

naturally have to pay so much the more for the use of it, but nothing more for the improvements he may have made upon it. If from any cause it falls in value, he will have to pay less. Whatever its value from time to time, as ascertained by periodical valuations, he will have to pay it.

What could be more reasonable?

Moreover, the more he improves the smaller will become the proportion which his rent bears to the total value, or productive power, of the property; and therefore the easier will it be to meet it, and the more remote the chance of his ever being disturbed in his possession.

Formerly his hands were tied by the shortness and uncertainty of his tenure and the absence of any claim for improvements. Now his hands are free; the land is practically his, though nominally the State's. It will be less in extent no doubt; that is, he can no longer hold large areas to the exclusion of other people, except temporarily, in remote parts where the land is not yet wanted for more productive use.

He can no longer hold more than he can personally use for the mere purpose of preventing other people from using it except for his profit; but he can hold as much as is his fair share and whereon his home stands, in perpetuity, and as much more as is not wanted by other people until it is wanted; and as the State is not likely to want it so long as it is being put to full productive use, and will have to pay him the full value of his improvements if it does, the more he improves it the less likely will he be ever to be disturbed.

Secure in his tenure, and in the fruits of his labor the occupier will acquire a permanent interest in his land, and a pride in and affection for it such as he has no chance of acquiring now, and will have every inducement man can have to put it to the fullest use, and draw the greatest enjoyment from it.

"But as he has still to pay rent, it seems—rent to the full value—how is he better off, after all? What difference can it make to him whether he pays his rent to the State or to a private landlord?"

Just the difference between paying money into the bank to your account and paying it into another's. For by so much the more as the State receives in rent the less it requires in taxation.

In paying rent to a private landlord the tenant pays it away to a stranger for the stranger's enjoyment or enrichment, and the payer sees it no more. But in paying it to the State he gets back with one hand what he gives with the other; what he gives goes to the great public trustee to be turned into public benefits of which he has the full use and enjoyment in common with other people.

His payment to the State, in short, is not a payment away at all, but an investment, and generally speaking, the best investment he makes. After making every allowance for Government mismanagement, jobbery and extravagance, there is yet no outlay from which we receive so many and so great returns. It secures for the payer benefits which he could not by his own resource, labor or

outlay secure at all, and without which he could secure nothing else.

What sort of a living could any man make if in addition to his ordinary business he had to be his own policeman, road-maker, schoolmaster, etc.?

What we pay to the State in taxation we get back in full measure, running over.

But the returns from State rents are far greater than the returns from taxation; for taxation gives you those public benefits only in return for your money, while for State rents you get the use of a piece of land in itself worth the money, and you have all the public benefits thrown in; or (to put it differently) for taxation you get your money back once only, for the State rent you get it twice over.

At the commencement of the system there may be no immediate gain, as far as mere money payment goes; for great part of what the tenant pays to the State in rent, the State will have to transfer to the dispossessed landlord as compensation.

It is only as the land increases in value (which it will quickly begin to do), and the unearned increment begins to accrue, that the State revenue will begin to expand and to go to the reduction of taxation and multiplication of public benefits; but, from the moment it begins to accrue, it begins to increase, and increases at accelerating speed.

3. In regard to the laborer.

As for the laborer's full rights, which it is the ultimate aim of our policy to secure, that is a subject on which I may have something to say on another occasion; but for the present all I am concerned about is to show how the particular initiative measures which our society proposes will affect him.

Rent, as we have seen, devours wages; and what enables it chiefly to do so is the power the landowner or land occupier has of restricting the field of employment; of keeping back the greater part of the national resources from full productive use, and compelling the laborers to compete for the privilege of employment on the small portion which he permits to be used.

We have but to notice how the opening up or enlargement of one particular department of employment affects the labor market to form some idea of the effect that would be produced by throwing open the whole field.

The undertaking of a single line of railway sends wages up at once perceptibly along the whole line and for some distance on each side. The discovery of mineral deposits on Crown land, where the laborer requires nothing but a pick and shovel and a miner's right to find employment for himself at once, sends them up with a rush.

Throw open all the land for cultivation and all the minerals for development, and, whether the laborer or the capitalist takes possession, work is wanted in all directions; the laborer either finds work for his own hand or somebody calling out for him, and can ask any wages he likes

up to the limit of the productiveness of his labor.

If the land is thrown open to the laborer himself, as in the case of minerals discovered on Crown land, or of allotments for cultivation on unused land, he will not work for an employer for less than he can make for himself; nor even for as much, for independence is sweet, and he will rather work for himself than for another for the same money.

(To be continued.)

## OUR PROGRAMME.

### THE "PIONEER" ADVOCATES

Nationalisation of the Land by means of a Single Tax on all Land Values, and abolition of all Taxes on Thrift and Industry.

Nationalisation and working of all such branches of Industry which are in their nature—monopolies, viz., Railways, Post and Telegraph, National Irrigation and Waterworks, Harbors, Mines, and Forests, &c.

EDUCATION.—Compulsory—free and secular up to the highest standard.

LOANS.—Discontinuance of National borrowing, with a view to extinguish the Public Debt at an early date.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

BANKNOTES.—The issue to be reserved to the State.

INSURANCE of all citizens against sickness and death; provision for old age. Abolition of the Destitutes' uniform.

ADULT SUFFRAGE on the one person one vote principle. One Electoral Roll to serve for all State and municipal elections.

ABOLITION of the Upper House, plural voting, and all or any property qualification.

LEGALISING of Acts by a plebiscite of the citizens.

ANNUAL Parliaments and elections.

ABOLITION of all sinecures in the Public service.

FEDERATION on stringent Democratic principles, securing home rule in all local matters.

### MUNICIPAL REFORMS

Adult Suffrage—one person one vote.

All rates to be levied upon all Unimproved Land Values.

Municipalisation of Tramways, Gas, Waterworks, Markets, &c.

Stringent inspection of all supplies of goods for consumption, the inferiority of which would tend to injure the health of the consumer, viz., fish, meat, milk, bread, beverages, medicaments, &c., or alternately the municipalisation of such supplies.

Stringent inspection of boilers, engine shops, mills, workrooms, in respect to danger or unhealthy character.

LOCAL OPTION on a Democratic basis—no compensation.

LAW REFORM.—Abolition of recovering of debts by law. Justice—public and free.

These reforms to go on with.