explained by several speakers.

In the course of his speech, Mr. C. W. Sandells said: "Many farmers now kept from five to ten pigs, but why not fifty —?"

Mr. Isaac Roberts (Trefnant): Where will they keep them? (Laughter, and hear, hear.)

Mr. Sandells: If you have no place to keep them, that is the fault of the landlord.

Mr. Isaac Roberts: No doubt about that. (Laughter.)

Mr. Sandells: Then I am sorry that you have such rotten landlords. (Laughter.) * * *

At one of his election meetings, Dr. Chapple, who owns land in New Zealand, was asked if he did not make part of his fortune by buying land and selling it at a profit. The Chairman interposed that that was a personal question, but Dr. Chapple said he would answer it. It was true he bought a swamp and drained it. It contained rapoo, water, and ducks. He planted men on it instead of ducks, and it was yielding him an income which enabled him to stand for Stirlingshire. He paid the ordinary land tax, the graduated land tax, the unearned increment, and now the absentee land tax. He enjoyed them all.

* * *

"The group which seems to have emerged most successfully from the struggle has been that concerned in the advocacy of the taxation of land values."—London correspondent of the YORKSHIRE OBSERVER on February 17th.

POLITICAL SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

THE KING'S SPEECH.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

My relations with all foreign Powers continue to be friendly. The establishment of the Union of South Africa has been fixed at the end of May, when its new Government will be constituted, and soon afterwards the first Parliament, representing a consolidated electorate, will be ready to assemble for its important deliberations.

I am sending My son, the Prince of Wales, to make an extended journey through My South African possessions in the autumn, before opening, in My name, the first Session of the new Legislature at Cape Town.

It is with peculiar interest and pleasure that I contemplate this visit, when My son will have the privilege, not for the first time, of inaugurating the Parliamentary life of a great united Dominion, and will convey to South Africa, on behalf of Myself and the Empire, our ardent prayers for the welfare and future progress of her people.

In conformity to the important measure of last year for extending the functions of the Legislative Councils in India and increasing the number of their Members, those bodies have been elected, and have met. They have entered, with good promise, upon the enlarged duties and responsibilities entrusted to them.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—

The estimates for the service of the ensuing year will be laid before you in due course. They have been framed with the utmost desire for economy; but the requirements of the Naval Defence of the Empire have made it necessary to propose a substantial increase in the cost of My Navy.

You will also be asked to complete the provision which was made in the last Session of Parliament for the year about to expire, but to which effect has not yet been given.

The expenditure authorised by the last Parliament is being duly incurred; but as the revenue required to meet it has not been provided by the imposition of taxation, recourse has been had, under Parliamentary sanction, to temporary borrowing. Arrangements must be made at the earliest possible moment to deal with the financial situation thus created.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

Recent experience has disclosed serious difficulties, due to recurring differences of strong opinion between the two branches of the Legislature.

Proposals will be laid before you, with all convenient speed, to define the relations between the Houses of Parliament, so as to secure the undivided authority of the House of Commons over Finance, and its predominance in Legislation. These Measures, in the opinion of My advisers, should provide that this House should be so constituted and empowered as to exercise

impartially, in regard to proposed legislation, the functions of initiation, revision, and, subject to proper safeguards, of delay.

I pray that the blessings of Almighty God may attend your labours.

INTERVIEW WITH MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.

(From MORNING POST, 7th February.)

It has been the privilege of some of those who are closely identified with the Imperial cause to see Mr. Chamberlain frequently during the last few years, particularly on the occasions of his visits to London. But the last time that I saw him at Highbury was in 1906, immediately after the General Election. That occasion came back vividly to my mind when I visited Highbury again last week, and when I had a long talk with Mr. Chamberlain and obtained his permission to write down as much as I could remember of our conversation and to publish it in the MORNING POST.

To-day, after another General Election, one finds, strengthened if possible, all the old characteristics—the same indomitable spirit, the same wide outlook and bold intellectual sweep—which make the great statesman a giant among the politicians of the day. If the last four years have produced any change at all in him intellectually it may possibly be found in an intangible difference between judgments formed by the same leader when fighting at the head of his followers and when directing the fight from a point of observation. And as he faces one there are moments when it is difficult to believe that he has passed through a severe illness; there is the same extraordinarily youthful appearance; the same charming and courteous smile; and the same cheerful and unconquerable optimism. He is the embodiment of two sayings which I have heard him more than once repeat during the dark days that followed the 1906 Election—days throughout which he has communicated something of his own courage to his followers. The first, a very simple phrase, yet profound in its simplicity—"You shouldn't be afraid," used, when I have heard it, with reference to preaching the food duties; the other, equally characteristic—"I have never seen the good of giving in. If you don't give in something always happens."

Nobody was ever less in the mood to give in than Mr. Chamberlain at the present moment. He has followed the elections with the utmost keenness. His public letters of encouragement to candidates, his election address, and his manifesto have played a great part in the campaign that is closed; he has been in constant personal communication with those who have been fighting the battle of the polls on the Unionist side, not only in the Midlands, but in every part of the United Kingdom; his unrivalled political experience has often been appealed to in the course of the contest. During the last few weeks he has worked more than at any time since his illness. And now that it is all over, and that the exertion and the excitement are past, he notes the enormous progress made by his policy. He realises that it has not won yet, but that even its opponents now see that it is bound to win. The elections have, in his opinion shown that the final victory "will take a little longer than we had hoped" to achieve, but they have made that victory more certain than ever. The efforts of Unionists must, therefore, he urges, be continued with increasing force, and above all the work of education must be carried on.

I reminded him how the Ministerial Press was declaring that the elections have proved a triumph for their policy. "The longer I live," he replied, "and the more experience I gain, the less I believe in pretending you've won when you're beaten."

As for ourselves, he continued, we had not done as well as he had expected, but there had been an enormous increase in the votes given for Tariff Reform, and Tariff Reformers in the House of Commons would now be stronger than ever before. London had brought disappointments that it was difficult to explain. We had done badly in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and in Scotland we had actually lost some of the ground that we had made.

"Scotland," he observed, "is very conservative. The leaders of the party there seem to have been afraid of Tariff Reform and put it off too long. It's no good trying to preach it at the eleventh hour. Some of the local leaders both in Scotland and in the North of England have not backed us up as they should." Still, the blow to the Government had been very great. "Our people here," he said—and his voice took a tone of affectionate pride as his thoughts turned to the city and district between which and himself there is a bond such as never before united a great statesman with a great democratic community—"our people here have played up better than ever this time."

"Yes," I replied, "and the only consolation the Liberals can find is in spreading the story that at Highbury you are in a constituency which is represented by a Liberal."

"But that isn't so," answered Mr. Chamberlain, with some amusement; "here we are in East Worcestershire, and I am represented by Austen, for whom I recorded my vote at the polls. You may contradict that story."

The talk again turned on the political situation in Scotland and the North. The land taxes and the Budget are, he thinks, popular in these constituencies, and Tariff Reform lost many votes owing to the successful abuse and misrepresentation to which the Lords—who had been purposely confused with landlords—were subjected. This, he believed, accounted very largely for the loss in Scotland of some of the ground previously won. But in all his conversation there was not the slightest trace of despondency. If there had been a small set-back in Scotland the cause had prospered elsewhere; and the weakness in the North was all the more reason for harder work, not only in preaching Tariff Reform but in developing the other progressive sides of Unionist policy. Particularly must we put forward serious and definite proposals with regard to the land question. He had always been in favour of increasing the number of occupying owners and helping them in every way with the resources of the State, by education, by encouraging co-operation, and so on. On this question we must have a definite policy before the next General Election, which might come at any moment.

"But," he continued, "Tariff Reform is, and must remain, the main object of our policy. Where we have won, we won on Tariff Reform. Where we lost, Tariff Reform was still our best friend. There are no doubt exceptions, but, speaking generally, we did best in those places where Tariff Reform had been preached longest and most boldly. We fared worst where the local leaders had been most vacillating or most timid."

"Yes," I said, "and the same men are now suggesting that we should change our policy or drop the Imperial side of it in order to get rid of the food taxes."

"If they drop Tariff Reform," Mr. Chamberlain replied, "what do they think they are going to put in its place? Even from their own point of view they are wrong. Tariff Reform is the most popular part of our policy. They will find nothing to replace it."

"But," he continued, "these are the wobblers. There are always wobblers when a great policy is proposed—men who are frightened at its greatness and cannot see that in its greatness lies its strength. We have had too many wobblers. They are no good. Men who are frightened themselves cannot put strength into others. But there will be fewer wobblers in future. In many parts of the country the working classes are far ahead of their leaders on Tariff Reform. This isn't as it should be. Some of the local leaders and some of the speakers have been afraid of the Food Duties. It is no good waiting till you are asked questions about the Food Duties; it looks as if you were afraid of them; you must deal with them boldly and straightforwardly. They are very simple to explain, and when explained are always understood. But, after all, we have overcome our greatest difficulty in regard to them, for people can't go on repeating the same lie, and the little loaf and black bread lies are now played out, and I don't think we shall hear much of them at the next Election."

Then the conversation turned on the position of the Government.

"I should think," Mr. Chamberlain remarked with a smile, "that Mr. Asquith must have gone away very cross with his people. They have let him down badly. They told him they were going to sweep the country with the Budget, and now he is dependent on the Irish. He will find them hard taskmasters, but he won't give them Home Rule—he will get out of it somehow."

We then discussed the prospects of the Government and the Opposition at some length. The position was evidently one that appealed strongly to Mr. Chamberlain's fighting instincts. I hazarded the question: "Would you have the Government out within six months if you were in the House of Commons?" With a smile that spoke volumes, he replied, "Well, I'd try."

Naturally much of this conversation had reference to Mr. Asquith's now historic statement at the Albert Hall; "I tell you quite plainly, and I tell my fellow-countrymen outside, that neither I nor any other Liberal Minister supported by a majority of the House of Commons is going to submit again to the rebuffs and the humiliations of the last four years. We shall not assume office, and we shall not hold office, unless we can secure the

safeguards which experience shows us to be necessary for the legislative utility and honour of the party of progress."

