

cide. But under the "Jackson" bill no submission to popular vote could be secured until a council, liable to be influenced the other way by bribery, had taken the initiative. There could be no direct popular demand for the measure. And if the council did submit the question, a majority of the registered voters would be required for an affirmative decision. Every registered voter who was too indifferent, or ignorant or lazy to look into the question and form a judgment, would be committed against the reform. Is it not very remarkable, not to say extremely significant, that while the "Jackson" bill would thus prohibit municipal ownership until a council could be induced to submit the question, and would make every non-vote a negative vote, it would allow franchises to be granted private companies without any popular action whatever? It may be that the majority of the Chicago council is honest in this matter; but with tempting boodle, suited to the demand and ready for takers, they must pardon those of us who suspect that such aldermanic votes as go in the direction of "boodle" interests are attracted by "boodle" magnetism.

Truman C. White, the judge who tried and passed sentence on Czolgoz, the assassin of McKinley, and who still occupies a seat upon the Supreme bench of the State of New York, recently delivered a lecture in Buffalo, the sentiment of which cannot be too highly praised. Referring to the spirit of lawlessness which animates so many public officers, from policemen to judges, shown, as he said, "in the readiness with which a conclusion is reached that a person charged with crime is guilty, and in the determination born of that conclusion and founded on an accusation in advance of proofs, to bring about a conviction and punishment if possible," Judge White led on to the mob spirit among "conservatives" which was aroused by the McKinley murder. He did not mention that instance, but his allu-

sion to "men of high order of intelligence who openly said that if they had the opportunity they would kill the prisoner," could not be misunderstood. And heavy, indeed, was his condemnation of such men. Said he:

The man who stands ready to commit a crime because another man has done so, is as bad, in my judgment, as the criminal upon whom he wishes to wreak revenge. I know this may be an unpopular view to take, but it is a solemn truth in my judgment. If you and I and all of us would from the beginning of raising a family inculcate in the minds of our children the evil of this spirit of lawlessness, there would, I believe, be a decided improvement in society.

That Judge White's wholesome sentiment was no passing whim, but was rooted deep down in immutable principle, is evident from his spontaneous replies to questions. We quote from the local newspaper report of his lecture:

A voice in the audience spoke up: "What about the Texas case where a Negro was burned at the stake for rape upon a little white girl?"

"What I have said applies to that case with equal force," answered Justice White.

"But suppose that child had been your own? Wouldn't you have felt like wreaking that vengeance?" persisted the questioner.

"I have thought of all that," said Justice White, calmly. "That doesn't change the situation. The better way is for citizens to uphold the authorities, and the law will better be vindicated."

That is good doctrine. But it has few adherents. Take them as they run, men are a pretty disorderly lot.

The special grand jury of Cook county, Ill., sitting in the coal conspiracy cases, has outdone the mountain that was delivered of a mouse. The mountain's mouse, with all its comparative littleness, was at any rate a real mouse and consistent with itself. But the deliverance of this Chicago grand jury is not only ridiculously out of proportion but indescribably absurd in itself. Some three dozen indictments have been found by it charging men and corporations

with a crime which the grand jury takes great pains, in a voluminous report, to prove has not been committed by anybody.

According to this truly remarkable report, the coal famine was caused by the anthracite strikers. By going upon strike for a paltry increase in their wretchedly low wages, they reduced the supply of coal. Those wicked, wicked strikers! And then the evil they produced was intensified by that ever-ready explanation of all our economic difficulties, our "great prosperity." A lessened supply of coal had come into collision with an augmented demand. The famine, therefore, was strictly a result of the natural operation of the laws of supply and demand. The operators did all they could to relieve the shortage. The railroads cooperated and did all they could. It wasn't much, maybe; but it was their little all. The shortage and high prices, consequently were "not owing to or appreciably influenced by any conspiracy or combination in restraint of trade, or any attempt to forestall the market." Yet this ingenious grand jury indicts some 30 or 40 individuals and corporations engaged in producing coal, for precisely that thing—conspiracies and combinations in restraint of trade. Altogether one might suppose that while the indictments were ordered by the grand jury, its report was dictated by some coal trust lawyer.

Sensational editorials in the press of this country, over the exposures of "municipal socialism" in England made through the London Times by that prince of statistical adventurers, Robert Porter (p. 484), no longer appear; but echoes from those that did appear a month or two ago may still be heard. A word, therefore, directly from Glasgow, where this "municipal socialism" originated and prevails with greatest intensity, will not come amiss even at this late day. We are quoting from John Paul, editor of

Land Values, a Glasgow paper of imperial circulation and influence. Referring to Porter's work, Mr. Paul writes:

