cil has left but two weeks in which to do this, of which hardly more than a week remains. The attitude of the franchise seekers and their newspaper aids, together with their coadjutors who nominally represent the city, is highly significant of a determination to "jam through" a bunco set of ordinances. And what have they to urge on behalf of this suspicious speed? Only that they are in a hurry to pass the ordinances so that the people of Chicago may have good traction service. But there is nothing in these ordinances to make good service secure. The only possible guarantee of good service would be an ordinance enabling the city to take over the system upon demand and with the least possible difficulty. The companies might then give good service, in fear of losing their franchise; but they will have no fear, nor reason for any, if these ordinances are passed.

✣

Had these ordinances been drawn in good faith to effectuate the purposes of Mayor Dunne's "Werno letter," the traction question would now be settled. No one would oppose them, and everyone would welcome them. For that letter contemplated re-construction of the traction system by the old companies for the city, with a revocable license to operate until the city should decide to operate for itself. This is what the companies agreed to do when they accepted orally the terms of "the Werno letter," and this is the obligation they are now trying by these ordinances to dodge. Instead of constructing for the city, they are to construct for themselves. Instead of operating under a revocable license, they are to operate under a license so difficult if not impossible of revocation as to amount in practice to an indefeasible franchise for twenty years or more. Instead of eliminating the traction companies from municipal politics these ordinances would make them more than ever a corrupting political influence. Instead of taking "water" out of traction stock they would pour "water" in by the barrel full, as Stock Exchange reports will soon begin to show if the ordinances pass. And opportunities for stock-jobbing, instead of being removed, would be greatly augmented. These ordinances are no more expressive of the purpose of the "Werno letter," nor intended so to be, than theft is expressive of honesty.

✣ ✣

The Shea Trial.

The disagreement of the jury in the Shea trial at Chicago doubtless appears to very many well-meaning persons as a miscarriage of justice. Let them observe, however, that only a minority of the jury were for conviction, which indicates that if justice did miscarry it was because the defendants were not acquitted. But miscarriage of justice is hardly the appropriate phrase. The real conspirators in this case were not the men on trial, not the strike leaders; they were among the prosecutors if they were anywhere. This fact could have been shown at the trial of Shea and his associates, and the attempt was made, but the judge who presided ruled out all evidence tracing responsibility to any other source than the labor leaders in the teamsters' strike (vol. viii, p. 279) of two years ago. The mistrial in the Shea case was less a miscarriage of justice than of injustice.

✣

Regrets are expressed that there might not have been "a more satisfactory outcome" of the trial. The temper and source of these regrets imply that the only "satisfactory outcome" would have been conviction. But the simple truth is that no decisive outcome was possible, with a jury fairly selected. For the issue presented by the case was whether or not a sympathetic labor strike is a criminal conspiracy. At this trial five jurors thought it was and seven thought it was not. At another trial there would be the same result unless the jury were packed. A jury of Union League Club members, or members of the Employers' Association, the real prosecutors in this case, would doubtless agree on a verdict of guilty, whereas a jury of Federation of Labor delegates would as probably agree on a verdict of not guilty. But a jury consisting of representatives of both sides of the question would most assuredly disagree, while it would be impossible to find a jury of neutrals on that question outside of a retreat for idiots.

✣ ✣

Emma Goldman and the Newspapers.

A few days ago the newspapers of the country made much of the arrest of Emma Goldman for a public speech inciting to violence, the destruction of government, etc., etc. But they made nothing of the fact that when she was arraigned, the case against her was dismissed on the ground that her speech was not a lawless one but was entirely within her rights. The newspaper idea of what constitutes lawlessness offers an interesting study in the psychology of professional gossip. A woman speaker who commits no crime is haled to prison and her meeting broken up by officious policemen

without warrant and without right, and the newspapers ejaculate "hurrah!" But when the courts determine that it was not the woman speaker but the police that were criminal in the matter, the newspapers pass silently by on the other side.

✣ ✣

FIRST INSTALLMENT OF LAND REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN.

One of the seven measures to get safely through the British Parliament at its first session under the management of the Campbell-Bannerman ministry is the "Land Tenure Bill" (p. 850). It is so small an installment of the program which that Government has laid out for itself that some of the supporters of the ministry thought it bad policy to expend much effort on it. "The great land reform before the Liberal party is not this bill but something far larger," says the London Tribune. "The imagination of the party has been caught by the hope of a great regeneration of the country to be effected by a wise and determined statesmanship which will create and foster a population of small holders and restore life and romance to our empty villages. Any energy spent on other objects is grudged as energy wasted on objects that are ancillary or perhaps even injurious to this great aim." Still the land tenure bill that is passed does get rid of the worst conditions surrounding the English farmer,—the insecurity of tenure, the danger of confiscation, the risks to his investment of capital and labor; and the provision in the bill for compensation for damage done by winged game is a new principle, proposing that it shall be considered henceforth that home-making takes precedence of feudal power and what is called "sport"—which will have a great effect on the British land policy of the future. The Prime Minister assured a deputation of 150 Liberal and Labor members of Parliament just before the adjournment, who had waited on him to urge legislation in the direction of taxation of land values, of his sympathy, and expressed a "confident hope" that a measure for the separate valuation of land values would be part of the government program at the next session. The separate valuation of land values as distinguished from buildings and other improvements, was asked for by all the speakers of the deputation as the first step necessary to the accomplishment of a reform system.

The taxation of land values is one of the burning issues of British politics. It has been kept very much alive by the sitting of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the taxation of land values (Scotland) bill. The principle of this bill consists in the separation of the land from the value of the buildings and the placing of taxation on the value of the land, to the relief, pro tanto, of the taxes levied under the present system. The argument of the advocates of the bill is that the land owner should not be encouraged to keep land out of use by having no taxes to pay on it; that the owner contributes no benefit to the community by holding the land but rather helps in this way to force up the price of land; the growth of the population and the outlay of the municipalities are always increasing the value of the land. But a secondary problem has arisen in the question as to whether the tax which is meant to absorb future betterment and unearned increment should go to the national or to the local treasury.

Land values for the purposes of taxation J. A. Hobson would divide into "old unearned increment" and "new unearned increment," the "old" to be regarded as having become national property in the sense that national taxation may to a gradually increasing extent be properly imposed upon it; while "new" unearned increment chiefly the direct result of local expenditure, local energy and local growth shall be regarded primarily as a source of local revenue. Mr. Hobson thinks that the town, district and county are going to play an increasing part in taxation in the near future. He instances the new problem of transportation to the suburbs of cities, the displacement of the present systems of poor relief, the probable early organizations of public supplies of electric energy for lighting and industrial purposes, and other practical issues involving large drains on public expenditure will force a new division of revenues. It is interesting to see how Mr. Hobson meets the criticism that the income of ground values will be voted away by majorities of citizens who pay little or no taxes themselves while imposing heavy burdens on a few large taxpayers. "Is it just or reasonable that the body of citizens should impose taxes upon ten per cent. of their numbers, the other ninety per cent. paying nothing?" asks Mr. Hobson, to answer the question by pointing out that the income upon which the tax on land value falls is not to be regarded rightly as the property of him who receives it, but as "publicly created income which, by custom or obsolete convenience has been permitted to remain in private hands."

The state or city would take only as much as necessary of the value which is constantly being added to the land by public enterprise. This he