Mr. Chamberlain maintained that it was a mistake for Unionists to make any suggestions that would help Mr. Asquith either to keep or get out of this pledge; and for every reason it was necessary to wait for Mr. Asquith to make the first move. Naturally Mr. Chamberlain holds strong views as to the policy which the Unionist Party should pursue in the coming session with regard to the House of Lords. But he was most emphatic as to the unsuitability of the present moment for stating publicly what he himself would do.

It seemed to him, however, that a majority of the Lords were in favour of reforming their own House, and he was prepared to go as far as to agree that while on the Liberal side the tendency was evidently towards a Single Chamber, the aim of the Unionists should be to strengthen the House of Lords by a reform of its constitution. The people had evidently made up their minds that the Upper House should be reformed, but while in theory it was difficult to defend the constitution of that House, it must be admitted that the country would probably not obtain by any change a Second Chamber which would work so well in practice as the House of Lords had worked. Reform would make the House of Lords stronger, and as a "House of Commons man" Mr. Chamberlain was fully able to sympathise with objections to any change which would greatly strengthen it, but an effective Second Chamber was obviously essential to the good of the country.

The attempt that had been made by some of the more reckless politicians to bring the Crown into the present controversy had not caused Mr. Chamberlain any anxiety. "The people," he observed, "are always on the side of the Crown, and such a step would mean disaster for the party that took it." At the same time, in his opinion, the present occasion gave an opportunity for considering whether some form of Referendum might not remove all possibility of the Crown being placed in so difficult a position as was suggested in some quarters.

"But," repeated Mr. Chamberlain, "I am not going to say what course I should take at the present moment. It is for the Liberals to make the first move. They will have great difficulties with their Labour and Irish allies. Personally I am strongly of opinion that the Unionist Party should not make any effort to obtain the support of either the Labour or the Irish parties."

Our talk ended as it had begun with an expression of the great statesman's conviction that the Imperial cause of which he is the supreme leader is prospering, and his insistence on the necessity of continued hard work. I again referred to the tendencies which had been shewn by certain weak-kneed Unionists to drop the Imperial side of Tariff Reform.

"There is no fear of that," answered Mr. Chamberlain. "That is its strongest side. The working classes are Imperialists. I have spoken to them often on the Imperial question. They always respond to such an appeal." He considered it ridiculous to talk of "a measure" of Tariff Reform. "There can be no measure of Tariff Reform—it is a broad and deep policy affecting the British Empire as a whole. We must have the full policy or nothing."

LABOUR PARTY'S PROGRAMME.

The first meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party was held in one of the committee-rooms of the House of Commons on February 15th. Mr. Arthur Henderson presided.

The election of officers took place. Mr. G. N. Barnes, who filled the office of vice-chairman for two years, was unanimously elected chairman; Mr. J. R. Clynes was chosen as vice-chairman, Mr. J. Parker as hon. sec., Mr. G. H. Roberts chief whip, and Mr. Charles Duncan junior whip.

The party decided that the following seven Bills should take precedence, in the order given, in the ballot for private members' Bills:—

1. Trade Union Law (Amendment) Bill. This, of course, means a measure to enable compulsory levies to be made for the maintenance of Members of Parliament, the judgment in the case of *Osborne v. the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants* having declared that practice to be illegal.
2. Unemployed Workmen Bill—the old Right to Work Bill of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.
3. Education (Administrative Provisions) Amendment Bill, to make the feeding of necessitous school children compulsory on local authorities.
4. Forty-eight Hours a Week Bill—a measure to apply to all trades.

5. Nationalisation of Railways Bill.

6. Eviction of Workmen During Trade Disputes Bill, the object of which is to prevent the eviction of workmen who occupy houses belonging to anyone with whom a trade dispute is proceeding.

7. Compulsory Weighing and Measurements Bill, to effect certain changes in regard to steel, cement, and lime works.

LABOUR PARTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

At a meeting of the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, held at Newport (Mon.), on February 10th,

Mr. P. C. Hoffman (Shop Assistants) moved a comprehensive resolution on unemployment. It declared that unemployment could not be cured by any change in the fiscal system, called upon the Government to deal with the real causes and the evil effects of unemployment on the lines of the Labour Party's Right to Work Bill, demanded the formation of a Ministry of Labour and the establishment of a 48 hours' *maximum* working week, and invited the Labour members "to use their undoubted power to its fullest extent in the new Parliament, so as to secure the carrying of these proposals into legislation at the earliest possible moment."

Mr. F. Hughes (Birmingham), in seconding the resolution, said that nobody who had watched the operation of the labour exchanges which had just been opened could avoid feeling that the mere fact of those exchanges having been established was going to compel the Government to deal further with the unemployed problem. Even Cabinet Ministers had great human hearts (Cries of "Question"), and it was necessary that the labour exchanges should be used for some better purpose than for collecting information—such as putting into operation the principle of the Right to Work Bill.

The resolution was agreed to.

The Liverpool Labour Representation Committee had a resolution on the agenda paper instructing the executive committee to ascertain from the various affiliated societies what they considered to be the most fruitful causes of unemployment among their members.

The Chairman (Mr. Keir Hardie) suggested that this should be withdrawn, as he did not want to give the Government an excuse for saying that until the Labour Party had found out the cause of unemployment they could not be expected to find the remedy. (Laughter.)

The resolution was withdrawn.

UNIONIST LAND POLICY.

Mr. G. L. Courthope, Conservative member for the Rye Division of Sussex, and late chairman of the Central Chamber of Agriculture, expounded the Unionist policy of land reform in the *PALL MALL GAZETTE* of February 17th:—

If Tariff Reform is to benefit the rural districts as well as the manufacturing districts, then said Mr. Courthope it is felt that it must be accompanied by land reform. In the rural districts what we want is to revive as far as we can the old yeoman, who has practically died out—the sturdy Briton tied to the land by family links and associations of interest; but in order to do that we must encourage ownership. I would not confine ownership to the technical 50 acres holding, but would allow circumstance to regulate the amount of land. We do not think it equitable or reasonable that small owners who are set up under the present Government Act under the aegis of the County Councils should pay the whole of the purchase price, in the form of a sinking fund, without at the end of such time becoming the owners of the land.

We do not wish in any way to force ownership on people who do not want it, or even to press it unduly, but we do wish to give an opportunity to occupiers to become owners if they desire to do so. Further, we are all agreed that to facilitate the increase of ownership there must be some reform in the procedure of transfer and conveyance, but it is very difficult to show in detail what is the best line to take. The present cumbersome and expensive method of conveyancing bears very hardly on both buyers and sellers, and particularly in the case of small estates the cost of the conveyance and other legal preliminaries is much higher proportionately to the amount of money involved. It might be possible to do a good deal in this direction if the possessory title, after 20 years of undisputed registration, *ipso facto*, became absolute title. There are undoubted difficulties to be overcome before such a reform can be carried out.

To turn now to one of the practical difficulties which stand in the way of the prosperity of the agricultural community, take

the question of credit. The only credit in most cases is from seedsmen and manure merchants, and although on the whole these tradesmen treat the agriculturists with great fairness, and to a large extent help them over a lot of difficulties, it is manifestly undesirable that the farmers should be in the hands of anyone. But the situation has become considerably worse since the gradual disappearance of the county private banks and their supersession by the joint stock banks, who make it no longer possible for the old-fashioned credit to be given to agriculturists of recognised soundness. To meet this difficulty we want to see established a system of land and credit banks, with Government guarantee, which will enable the farmer to obtain sums of money on easy terms to save him from the necessity of having to sell his crops and stock at disadvantageous times. This system is already in vogue in some countries where the encouragement of agriculture is a feature of Government policy. Indeed, efforts have been made in this direction in this country by the Agricultural Organisation Society, but so far only moderate results have been obtained, because of the absence of the Government guarantee. But a good many things which agriculturists want all parties are agreed upon, and it only requires time and opportunity to pass them through the House.

UNIONIST AMENDMENTS.

Mr. Jesse Collings will move as an amendment to the Address:—

But this House humbly regrets that no measure is announced in his Majesty's gracious speech for extending the benefits enjoyed by Irish tenants under the Act of 1903 to British tenants, thereby enabling them by State aid to purchase their farms whenever such farms are for sale; and this House further regrets that no measure is announced for enabling agricultural labourers and other suitable persons to become occupying owners of small holdings of land.

Sir Gilbert Parker has put down the following amendment to the Address, which represents the Unionist view:—

But regrets that no mention is made in the gracious Speech of an intention on the part of your Majesty's Government to develop a system of small ownership of land, through the establishment of land banks and credit societies, or in any other way, with practical opportunity for existing tenants to acquire their holdings on the basis of voluntary sale and purchase.

THE BUDGET AND THE BUILDING TRADE.

The following letter was sent by Mr. Henry Holloway to a friend who had asked his opinion of the effect the land clauses of the Budget would have on the building trade. Mr. Holloway is a director of Holloway Brothers (London), Ltd., one of the largest building firms in the City as well as of several other companies largely interested in building.

Victoria Wharf,

Belyedere Road, S.E.

December 30th, 1909.

MY DEAR —,

I duly received your letter of the 23rd inst., enclosing copy of the Conservative candidate's address to the electors of North Hackney, in which he states that the Budget taxes if passed would be a cause of unemployment and that the building trade which has already been brought to a standstill, would be annihilated. It is not necessary to adduce arguments against these absurd assertions beyond stating that so far as my experience goes, which is very considerable, not only is there a great improvement compared with a year ago in the actual building operations but also an increased demand for house property; moreover there are already indications of what I believe will be a still greater improvement in the building trade in the course of the next 12 or 18 months.