The "plutocratic" criticism shows little knowledge of Glasgow's municipal doings; the mere twaddle of an ignorant penny-a-liner. The municipal improvements have come along in the nature of things; just as the city has grown and a better public spirit has been manifested. The citizens are quite conscious and quite satisfied that they get full value from the principal municipal services—water, gas, parks and galleries, tramways, especially the latter. The electric light is presently competing with the gas supply or supposed to be, but they are both very serviceable; the electric light of course is used more for business than for domestic purposes, while it is also used now for public lighting. The municipal telephones are on their trial, but seem to be giving satisfaction. The public market is an institution that has long existed in Glasgow. It suits the business transacted there, and in the old days was a center of trade in the town necessitating some municipal superintendence. The baths and wash houses have grown up out of a desire to meet the wants of the people who inhabit houses of one and two rooms; and sad to say 60 per cent. of the people of Glasgow live in such houses. The "Improvement Trust," which the "plutocratic" press calls municipal houses, really came about through necessary municipal improvement, i. e., knocking down unsanitary property and adding to the amenity of the district attacked in the common interest. The other things that Glasgow does according to the "plutocratic" press, look big in type, but there is really not much in them and the people of Glasgow do not bother about them—except that a few cranks ventilate their opposition by occasional "letters to the editor" on "the urgency of backing down," or "going steady." Compared with other towns Glasgow is a low taxed city; but nothing of the profits from any of the successful municipal services are taken to reduce the taxes, nor were any of these services initiated with that view. Far less with that of making the city tax free. Tax freedom has certainly been discussed time and again, at the council, in the press, and on the platform; but it has been so discussed as a thing to be done not through municipal services, but by the taxation of land values. Glasgow is engaged just now for example in a new sewage scheme, which must be got through. This will undoubtedly add to the taxes, as the scheme will probably cost anything in the neigh-

borhood of two millions before it is finished.

As Mr. Paul is a single taxer and represents through his paper that sentiment in Scotland, where it is very strong, even controlling the Glasgow city government, his views as such on the social utilities of these municipal improvements are of special interest. On that point he writes:

Single taxers, as such, do not attach much importance to municipal services. I have been interested at times in the visits of American single taxers here who profess admiration for Glasgow's controlling these monopolies; and as I look at your prints advocating a similar policy for the towns of the United States, I wonder, in view of our experience here, if the game is worth the candle. Whether they are controlled by private corporations or by the municipality, these services only add to rent. The conversion of the tramways from horse haulage to electricity and their extension for miles in every direction has sent up house rents one, two and three pounds a year; and, as you know, these advances in rent must be paid by all householders whether they use the cars to greater or less advantage, or not at all. Of course there is a sense in which the citizens get an advantage from some municipal improvements that the landlord cannot take from them. The children can have the enjoyment of open spaces and parks. But even these in the long run mean better health for the city and consequently more ability to produce wealth for somebody else to enjoy. But to come to the more political aspect of the question. The private corporations, it is asserted, owning and controlling your municipal monopolies, or services, control and dominate your local legislatures. They bribe councillors to vote their interest and further pollute public life by promoting the candidature of their own creatures. This is pretty bad and must make many who stand for progress at times despair. But look at the situation from our point of view. We have some 15,000 workers in the employment of the Glasgow council, and every further piece of municipal expansion adds to the number. Many of these workers are organized and are exercising more and more political influence in the return of their own creatures to the council. The candidate for their support is not the man who will look after the interests of the city, but he who will promise most to the employes of the council. The best interests of the city is a secondary consideration. In fact, these workers cannot see the city's interest except

through their own, while the more vigilant of them work for the return of candidates who will assist them or their friends into corporation jobs. A Labor candidate publicly boasted on the hustings that he had got so many men municipal employment during his term of office, which means that we have Tammany here. And we are likely to have more of it in the future. This is due solely to economic pressure caused by locking up the land in the hands of a class. It is accentuated by effecting municipal progress and expenditure. Therefore, as I say, we single taxers are not at all enthusiastic about these municipal improvements. We have got our eyes fixed on what is necessary to social redemption and hope to keep them there. The only thing that can purify our municipal government or yours—government by municipal socialism or by private corporations—will be the freeing of the natural opportunities to employment, thereby making it as easy to get jobs outside the corporation as inside. We must have the single tax to slack back the economic pressure that is not only responsible for the poverty of the people, but for the direct pollution of municipal government. The reform that will destroy land monopoly, open up the natural opportunities to employment, and raise wages as a proportion of the gross produce of labor, is the only cure.

A remarkable article on "the causes of industrial crises" appears in the December Commonwealth, a St. Louis magazine, from the pen of Isaac H. Lionberger. The distinctive thing about it is the essential identity of the theory adopted with that which Henry George advanced nearly a quarter of a century ago, though the writer doubtless supposes himself to be absolutely at variance with George on all sides.

It is true that Mr. Lionberger attributes the periodical panics since 1819 to different causes; but his allusion here is evidently not to final causes, but to those that are immediate—occasions rather than causes. Indeed, he says so; and his search is for the deeper and universal cause. Reviewing in this search "the events which always, under all circumstances, and in all countries precede a collapse of industry," he notes as his starting point the enforced economies of a period of depression. These reduce demand and consequently cur-