Might I also add that in my opinion the land taxes proposed in the Budget will, instead of retarding building operations, be likely to expedite same. This is especially so in regard to the 4d. tax on undeveloped land, which in many instances will have the effect of forcing land into the market on more reasonable terms than hitherto. As to the tax of 20 per cent. on increment values and 10 per cent. on reversionary values, it should be remembered that in both these proposals it is not on the building

but only on the increased land values, that is to say on property where the value has increased without any expenditure or effort on the part of the owner. The proposal to separate land and building values for the purpose of taxation is of immense importance and will eventually result in larger sums of money being spent on the buildings as distinct from the land, which obviously will be an advantage to all engaged in the building industry.

I am sorry to find that some of my friends in the building trade have recently committed themselves to the landlord's view of the Budget taxes, but it should not be forgotten that there are many others, like the Members of my own firm, engaged in a large way of business, who after careful investigation, are according their hearty support to the Government proposals.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) HENRY HOLLOWAY.

A TORY ELECTION LEAFLET.

Now that the Finance Bill has been condemned by a great majority in the House of Lords, and referred to the judgment of the Country, the most serious attention of all Owners of Land and Houses should be directed to the disastrous effect on their property of the proposed new Land Taxes and increased Death Duties and Stamp Duties.

As soon as the Finance Bill was presented to Parliament, it became almost impossible to sell building land, even at greatly depreciated prices. Intended contracts for building and road-making were countermanded. Mortgagees began to distrust the value of their securities, and even to call in their money. Builders were refused loans, and the volume of their business was enormously diminished. Solicitors, architects and surveyors, auctioneers, building societies, insurance companies, land developers, and builders' manufacturers all suffered heavily. Worse still, thousands and thousands of artisans, brickmakers, bricklayers, carpenters, quarrymen, and general labourers were thrown out of work.

All this waste and misery is the direct result of the bare proposal of the new Land Taxes by Mr. Lloyd George and the present Government. At the coming General Election it is evidently the duty as well as the interest of all Land and House owners, rich and poor alike, and all connected with the Land, to use their most earnest effort to turn out of his seat every Member of Parliament who supports the Budget Land Taxes, without distinction of party.

In the blind fury of the Government against the Peers and larger landowners, they overlooked the immense number of small owners, and those engaged in the building trade and their dependents, whose means of livelihood are threatened by the insane project of Land Taxation. They overlooked the grave injury to friendly societies, building societies, and insurance companies, all large investors in ground rents. It is hard to give exact figures, but probably at least two millions of voters and their families would be grievous sufferers if the country is misled into electing a majority of supporters of the Budget.

The proposed new burdens on land are being recommended by Government speakers to their more ignorant sympathisers by vituperation of the House of Lords, by false assertions that landlords do nothing to improve their property, and by concealing the real object and effect of these taxes. In this way a sham popularity is sought to be gained for iniquitous proposals, the true intention of which is to steal the land bit by bit from the present owners without compensation.

The Finance Bill is so long and such difficult reading, that most of those who may be ruined by it have little conception of the frightful engine of taxation it sets going. But a very brief summary will enlighten them.

If the Bill were to become law, the first thing every land or house owner in the kingdom would have to do would be to read about forty pages of print, which no one but a lawyer, with the help of a land surveyor, could possibly understand. Then he will have to furnish the Commissioners of Inland Revenue with a very full description of his property (under a heavy penalty if he fails to do so), in order that they may make what is called a "provisional valuation" of it. If the property owner is not satisfied with this "valuation," as in nine cases out of ten he certainly will not be, the next thing he has to do is to appeal against it. In Mr. Lloyd George's original draft of the Finance Bill, the right of appeal was carefully restricted to the Tax Commissioners themselves, but the Lord Chief Justice and the Unionist Party shamed the Government out of this transparent fraud, and now there is an ultimate right of appeal to the High Court of Justice.

Obviously not one owner in a hundred will be able to see to the proper valuation of his property himself, or could spare the time to do so. He will have to pay a lawyer and a land surveyor to act for him. This in itself is a heavy tax.

The ordinary citizen will never see the full text of the Finance Bill. If he did, he would be amazed at the extraordinary tangle of words and ideas by which the fraudulent intention of taxing him out of his property is sought to be concealed. The Bill makes use of at least nine different sorts of "values," some of which are purely fictitious. They are called: (1) "Increment Value"; (2) "Site Value"; (3) "Value of the Benefit of Reversions"; (4) "Rental Value" (of minerals); (5) "Total Value" (of minerals); (6) "Gross Value"; (7) "Total Value" (of land); (8) "Assessable Site Value"; (9) "Original Site Value."

Of these "values" the most preposterously absurd is the "Assessable site value" (see Section 25 of the Bill), in arriving at which one element is actually "expenses of advertisement"; another, "goodwill"; and another, "any sum which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, it would be necessary to expend in order to divest the land of buildings, timber, trees, etc." (!!!)

Now, the greater the "original site value" can be made the less will be the increment tax if the land is sold at a profit. Therefore, the interest of the Government will be to value low, and that of the landowner to value high. But if he happens to die before realization, the Government has taken care that he shall be hit all the harder by the Death Duties which are enormously increased under this Budget.

The result of valuing land as "divested of buildings, timber, trees, etc.," would, in many instances, be truly comic. Take a case like the site of the Criterion Theatre, in London, the stage and auditorium being chiefly underground. What would be the cost of raking out the foundations, sidewalls, superstructure and contents of the building, of carting them away and filling up the site? Would there be any "site value" left?

It looks as if the Government's hidden desire is to reduce land values to the lowest possible point with a view to "land nationalization," which means more or less thinly veiled confiscation. There are abundant signs that this is what is intended.

If it is not, then why is land so heavily and unnecessarily taxed under this Budget to the exclusion of other property?

However this may be, when the land or house owner has had his "assessable site value" duly fixed and recorded against him, he at once becomes liable, according to the nature of his property, to a choice selection of new taxes:—

1. Increment Value Duty,
2. Reversion Duty,
3. Undeveloped Land Duty,
4. Mineral Rights Duty,

unless he can get off temporarily as a small occupying owner, or on the plea that his land is purely agricultural. He will also discover that on a transfer of land or house property the Stamp Duty is doubled, and that the Death Duties are enormously increased.

The increment Value Duty is the most scandalous of all. It is often falsely advocated by Government supporters as a fair deduction from unearned increment. As a matter of fact the word "unearned" does not occur in the Bill. The tax is upon all increment arising upon a sale or lease of land, or the owner's death, with a few arbitrary deductions, but without allowing for decrement, non-receipt of interest, or actual losses. The tax is therefore not the one-fifth of net profits, which Government speakers talk about, but may run up to forty, fifty, or even one hundred per cent. and more of a landowner's profits. This tax alone might ruin holders of building land.

The Reversion Duty is a tax of one pound in ten on any benefit accruing to a lessor on the falling in of a lease. Here again there is no allowance for decrement or losses.

The Undeveloped Land Duty is based on the amazing assumption that all land which is not considered purely agricultural ought to be immediately built upon, or used for some business! This includes the still more astounding assumption that millions of new houses could and should be at once built; that thousands of builders are ready to build and could find the money, if only the land were not "held back"; and finally, that some millions of non-existent tenants would come in to occupy the houses when built, and pay rent for them!

The undeveloped Land Duty proposals were considerably modified and curbed through the strenuous efforts in Parliamentary debate of Mr. Balfour, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr.

Protyman, and other Unionists. But the Duty will still be chargeable annually (with few exceptions) at the rate of one halfpenny in the pound on the site value (which in some cases may be equal to confiscation of the whole rent) of land which either is not yet ripe for building and cannot be utilised for business purposes, or never will be. This "one halfpenny in the pound" is really equal to one shilling in the pound at least on the annual value, and equal to a heavy additional income-tax. If this Duty were passed it would certainly be increased by some future Radical-Socialist Government, and owners would be deprived annually of a large slice of the capital value of the land.

The "Undeveloped Minerals Tax" had to be abandoned, being laughed out of the House of Commons. In its place was substituted, on a directly contrary principle, "The Mineral Rights Duty," which is an addition to income tax, and charged upon all mineral rents and royalties, at the rate of five per cent. per annum, or a shilling in the pound. When a mineral owner is working his own property, he is to be charged all the same, upon a fictitious rent!!! One set of owners are to be taxed because they do not work the minerals themselves, and the other set at the same rate because they do!!! In both cases the duty is a new tax on capital, pure and simple.

Mr. Lloyd George's original plan was to tax everything suspected to exist underground which could be called a "mineral." Now, "clay, brick-earth, sand, chalk, limestone, or gravel" are excepted.

The Government seems unaware that sandstone, marble, granite and many other kinds of stone, with marl, peat, and other cheap minerals, exist in the United Kingdom, which could no more bear taxation than those exempted. Foreign minerals are not taxed.

Enough has been said to show that the proposed Land Taxes of Mr. Lloyd George's Budget have already done incalculable harm, and are cumulatively intended to ruin landowners, great and small, as a class, simply because they hold land. None will escape, unless for a time as holders of purely agricultural land, or small occupying owners (a bribe to secure their neutrality introduced into the Bill as an afterthought). And houseowners, and even long leaseholders, will be liable to new taxes in respect of the sites of their houses, just as if they were simply owners of land. Every interest connected with the land will be amerced and the country generally will be impoverished, in order to carry out Mr. Lloyd George's insane and unbusinesslike ideas. Yet the net gain to the Exchequer to arise from the new land taxes will be ridiculously small, while the valuation will cost the country millions.

But these disasters may easily be averted if every owner of land and house property, and the members of the building and allied trades and professions, will vote solid against every supporter of the present Government at the coming election. The remedy is in their own hands.

PRIVILEGE AT WORK.

A TALE OF THE LOST LAND.

From THE TIMES, February 18th.

A report on the Crown and common lands in Carnarvonshire was presented by a Committee to a special meeting of the Carnarvon County Council yesterday. Particular attention was paid in the report to the parish of Llandegai, in which a portion of the Penrhyn estate is situated.

It appears that in 1849 the then deputy-ranger of the Forest of Snowdon commented on the fact that in 1794 extensive wastes, containing valuable minerals and situated in Llandegai and four other parishes, were by letters patent demised to Lord Penrhyn and his successors during the natural lives of three who were then young children at the yearly rent of £15 7s. 1½d. THE TIMES, on August 10th of that year, stated, with reference to the transaction, that "if the charge of the accusers be made out, it discloses a series of acts amounting almost to swindling." A few days later a letter was written to THE TIMES by Mr. James Wyatt, then the agent of the Penrhyn estate, claiming that "the quarry and the adjoining common have always formed part of the Penrhyn estate"; but the deputy-ranger wrote again to controvert this. In 1859 there was an entry in the report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to the effect that the interests of the Crown in 6,129 acres comprised in the letters patent, and situated in the parish of Llanllechid, had been sold to the Hon. E. G. D. Pennant for £1,739 10s. in the year

1858. The Committee pointed out that in 1862 the lease granted expired with the death of the survivor of the three mentioned in the letters patent, but no steps appeared to have been taken by the Crown then or since to assert its rights in the matter.

The report continued:—"The committee therefore considers that the time has arrived when the Government should be urged to take energetic and effective measures to ascertain whether and to what extent the public or the Crown is still interested in the waste or other lands in the parishes of Llandegai and Llanllechid and the vast mineral wealth included therein. As far as can be judged from the materials at the Committee's disposal the simple question is whether what was once undoubtedly public property has, through carelessness on the one hand, and natural acquisitiveness on the other, been allowed to become private property and how far such result can be guarded against in the future. . . . From facts brought to the Committee's knowledge it is clear that the Crown has never yet expressly admitted that the unexhausted minerals in this parish belong to the Penrhyn estate." The Committee recommended that the recommendations made by the Welsh Land Commission, both with regard to the safeguarding and regulation of rights of common and to the securing of a survey and the administration of Crown lands in Wales, be pressed forward by the County Council. The Council was urged to do all in its power to press for the appointment of a Royal Commission of a judicial character, with full power to determine all questions at issue with regard to the Crown wastes or commons in the parish of Llandegai.

Mr. William George (a brother of Mr. Lloyd George), in moving the adoption of the Committee's report, appealed to the owners of the Penrhyn estate to consider the facts dispassionately. If they were satisfied that they were now in possession of the property, mentioned in the report through appropriation and without any wrongful act on their part, he would ask them if they would be prepared to restore it to the public. (Cheers.) He would be content to leave them the profits of the past and let bygones be bygones. Llandegai Mountain, with its enormous mineral wealth, belonged, beyond a doubt, to the public within comparatively recent times. That could be proved to the hilt by historical and authoritative documents, and it could never be seriously suggested that the property had ever by purchase become that of the Penrhyn estate, who had been carrying on a game of bluff for many years. No man would take the property away even if it had been appropriated, because the law allowed it, but if there was any reasonable doubt in the matter it was the duty of the Council to make a strong recommendation to the Government.

Mr. Jones Morris seconded the adoption of the report.

Mr. C. E. Breese advised that pending inquiry judgment should be suspended.

Mr. William John Barry, a member of the Committee, said that there was no doubt that a good deal of land in the county had been stolen from time to time. The case of Llandegai required immediate attention.

The Rev. William Morgan thought that the statements made were so alarming that no man in his senses would oppose an inquiry, but let them not anticipate an inquiry. It was clear that the information with regard to Llandegai came from the Urban Council of Bethesda, of which Mr. W. J. Parry was chairman. He maintained it to be the duty of the Crown to claim the land if it was theirs.

All the members present, with the exception of one, who left the room, voted for adopting the report.

LANDLORD ACTIVITY IN IRELAND.

A New Organisation.

THE landowners have left nothing undone in the opposition to the Budget. During the last four years they have founded organisations under every sort of democratic name to oppose and discredit the policy of the Government. They are now doing their utmost to play off Ireland in the game, and an Irish Financial Reform Committee has been established. The following report of a meeting held on February 10th appeared in the TIMES:—

"Mr. R. Sanders, who presided, stated that satisfactory progress had been made in bringing under the notice of the Press, both in Great Britain and Ireland, the grievance of the Irish over-taxation. The movement was proceeding precisely on the same lines, namely, non-party and non-political, as the great movement in Ireland in 1898. Ireland was quite united on the subject, but in 1898 it was difficult to reach the attention of

Great Britain; now that was changed. The attention of Parliament would soon be drawn to the great injustice of Mr. Gladstone's Free-Trade Budget of 1853. The Irish representatives, Unionist and Nationalist, would on this occasion insist upon a free and open discussion on the subject, and would press for a remedy, because their constituencies required them to do so. Mr. Lloyd George's Budget was not acceptable to any Irishman. Besides multiplying the evils of the system of taxation initiated by Mr. Gladstone in 1853, the present Budget also threw very serious burdens upon the new class of peasant proprietors, who had bought their lands under a title in fee-simple guaranteed, by the British Parliament. The Budget would place upon them fresh burdens never contemplated in the Land Purchase Acts. Such a thing could not be listened to in Ireland for a moment, and it was inconceivable that any Irish member would support it.

"A number of representative names from all parts of Ireland were added to the committee. Correspondence from a number of local boards was also considered, and a sub-committee was appointed to prepare a statement of the present position of Ireland in relation to existing taxation and on the history of the financial relations questions for the use of members of Parliament in the debate which is expected will take place early in the Session. The sub-committee will meet daily in London during the coming fortnight. Communications should be addressed to the secretary, Irish Financial Reform Committee, 15, Great George Street, Westminster."

A New Paper.

On the same day a meeting of the landlord party was held in the Cork City Hall under the presidency of the Lord Mayor. It was unanimously decided to publish on an early date and as soon as the preliminary arrangements can be made a Nationalist daily paper under the title the CORK FREE PRESS.

Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., in the course of an address, said there was an absolute necessity for an organ to voice the views and sentiments of the people who were misrepresented and maligned in existing Nationalist publications. The result of the polls at the recent elections indicated that, despite the fact that they were without any organisation and were taken by surprise, and moreover had to battle against clerical influence and gross misrepresentation, the electors were overwhelmingly on their side. At the next election they meant to contest other divisions, which he was convinced would act similarly to those constituencies in which they had already won.

Letters were read from a number of persons promising to become shareholders in the publishing company which is about to be formed, among them being Lord Dunraven, Lord Castle-town, and Colonel Hutchinson Poe.

Landowners' Convention.

The executive committee of the Irish Landowners' Convention have issued their 24th report, which will be presented at the annual meeting in Dublin. The report largely deals with the Irish Land Act of 1909, and under this head are the following sentences:—"Many of the provisions of the Irish Land Act of 1909 seem destined to produce nothing but unrest, discontent, and litigation, and the result of giving effect to the policy embodied in them can only lead to widespread injustice and confiscation. Judged, moreover, by the standards which have made land purchase so great a success in recent years, it seems likely to fail altogether as a means of promoting future sales, a fact which, when fully realised, will doubtless lead to its being to a large extent repealed. Meanwhile it has practically abrogated or rendered unworkable most of the provisions to which the phenomenal success of the Act of 1903 was mainly due. Voluntary negotiations cannot but prove to be fruitless because landlords will be unable to accept several years' purchase less than the price that was obtainable under that Act—a price which, in consequence of the increased annuity, tenants will now be reluctant to give."

Opposition to the Budget.

At the meeting of the Limerick Guardians, on February 9th, Mr. Patrick Bourke (vice-chairman) proposed a resolution calling upon the Irish members, irrespective of party, to oppose the Budget. If the measure were passed the farmers of Ireland would curse the day they ever put the Irish Party into the position of helping the Government in the matter. The Chairman said the measure would be ruinous to Ireland. After a lively discussion and threats of violence the resolution was adopted by 15 votes to 14.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

LONDON.

Under the auspices of the English League, Mr. Louis F. Post, editor of THE PUBLIC, Chicago, and Mr. Henry George, jun., of New York, who were in this country writing up the progress of the Election on behalf of a syndicate of American papers addressed an enthusiastic meeting in the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Friday evening, January 28th. Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P., the victor of the Haggerston Division of Shoreditch, and a vice-president of the English League, presided.

Letters of apology for absence were read by the Secretary of the League, Mr. Frederick Verinder, from Messrs. T. F. Walker (of Birmingham), J. C. Wedgwood, M.P., W. R. Lester, M.A., and the Rev. Thomas Hill, of Lincolnshire.

Long years of patient seed-sowing, Mr. Chancellor said, were beginning to bear fruit in the minds of Tories and Liberals alike. They had evidence of this in the large number of municipalities throughout the country protesting against the injustice of our present rating system. With regard to the taxes on the unearned increment of land and on undeveloped land, he contended that they were really not taxes at all. They were merely the retention by the nation of values which the nation had created—(applause)—and which therefore ought to belong to the nation. They were about to enter upon a strenuous Session. First of all they had to remember the great obstacle to all reforms. (Loud applause.) It would take some doing, but it had been made easy by the manifest selfishness of a particular class affected by the Budget proposals, which had opened the minds of a large number of people to the meaning of their opposition to these proposals. They had in the Budget—which was going to go through, of course—not Henry Georgism, but a very small instalment of it. They had, however, got one thing which was an essential preliminary to Henry Georgism—the valuation of the land. Once let the value of the land be ascertained and the results of that valuation be published, it would be such an eye-opener that large numbers of people would come round to their support.

He thought the future was full of hope. There never was a time when the public had been so well educated on this question of land reform; but they must go on with that education in Parliament and elsewhere until they carried conviction to the minds of the uninterested non-political persons. When some of the existing electoral anomalies were removed and people were able to express their real mind—which they could not do now—he believed they would come back in a later Parliament strong enough to put the principles of Henry George into actual and universal practice. (Loud applause.) When they had done that they would have seen the beginning of the end of the social troubles that bothered them now, and would open up such an era of hope to the poor and disinherited as would make England a "merry England" indeed. (Prolonged applause.)

Mr. Henry George, who was received by an outburst of cheering, said he thought the name George was now regarded with some respect in England and Scotland and he supposed in Wales. He expected soon to hear of a lot of little Henry Georges. It seemed to him that when a man does something peculiarly popular, something for the public good, that a great many little fellows were named after him, and he expected to hear of a fine crop of Lloyd Georges. He thought there would be lots of little fellows named Lloyd George and lots of boys who would come to be proud of that name, the name of the man who had had the courage and had had the magnificent abilities to challenge the power of land monopoly. (Applause.) He, the speaker, first came to this country some years ago and he was not quite so young as he was; but he really felt younger in spirits and felt as though he had been born again in the great battle that was going on. The people of this great nation had begun a change that was going to change the whole world. They had had the greatest possible odds to face that could be brought against them in politics. Coming as he had across the ocean to witness this great fight he could well say, after having been over the greater part of their country, that he had a splendid opportunity of looking into this battle minutely. Enormous as the great powers were that they had to face, anyone of which at any other time than the present would have been an overwhelming force, they had more than ever before held their own; for joined to the Liberal arms they had had a great idea—a great modern idea—the idea that the land belongs to the people; that the Almighty did not make the world for just a few, but that he made it for all. (Applause.) He

would rather have been through this battle of theirs than bear the wounds of the mightiest battle of arms that ever was in the world. He had been in rural England, in the cities, and up in the great counties which were called the giants of the North. He had been over the line into Scotland, and he had found that the Land Question had at last taken possession of the people of this Kingdom.

Referring to the question of Protection, Mr. George said that it was perfectly obvious that Protection must become rampant here unless they attacked landlordism. They must have Free Trade, but they could not stop with Free Trade; they must have freer trade. The way to down Protection in this country was to open up the land, and the way to open up land was by means of the scheme which their great Chancellor proposed to begin in the Budget—the valuation of the land. Never mind how small the Budget taxes on land were, let the camel get his nose into it and his tail would soon follow! It did not matter how much or how little there was in the Budget for land reformers, the greatest enterprise had to have some beginning, but as long as they had the valuation he thought they might well be satisfied.

He would return to the United States with the belief that they had a great man at the head of their affairs—(applause)—and he was confident that they had a splendid body of men to support him. He was delighted to see the number of men who had been elected like Mr. Wedgwood, and he thought the kind of opposition they would have in the House of Commons would only help things. Let them (the Opposition) do what they may. What Government before ever undertook to do the things that this Government had undertaken, and what Government before ever had a 100 majority to support that policy? Of course the Opposition said that the Government was composed of three elements, which he thought were mighty strong elements. But he would like to say that they no longer had three elements; for the three arms of democracy had been welded together and could not be broken apart. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Post also spoke at some length, confining his remarks to Protection as it appeared in the United States.

Mr. John Paul, Secretary of the United Committee, moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. J. W. Graham Peace and carried unanimously:—

“That this meeting of members and friends of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values thanks Mr. Henry George and Mr. Louis F. Post for their addresses; expresses its satisfaction at the large majority in support of the Budget already returned in the General Election now drawing to a close; pledges its support to the Government in any measure that may be necessary to vindicate the sole right of the people's elected representatives to control the finances of the country; and urges the Government to complete the valuation of land as speedily as possible with a view to the early adoption of the value of land apart from improvements as the basis of local rating.”

Mr. L. W. J. Costello moved a vote of thanks which was seconded by Mr. E. E. Belfour:—

“That this meeting tenders its hearty thanks to the Chairman, Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P., and asks him to accept its warmest congratulations on his triumphant return to Parliament, against exceptional difficulties, at the recent election for the Haggerston Division of Shoreditch.”

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

The agenda of the London County Council, published on January 25th, contained the following resolution, which had been placed on the paper by Mr. Frank Smith:—

“That, in view of the burden of rates which the ratepayers of London now have to bear, this Council earnestly desires that the provisions of the Government's Finance Bill for the valuation of land will become law with the least possible delay, in order that a new basis for rating may be established, which will enable the Council to afford relief to the traders and householders of London from the burden of rates which now fall unfairly upon business and other premises; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the President of the Local Government Board.”

MANCHESTER.

At a meeting of the Salford Town Council, on February 2nd, Mr. Delves moved the following resolution, postponed from the

last meeting of the Council:—“That this Council hereby reaffirms its previous declarations in favour of the taxation of land values, passed by the Council on November 15th, 1899, and January 24th, 1900, for the purposes of the Salford Corporation Bill in Parliament in the Session of 1900; and also on other dates named.”

Mr. Jackson seconded the resolution.

Mr. Alderman Hulton suggested that they should ask Parliament to devote the amount derived from the taxation of land values to local purposes. In the past, when they had adopted resolutions of this kind, he thought they had had this in their minds. He moved an amendment to that effect.

Mr. Delves accepted the amendment as an addition to the resolution, which in this form was at once adopted.

MANCHESTER LEAGUE FOR THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

ELECTION REPORT.

During the recent elections in Manchester, the land clauses of the Budget were generally well discussed and well supported, though in some quarters there was a disposition to make Free Trade the issue rather than the Budget. That was, perhaps, owing partly to the great importance to the cotton industry of maintaining our system of free imports, and partly to a lack of knowledge on the part of some progressive speakers of the vital necessity of extending the principle of Free Trade, so as to include freedom to produce wealth as well as freedom to exchange it. The Manchester League has not yet convinced all the local Free Traders that in such an extension is to be found the only alternative to Protectionism.

But though much remains to be done in that direction, there is good reason to be satisfied, not only with the work accomplished during the elections, but also with the many evidences of the steady and persistent propaganda work done by the League during the last three years.

The following meetings addressed by some of the Leagues' speakers represent only a small part of the work done by its members in their private capacity, or as members of other organisations:—

- Jan. 3.—Ashton-under-Lyne. A. H. Weller.
- „ 3.—South Manchester. Dr. McDougall.
- „ 4.—Ashton-under-Lyne. A. H. Weller.
- „ 6.—Ashton-under-Lyne. J. Bagot and A. H. Weller.
- „ 6.—Ashton-under-Lyne. A. H. Weller.
- „ 8.—N.W. Manchester. A. H. Weller.
- „ 12.—Rochdale. A. H. Weller.
- „ 13.—Crossley's Works. Dr. McDougall and A. H. Weller.
- „ 13.—Newton Heath. J. Bagot.
- „ 14.—Salford Iron Works. J. Bagot and A. H. Weller.
- „ 19.—Hyde. Dr. McDougall.

Most of these meetings were held in the open air, and with large and attentive audiences. The dinner hour addresses at the Works of Messrs. Crossley Bros., which began in November in support of the candidature of Mr. Zimmerman, have been continued at intervals of about two weeks, by the kind permission of the works manager and at the request of the men themselves, who, to the number of between 200 and 300, receive our speakers with great heartiness and appreciation.

My own experience has convinced me that no better election cry could have been provided for progressive candidates than the land clauses of the Budget. I found the people everywhere eager for our message of hope, and on those occasions when I was one amongst other speakers I was gratified and impressed by the different receptions that were accorded to the different subjects dealt with. These impressions are supported by the experience of Mr. F. S. Oppenheim (one of the vice-presidents of the Manchester League), who was speaking almost every night in different constituencies throughout the election campaign, and who always dealt with land values taxation, and found it the most popular of all subjects.

I think that results have shown that candidates' successes may be pretty accurately measured by the support and the prominence they gave to the land clauses.

A large number of the Manchester edition of the “Landlords’

Law" leaflet were taken by local Liberal and Labour candidates, as follows:—

Sir F. Cawley, Prestwich	26,000
Messrs. Emmott & Barton, Oldham .. .	10,000
J. R. Clynes, N.E. Manchester .. .	5,000
G. W. Agnew, W. Salford .. .	15,000
S. L. Hughes, Stockport .. .	15,000
L. W. Zimmerman, East Manchester .. .	15,000
J. Hodge, Gorton .. .	10,000
A. A. Haworth, S. Manchester .. .	10,000

Besides these totalling 106,000, a very large quantity of leaflets of various kinds was distributed by our own men, at meetings, and from house to house, some of our workers (men and women) being most zealous in this good work.

Two of the new Members of Parliament are vice-presidents of the Manchester League—William Barton, M.P., and Harold Elverston, M.P., and amongst other local successes, particularly gratifying to friends of our movement are the election of Mr. Neilson for Hyde and Alderman Raffan for Leigh, and the re-election of Messrs. W. P. Byles, J. R. Clynes, Sir W. J. Crossley, A. G. C. Harvey, A. A. Haworth, H. Nuttall and A. H. Scott.

The withdrawal of Mr. L. W. Zimmerman, president of the Manchester League, from the contest in East Manchester, was greatly regretted here, but it is generally recognised that his generous action saved that seat for the progressive party.

On the whole I think the great opportunity that a General Election affords was utilised by the Manchester League to the fullest extent that our resources and our experience made possible, and there can be no doubt that its educational value has been far greater than even the results at the polls indicate. With knowledge gained by experience, and a growing band of enthusiastic workers (thanks largely to our economic class meetings), we can look forward with assurance to whatever possibilities the future may hold for us.

ARTHUR H. WELLER, Secretary.

The Secretary of the Manchester League for the Taxation of Land Values, Mr. A. H. Weller, 134, Deansgate, Manchester, sends us the following account of their activities for the past month.

The following meetings have been held:—

- Jan. 27.—Manchester Reform Club. Messrs. Hy. George, Junr., and Louis F. Post.
- „ 27.—Crossley's Works, Openshaw; dinner-hour meeting, 1.30 p.m. A. H. Weller.
- „ 30.—Ancots Congregational P.S.A. L. W. Zimmerman.
- Feb. 3.—Economic Class Meeting at the Manchester Office, at 8 p.m.
- „ 8.—Reform Club, Blackburn. John Bagot.
- „ 10.—Crossley's Works, Openshaw, dinner-hour meeting, 1.30 p.m. John Bagot and A. H. Weller.
- „ 10.—Economic Class Meeting at the Manchester Office, at 8 p.m.
- „ 15.—Mill Hill, Blackburn. John Bagot.
- „ 15.—Heaton Mersey Ratepayers' Association. Dr. P. McDougall. (For '95 Club.)
- „ 17.—Economic Class Meeting at the Manchester Office, at 8 p.m.
- „ 16.—Leigh (Lancs.) League of Young Liberals. Dr. P. McDougall.
- „ 21.—Intack, Blackburn. John Bagot.
- „ 22.—Didsbury Liberal Association. A. H. Weller.
- „ 23.—Muir & Co.'s Works, Manchester, dinner-hour meeting. John Bagot and A. H. Weller.
- „ 24.—Crossley's Works, Openshaw, dinner-hour meeting. John Bagot and A. H. Weller.
- „ 24.—Economic Class Meeting at the Manchester Office, at 8 p.m.

Up to the time of going to Press the following meetings have been arranged:—

- Mar. 2.—W. Gorton Adult School, Ainsworth St., West Gorton. Dr. P. McDougall at 8.15 p.m. "Taxation of Land Values: the Cure for Poverty."
- „ 3.—Economic Class Meeting at the Manchester Office, at 8 p.m.

Our meeting on January 27th was a great success in every way. The chair was occupied by Mr. L. W. Zimmerman, President of the Manchester League, and amongst those who addressed the meeting after Messrs. Henry George, junr., and Louis F. Post, were Dr. P. McDougall, F. U. Laycock, John Bagot, F. S. Oppenheim, M. J. F. Ferreira, C. H. Smithson, and G. G. Armstrong.

The meeting was well reported in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, DAILY NEWS, and the DAILY DISPATCH.

Mr. Zimmerman had a large and appreciative audience at his meeting on January 30th.

Mr. John Bagot is giving a series of three lectures to the Young Liberals of Blackburn, and in accordance with his usual custom, he is urging those young men to take up the study of "Progress and Poverty."

Mr. Wm. B. Riley, the Secretary of the Blackburn Young Liberals, reports that the two lectures already given have created an excellent impression, and that a good number of "Progress and Poverty" have been purchased.

The economic class meetings at the Manchester Office will continue to be held every Thursday evening, at 8 p.m., until further notice.

PORTSMOUTH.

We have received the following report from the Secretary of the Portsmouth League:—

During the past year the prominence attained by the land question has occasioned an increased activity on the part of our League, both independently and in co-operation with other progressive bodies.

In January we had on the hoardings for one month the DAILY CHRONICLE poster "Tax Land not Food."

Under the auspices of the League, Mr. Outhwaite addressed a large meeting in the Parish Institute, on March 25th, in which prominent local men, town councillors and representatives of trades organisations participated. A resolution urging the Government to make a substantial beginning with the taxation of land values in the Budget was practically unanimously adopted and copies forwarded to the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In May a series of open-air meetings extending over two weeks were addressed by Mr. Withy, and another series by Mr. Phelps in the autumn. All parts of the town were reached and we are convinced that much solid educational work was done.

Open-air meetings have at different times during the year been addressed by members of the League, and the November municipal elections afforded excellent opportunities. Our monthly meetings at the Co-operative Society's rooms are open to the public, and our antagonists have availed themselves of our platform on several occasions. The open-air meetings are far more effective than the indoor meetings.

In co-operation with the East Hants Liberal and Labour Association meetings have been addressed in neighbouring towns and villages by Messrs. McGuigan and King and Father Hopkins (the Chairman of the Association). They were well received.

The General Election campaign offered further opportunities, although the League did not take an independent part except in the publication of 33,000 copies of a manifesto, in addition to which 5,000 Land Tax Cartoons were distributed.

Mr. Lambert, the Liberal Candidate for the expected bye-election and later for the General Election, was interviewed by a deputation from our League. His attitude was quite satisfactory, and the members of the League were of the opinion that our cause would be promoted rather by rendering the Liberal candidates every assistance by canvassing, &c., than by independent action. Messrs. McGuigan and King addressed many meetings under the auspices of the League of Young Liberals. The result was disappointing, but throughout any reference to the taxation of land values was received with the utmost enthusiasm.

Literature to the value of about £5 has been disposed of to our members through the medium of the book club. Much has also been distributed freely.

We gratefully acknowledge the extremely generous pecuniary assistance afforded by the United Committee, and the donations of literature from the English League, without which much of our activity would have been impossible.

On January 30th, Mr. McGuigan addressed a meeting to members of Brougham Road Chapel.

On the 26th February, he addressed the Local Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, and on the 29th inst. the members of the Buckland Congregational Chapel, to which meeting the public were admitted.

At the postponed annual meeting held on Thursday, 17th inst., our executive for 1910 was elected as follows:—President, Mr. Satterthwaite; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Lee and Shaddick; Secretary, Mr. A. H. Stoakes; Assistant Secretary, Mr. F. King; Financial Secretary, Mr. Turpie; Treasurer, Mr. E. Cole; Committee, Messrs. McGuigan, Erving, Hardwick, and Morgan; delegate to the English League, Mr. Erving.

EDINBURGH.

The ordinary meetings of the Edinburgh League have for the past month been left over, as the whole activities of the members have been devoted to the General Election campaign. Many of the members gave their whole time and energy to addressing meetings in various parts of Scotland. Numerous leaflets have been issued and large quantities distributed, especially at the Opposition Party's meetings. Two of these leaflets we reproduce elsewhere.

On February 18th, P. Maxton Cunningham, Esq., addressed a meeting of the Independent Labour Party on "Land Values and Social Problems." Mr. Cunningham, a vice-president of the League, also addressed the monthly meeting of the League, the subject being "The Taxation of Land Values as applicable to Agricultural Land."

NOTES ON THE ELECTION IN SCOTLAND.

The battle of the election is over. The Lords gave an absolute rejection to the Budget; they made their appeal to Cæsar and they have their reply. The question in debate in Scotland is the Land Question. The settlement of the Land Question is of vital importance to the whole nation, and in Scotland the Budget was second and subordinate in importance to the taxation of land values, and the Scotch Small Holders Bill.

The Scottish people have returned an increased majority to enforce the policy laid down in the land clauses of the Budget, and likely to return a majority till the policy is established in law. Taxation, we are told, is always unpopular, but the taxation of land values must be an exception; it becomes more and more popular as it is better understood and the years roll on. The time draws near when the electors of Scotland will not readily condone the efforts of some politicians to curtail the operation and extension of this policy.

There is no need to elaborate the nature of the victory for Liberalism in Scotland. Could any Liberal or Land Reformer desire a better result? The landowners have used all their influence, and in working class constituencies every effort has been made to hoodwink, bamboozle and intimidate. Yet in spite of the strength of the effort exerted by special interests, the Scottish electors have finally decided that Land Reform is to go forward.

The Scottish League were working strenuously all during the election, and, without undue egotism, we feel certain that it was largely due to the work and policy of the League past and present that the general result is so satisfactory.

Prior to the election, Mr. John Paul visited Glasgow and met the members and friends of the movement at a social meeting, where he gave an outline of the work being done in England by the United Committee. Mr. Paul subsequently met the Executive of the League when the Scottish campaign was outlined and discussed at length.

It was agreed that the League should issue a manifesto to the electors, as well as a special leaflet "The Landlords' Law" and the "Land Songs," as published by the United Committee. These were issued in large quantities and were taken up by many candidates. In all 200,000 of the "Manifesto," 150,000 of the "Landlords' Law," and 50,000 of the "Land Songs" were sold and distributed, and in addition many thousands of other leaflets and pamphlets such as "Lower Rents and Lower Rates," "The Cardiff Castle," and "Liberal Leaders and Land Values." A notable feature of the circulation of the "Manifesto" and the "Landlords' Law" leaflet was that about 100,000 of each were posted to the electors with the various candidates' addresses.

In the flood of speech-making let loose the members of the League took a full share in many constituencies and are gratified at the high-water mark maintained all over the field of their operations. Members of the Executive were out day and night, and beyond dispute rendered valiant service to the steady adherence to Liberalism in Scotland. We failed to keep one or two seats through local or individual causes, but the net result in

Scotland is one seat to the good for the progressive forces. There are now 59 Liberals, 2 Labour men, and 11 Tariff Reformers. The League's speakers, Messrs. Burt, Brymer, Busby, Cameron, R. Cassels, G. Cassels, Wm. Cassels, Laughland, Little, McLardy, N. McLennan, Wm. McLennan, McKendrick, Stenhouse, Stewart, Waddell and Wilson, addressed upwards of one hundred meetings during the campaign, and in many cases were the principal speakers. On the whole this part of the League's work was very creditable.

A special feature of the contest was the visit of Louis F. Post and Henry George, jun. Mr. Post and Mr. George spoke at five meetings during the three days they were in Glasgow and district. Two of these meetings were specially held under the auspices of the League and the United Committee, at Clydebank and Alexandria. The meetings were very successful, the large halls in both towns being crowded by enthusiastic audiences.

Another prominent visitor who rendered yeoman service in about a dozen constituencies, urban and rural, was the Hon. Robert McNab, M.A., LL.B., ex-Minister of Land and Agriculture in New Zealand. Mr. McNab had an interesting story to tell and he did full justice to our proposals, which have been tried with so much success in our "Premier Colony." Messrs. McNab, Post and George were especially impressed by the ready response of the audiences to our proposals. In almost every case they noted that the candidates were far behind the people in their appreciation of the case for the taxation of land values. We of course know this by past experience, but it was interesting to have such emphatic confirmation from men so well qualified to observe and to judge.

It is readily admitted that the question of land values taxation has now a deep and abiding place in the political affections of the Scottish people, and that the Land Clauses of the Budget providing for valuation of land, more than anything else, brought enthusiastic support to the Liberal candidates. Everywhere the keenest interest was shown in the land question. The word went round and it was heard on all sides; the Liberal Party have now shown that they can and will face up to the landlords and we must back them up. It was a glorious fight and one that indicates the high-water mark of Scottish Liberalism and Scottish character.

The February issue of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW contains an article from the pen of Mr. George Connell on "Modern Research in Social and Economic Problems." In dealing with the effective research made by Henry George into social problems, Mr. Connell says:—"One cannot help thinking that his study of these reforms must have had some part in the inspiration of his genius. One cannot doubt that the thoroughness of his system, the complete exhaustiveness of his research in the bottom truths of the problem of poverty entitle him to our regard as the father or pioneer of modern research in social and economic problems." Mr. Connell's article is ably written and has been much appreciated by his friends in Scotland.

Mrs. Toner came into the Glasgow office a few days ago and urged the necessity for extending the sale of LAND VALUES by voluntary effort. Asked how she would proceed she said that ladies might sell the paper on the streets and immediately offered to prove that it could be done. Taking a bundle of papers down to one of the Railway Station entrances she returned in a remarkably short time with the intimation that she had sold thirty. We congratulate Mrs. Toner and commend her action to others who may be able to follow her example.

Mr. J. M. Hodge, Blairgowrie, delivered a lecture on the land question to agricultural students at Aberdeen on February 18th. He advocated taxation of land values, the principle of which he said was now approved by men of all political parties. He maintained that by-elections and the recent General Election in Scotch counties had marked the general approval of the Small Land Holders Bill, and that that measure would be passed into law.

During the election a striking tribute to the work done by Mr. W. D. Hamilton and other loyal friends of the movement appeared in the splendid activity of a band of young men in Bearsden (Dumbartonshire). From reports submitted by Mr. Hamilton we formed the impression that this fashionable suburb of Glasgow dwelt in and loved unbroken economic darkness. Now it turns out that there are a number of young men who dared to come out in the open highway and in wide daylight to sing the "Land Song," and who are steadily educating themselves in the Taxtion of Land Values and its philosophy.

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WHAT THE ENGLISH LEAGUE IS DOING.

The following meetings, in addition to those announced in the February issue, have been addressed during the past month:—

- Jan. 30.—Brougham Road Chapel, Portsmouth. J. H. McGuigan.
 Feb. 4.—Nelson League of Young Liberals. F. Skirrow.
 " 8.—Huddersfield League of Young Liberals. F. Skirrow.
 " 9.—Folk Hall, New Earswick, York. C. W. Sorensen.
 " 14.—Keighley League of Young Liberals. J. W. Booth.
 " 16.—Yorkshire District Office, Keighley. J. R. Wilkins.
 " 22.—Huddersfield League of Young Liberals. W. E. Strong.
 " 23.—Yorkshire District Office, Keighley. F. Skirrow.
 " 26.—Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, Portsmouth. J. H. McGuigan.

The following additional election results, affecting members of the League, were declared too late to be included in the list given last month:—

SUCCESSFUL.

- †*Hemmerde, E. G., K.C. (E. Denbighshire) ... Majority 3,544
 Hindle, F. G. (Lancs. Darwen) ... " 211
 Raffan, Alderman, P. W. (Lancs. Leigh) ... " 679
 *Rickett, Sir J. Compton (Yorks., Osgoldcross) ... " "
 *White, Sir George (Norfolk, N.W.) ... " 1,208

UNSUCCESSFUL.

- Conybeare, C. A. V. (Lincolnshire, Horncastle).
 †Outhwaite, R. L. (Sussex, Horsham).
 *Member of late Parliament.
 †President of the League. ‡ Vice-President.

The meeting in Essex Hall, London, on January 28th, briefly reported in another column, was a great success both in point of numbers and of enthusiasm, and has resulted in the addition of several new members to the League roll. Mr. Berens and Mr. Munn took charge of the two literature stalls, and sold a considerable quantity of books and pamphlets. The meeting sang the land songs with great enthusiasm, and accorded by acclamation a vote of thanks to the volunteer organist, who gave very effective and willing help in the musical part of the programme.

Specimen copies of the special leaflets issued by the League, and by the Land Values Publication Department of the United Committee, in connection with the London County Council election, have been posted to all members of the League in the County of London. Help in distributing them during the last few days of the contest will be greatly appreciated.

At their meeting on February 14th, the Executive unanimously passed the following resolution:—

"That the Executive of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values protests against the proposal of the Improvements Committee of the London County Council to sell a freehold now belonging to the Council at Chelsea Embankment to Sir John Wolfe Barry, K.C., as it is against public interest that land values which have become public property should be alienated into private hands."

The Rev. S. D. Headlam, L.C.C., at the meeting of the Council on the following day, "blocked" the proposal against which this resolution was directed.

At the Yorkshire District Office, 71, North Street, Keighley, on the 2nd inst., a Socialist will oppose Taxation of Land Values, and on the 9th will affirm that Socialism offers the only solution of the Labour Problem. These friendly discussions are of great educational value, and are developing a number of capable speakers among the local membership of the League.

MARCH MEETINGS.

- Wed. 2.—Colne Valley League of Young Liberals. Wm. Thomson.
 —Yorkshire District Office. Discussion.
 Fri. 4.—Cocoa Inn, Pinner, Middlesex. J. Herbert Batty,
 "Land Monopoly."
 Mon. 7.—Wakefield League of Young Liberals. F. Skirrow.
 Tues. 8.—Wakefield League of Young Liberals. F. Skirrow.
 Wed. 9.—Wakefield League of Young Liberals. F. Skirrow.
 —Yorkshire District Office. Discussion.
 Thurs. 10.—Wakefield League of Young Liberals. F. Skirrow.
 Sun. 13.—Lewisham Liberal Club, 272, High Street. F. Verinder,
 "The Land Question and the Unemployed." 8.30 p.m.
 Tues. 15.—Brierfield League of Young Liberals. F. Skirrow.

COLONIAL AND FOREIGN.

CANADA.

A PROFITABLE "INDUSTRY."

A real-estate and financial agent of Vancouver, B.C., who has been in London on business, has given to a representative of CANADA many remarkable instances of how fortunes have been made there in buying and selling land. For instance, one client bought about 50 acres three miles from Vancouver 20 years ago for £4 per acre, and has sold portions recently for £1,000 per acre, while only before Christmas a man bought half an acre for £120, and sold it six weeks after for £180, in addition to two lots for £280, which he resold six weeks after for £400. Two years ago some lots that then sold for £100, to-day were worth £400.

"Anyone," he said, "who uses a little discretion may do well, commencing with as little as £20 if he invests judiciously. It is enough to make the first payment, the balance payable by arrangement, generally six, 12, and 18 months for central property, and sometimes one, two, and three years in the suburbs and five to six years in the country; the interest being 6 to 7 per cent., payable half-yearly or yearly. The interest is practically nothing compared with the large profits that are being made by using a little foresight. As an example of what can be done, I may say that 1½ acres were recently bought for subdivision for £1,600 and resold within six months for £3,200."

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

THE ESTATES GAZETTE, of February 19th, tells the following story of increased and increasing land values in British Columbia. Mr. E. John Goddard, of Messrs. H. Goddard and Son, Vancouver, British Columbia, is in England on a business and pleasure trip. Mr. H. Goddard, the senior member of the firm, is a notary public and vice-president of the Western Canada Trust Co., and their London agents are Messrs. Nicholas, 43, Pall Mall. British Columbia is the treasure house of Canada, and Vancouver its greatest seaport. The population is 100,000, which is expected to increase to 200,000 within three years. It is one of the great harbours of the world. Burrard Inlet, although practically in its natural state, can be entered by the largest ships of the world, and affords anchorage sufficient to accommodate the shipping of the British Empire. Large profits are daily being made in buying and selling land. Of course the selection of property must be left with a reliable agent on the spot, whose experience of years is very beneficial. Last year an estate sold for £8,000, and ten months after was worth £40,000, owing to the demand and growth of a suburb adjoining the city limits, with electric trams, between the harbour and the well-known Fraser River.

In the light of these things we are not surprised at the interest and activity of high and noble people in this country in the emigration of children and men and women to the Colonies. THE MORNING POST, of February 19th, tells of a Conference on Women's Emigration held at the Imperial Institute under the presidency of Lady Knightley, of Fawsley, of a discussion on emigration at the Conference of the National Union of Women Workers at Portsmouth, of a discussion at a meeting of the Naval and Military Emigration League, "the moving spirit," it says, "is Mr. Scammell, the manager of the British Empire Agency." This is almost a sufficient number of agencies to mention in one breath, but it indicates at what a rapid rate this country is being depleted of its population, to send up the value of the land in the Colonies belonging to patriotic speculators who are transferring their nets and snares for the simple people, who can be persuaded to go there without inquiring into the conditions.

UNITED STATES.

BUDGET DINNER IN NEW YORK.

The current number of the SINGLE TAX REVIEW contains a report of a dinner held in New York, under the auspices of the Women's Henry George League. One hundred and sixty-five persons, all interested in the struggle now on in England, sat down to table, and later in the evening the number was augmented by many who could not come earlier. The walls of the restaurant were decorated with posters, duplicates of those doing service at the same time in the British elections. After dinner the "Land Song" was sung with great enthusiasm. Then Mr. Joseph Fels was called on to give an account of the

work in Britain. "England," he said, "is the freest country in the world. I can go out in Hyde Park, in London, and begin in the morning to talk. I can begin with religion, and go right through the day with socialism, anarchism, land values and get back to Hebraic dogmas, and the policemen will be there to protect me. At the end of the day, when I am tired I can go home, and the next day I can go back and do the same thing, and the same policemen will be there to protect me, and this because England is the country of free speech. Out in Philadelphia because a woman wants to speak she is locked up and must stay locked up, because the men will not learn that women will speak their pieces."

Mrs. Ella M. Murray briefly outlined the British Constitution, and gave a history of the struggles for freedom which had been waged in this country.

Mr. Bolton Hall, Mr. Geo. L. Record, the "Insurgent" Republican leader in New Jersey, and Mr. Frank Stephens, also spoke. Mr. Stephens, in the course of his speech, told the following story:—"It was bitter cold on Tuesday night," he began, "and I, who had a meeting to attend in Brooklyn, felt it keenly though warmly wrapped. On that night an old man of 60 found wandering in a desolate waste a young man of 28. The young man had on only trousers, vest, coat and hat; although the weather was so biting there were no underclothes or overcoat to shield him from the sting. The young man was almost exhausted, and the old man took him in charge to guide him through this desolate waste. And where was this desolate waste? Why, here, in your great city of New York, and the old man took the young one to the bread line at 19th Street and East River. There he found many others standing waiting for their loaf and mug of coffee. The young man was nearly gone, and the old man pushed him forward ahead of those already waiting as he cried 'Give him food; he is starved, he smells the coffee and cannot wait; give him food at once,' and as he pushed the young man forward, urging his claim, the old man himself fell. They stooped to raise him, but he was dead—dead of starvation. And while these things can happen in New York there is work for each of us to do, and the responsibility is laid upon each of us personally so to do his share that these things shall become impossible."

* * *

TAX REFORM IN NEW YORK.

The New York Tax Reform Association has issued its 19th annual report. Signed by Mr. A. C. Pleydell, the Secretary, the report gives a clear account of the work that has been done in perfecting the machinery of assessment during the past year. Owing to the work of the Association in convening conferences for the discussion of State and Local Taxation, combined with the great practical progress made under Mr. Lawson Purdy's Tax Department, New York and a large part of the States seem only to be waiting for the growth of public opinion to carry through a sweeping reform in taxation. It may be safely said that there is no more complete preparation for this object in any part of the world.

SPAIN.

The TIMES, of February 12th, contained the report of an interview with Señor Canalejas, the new Premier of Spain. Having only been in power for two days, he gave the TIMES representative a very brief indication of his proposed policy. Discussing social reform, Señor Canalejas said:—"I am navigating the same waters as is the English Government," adding with a smile—"if our little lake can be compared with your ocean." With a view to increasing production and equitably redistributing taxation he proposes to apply the English theory of unearned increment to land, to institute old-age pensions on a contributory basis, and to suppress the octroi duties. . . . Much of the Government programme will be reflected in the Budget, which the Premier, a close student of English politics, regards as an admirable vehicle for reform.

DENMARK.

Mr. C. W. Sorensen, writes:—"The Danish Joseph Fels Fund, for the first year of the five covered by Mr. Fels' challenge, exceeds by £23 the £200 required to secure Mr. Fels' similar contribution. The Danish Government are considering proposals for the valuation of the land values in certain districts for experimental purposes. The circulation of RET, the organ of the Henry George movement in Denmark, now exceeds 4,000 copies a month—which would correspond to 88,000 copies with the population of the United Kingdom!

BOOK REVIEWS.

SOCIAL SERVICE, by Louis F. Post.*

This book makes us question once more the propriety of the form in which the older works on Political Economy are cast. As its title indicates the simplest and most fundamental conceptions of the facts and relationships which constitute our social and industrial life are used. That life is conceived as an exchange of services, no matter what may be the external or concrete shape in which these services may express themselves. On this simple basis Mr. Post builds a firm and connected structure. Running through everything this simple principle exposes, or rather leaves no hiding place for, fallacies which lurk in the older works with their complicated and sometimes contradictory conceptions. The part which any member of society plays in the great network of services is easily detected and proved.

Everyone interested in social problems will find this book of great assistance. If they have formed for themselves a clear and finished theory, according to which they interpret social phenomena, their power of doing this will be strengthened by reading this book; if they are beginners, and have formed no such theory, they cannot do better than master the consistent and far-reaching principle expounded here by Mr. Post. It will abide with them and serve them all their lives. The most casual reader will get a clear insight into the deepest problems of political economy in such chapters as "The Use of Money in Social Service," "Demand and Supply," and the "Analysis of the Instruments of Social Service." The value of these different chapters, which first appeared in the form of articles in the PUBLIC (Chicago) has been greatly increased by their collection in book form.

ABOUT PANICS. HARD TIMES: THE CAUSE AND THE CURE.

The lives of the masses of the people of every country are narrowed, degraded and stunted by poverty. This is no disgrace to them; but it is a disgrace if they do not seek to know, and when known to remove, the constantly acting cause of their poverty. This little book (6d. post free) in a free, simple and unconventional manner, will acquaint them of this, as also of the effective means by which it can most speedily be remedied. Written by a business man for business men, it is specially suitable for circulation amongst those engaged in carrying on the great industrial and commercial enterprises of the country.

HOW TO GET RICH WITHOUT WORKING.

Who wants to get rich without working? One at a time, please! This little book will tell you how it is to be done, legally, and in accordance with what the Courts, the Churches and the people, in their blindness, hold to be just. Written in the form of a story, it contains teachings it is very necessary all interested in political and social problems should learn to understand and appreciate.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF LANDHOLDING IN ENGLAND.

"To understand the present we should study the past." For this purpose this pamphlet will be found of the utmost service, and be welcome to every student of history and modern politics. Amongst other things it contains a chronological record, together with a brief explanation, of the chief laws and Acts of Parliament relating to Land-holding from the time of William the Conqueror to the accession of Edward VII.

"TALK UNEMPLOYMENT."

"Talk unemployment" was the advice given to Tory canvassers during the recent General Election. Those of our readers who would do so with telling effect cannot do better than obtain the above pamphlet, by Lewis H. Berens (price 1d., 1½d. post free), in which the chronic problem of unemployment, or "dis-employment," is investigated in a thorough and exhaustive manner, and it is proved beyond dispute that the prevailing system of land tenure and taxation is the direct cause of unemployment, and that the remedy is to be found in some radical measure of Land Reform. A pamphlet eminently calculated to bring home to the uninitiated the fundamental importance of the land question.

*"Social Service," by Louis F. Post, author of "Ethics of Democracy," etc. Published by A. Wessels, New York. Price, One Dollar, post free.

THE LANDLORDS' LAW.

WHAT THE LORDS ARE FIGHTING FOR IN EDINBURGH.

(Issued by Edinburgh Taxation of Land Values League.)

Land Value—What the Ratepayers pay and the Landlords receive.

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

Value created by the Community—What the People pay.

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

The Parks and Land Value.

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

The People's Law.

The Budget is the People's law. It provides for the separate valuation of land and improvements. It makes it possible for the Tax Collector to get at the Land Owners and to take for the benefit of the people a share of the value which their industry and expenditure create. After the Budget is passed, idle land can be taxed into use and idle men can thus get employment. Houses can be built and let at moderate rents. After the Budget is passed, shops, houses, and food, can be relieved of taxation. **This is the People's Law.**

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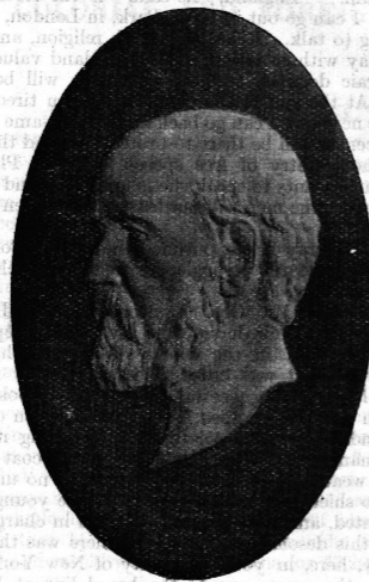
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SEND ORDERS TO THE
**UNITED COMMITTEE FOR THE TAXATION OF
LAND VALUES, 20, TOTHILL ST., LONDON, S.W.**

The truth that I have tried to make clear will not find easy acceptance. If that could be, it would have been accepted long ago. If that could be, it would never have been obscured. But it will find friends—those who will toil for it; suffer for it; if need be, die for it. This is the power of Truth.—

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

Life had been unfair to him. It had played him a scurvy trick when it fashioned him into the thing he was, and it had played him scurvy tricks ever since. What chance had he to be anything else than what he was. And, as though answering my unspoken thought, he wailed "I never 'ad no chance, nor arf a chance! 'Oo was there to send me to school, or put tommy in my 'ungry belly. W'en I was a kiddy, 'oo ever did anything for me? 'oo I s'y?" "Never mind, Tommy," I said, placing a soothing hand on his shoulder. "Cheer up! it'll all come right in the end. You've long years before you, and you can make anything you please of yourself." "It's a lie!" he shouted in my face, flinging off the hand. "It's a lie an' you know it. I'm already myde, and myde out of leavings and scraps. It's all right for you, you was born a gentleman. You never knew wot it was to go 'ungry, to cry yourself asleep with a gnawin' and gnawin' like a rat inside yer. It can't come right. If I was President of the United Stytes to-morrow 'ow would it fill my belly for one time when I was a kiddy an' it went empty. 'Ow could it I s'y. I was born to sufferin' and sorer. I've had more cruel suffering than any ten men, I 'ave. I've been in 'orspital arf my bleedin' life. I've 'ad the fever in Aspinwall, in 'Avana, in New Orleans. I near died of scurvy and was rotten six months with it in Barbadoes, small pox in 'Onolulu, two broken legs in Shanghai, pneumonia in Unalaska, three busted ribs an' my insides twisted in 'Frisco, and 'ere I am now! Look at me! Look at me! My ribs kicked loose from my back again. I'll be coughin' blood before eyght bells. 'Ow can it be myde up to me, I arsk? 'Oo's goin' to do it? Gawd! 'ow Gawd must have 'ated me w'en 'E signed me on for a voyage in this bloomin' world of 'Is!"

Tom Mugridge, in "The Sea Wolf," by John London.