

for pushing the campaign for the complete enfranchisement of all citizens. The political slave pens—and districts and wards are nothing less—which give us government by a majority of a plurality, must be replaced by general tickets with proportional representation. The primary should be done away with entirely, and nominations made by petition. And the ballot should be short. By electing fewer officials, using preferential voting, the voter will be able to exercise better judgment in choosing his representatives, the sense of responsibility will be greater, and his power more effective. This will not bring the millenium. It will not make stupid voters wise, nor bigoted citizens board-minded, but it will give the people what a majority of the people desire.

S. C.



THE MODERN GOSPEL.

Ages ago a Jewish carpenter preached the Fatherhood of God, the equal Brotherhood of Men, to laborers and fishermen; said if we would but do Justice and practice right living we need no more worry about food and raiment than do bird or beast or flower, and taught His disciples to pray for the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. "The common people heard Him gladly," but Privilege shook with fear, and priests and rulers crucified Him between thieves. Yet His Gospel of Deliverance, spread by fugitives and slaves, roused and revolutionized the world. Then Privilege rallied, prostituted His preaching of Justice into a shield for injustice, and in His name consecrated inequality.

But yesterday another Jew, Joseph Fels, with heart of fire and tongue of flame, sought to teach Christianity to Christians, strove to rouse a sluggish world to realize that the wrongs which enslave women and rob even children, are rooted in land monopoly, and that the sole remedy is that which was indicated by Henry George. His dynamic energy was first felt here and in England; then stirred all Europe, and now Asia, Africa, and the isles have been roused. Now all the world mourns his death and in every city are those who realize they have lost a friend and brother in this Lion of the tribe of Judah who let light into dark places, shook vested wrongs on their thrones, and brought nearer the day Whittier foretold when will

"Earth own at last, untrod
By sect or class or clan,
The Fatherhood of God,
The Brotherhood of Man."

WILL ATKINSON.

WHY IS TAMMANY?

The lesson of the Sulzer incident is neither the wickedness of Tammany Hall nor the weakness of even illustrious men. It is, rather, the unrighteousness, the sociologic crime, of the unholy alliance between Big Business—as with more or less consistent significance we use the term—and the trade of office-getting.

The vice and the power of Tammany Hall have been so widely known and so long established that nothing can add to its disrepute or increase our appreciation of its vicious potency. The rising waves of civic morals and intelligence have lapped the ground of respectability from beneath it until nothing could further shrink the base upon which its apologists must stand. Nothing is needed, nor has there been these fifty years, to lessen the esteem in which it is held by right thinking men and women or to spread the knowledge of its infamy.

Many men of undoubted eminence, undoubted recitude and undoubted abilities, have endeavored to rectify and purify Tammany Hall from within, but the leaven is never sufficient for the loaf. It is beyond leavening. It is beyond curing for the reason that Tammany Hall itself is not the disease; it is only the manifestation of the disease. It is merely the obvious, festering sore.

Upon the other hand, history is replete with the instances of really great and good men who have gone wrong when in positions of public trust.

It is not the great and good men as individuals, as personalities, who will save society. To establish "Thy will on Earth as it is in Heaven," we must ever go back to the God in man. We must revert to the "Heaven" that "is within you." We must recognize, utilize and obey—not as individuals, but as men comprising society—the fundamental, natural laws laid down for social guidance, social order and social justice.

Just as the ordinary, or even less than ordinary, average man, mayhap overburdened with personal shortcomings, may see this great truth, so the personally great, illustrious and virtuous man in power may utterly fail to see it. But it is there, none the less.

Suppose that society's laws were fewer and simpler and the powers of legislators infinitely curtailed. Suppose that the simpler laws rested upon those basic, economic principles of justice which deny to any man the privilege of receiving more than he renders some acceptable form of service for. Suppose that men could not secure by legislative enactment or executive decree any of the special privileges, under special laws, by which

they exploit their fellow men, who would buy the votes of legislators? Who would lubricate the wheels of such potent, but vile political machines as Tammany Hall? Suppose the smile, the personal good will, the individual favor of the great in public office could have no capitalizable value; who would pay for them, directly or indirectly?

The wickedness is not with Tammany nor the weakness with Sulzer.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

HEARING ON HERRICK-SCHAAP BILL.

New York, February 21.

There was a hearing in the City Hall yesterday, before the Board of Estimate, on the merits and demerits of the Herrick-Schaap bill. This is the measure in which it is proposed to take a referendum of the voters of New York relative to the matter of gradually reducing the tax rate on buildings to half that on land. The Lower Rents Society had claimed the fulfillment of a promise made by Mayor Mitchell to have the matter discussed before the Board, although it is rather unusual to ask that the Board of Estimate take action on a bill which has not yet been passed by the Legislature. The large Council chamber of the City Hall was crowded with an audience vitally interested in the proceedings. In favor of the measure, the Lower Rents Society and the Business Men's Society to Untax Industry were represented by Messrs. F. C. Leubuscher, Charles T. Root, W. C. Cranford, Benjamin C. Marsh. The opponents of the measure had thought to play a strong card by introducing Professor E. A. Seligman of Columbia University to speak for them. The hush that immediately followed the announcement showed the respect with which the head of the economic department in our greatest institution of learning was held in his own city. But Professor Seligman sadly disappointed those who listened to him with this decided mark of respect. Whatever his abilities, and they are not disputed, as a teacher of college economics, he does not shine as a political speaker. He contradicted himself several times, stating at one point that the passage of the bill would result in an over-production and therefore a forced boom in buildings, and again at another time asserting that it would keep back building and keep land out of use. In this, however, to the credit of Professor Seligman, be it said that he was not alone. Messrs. Robert E. Dowling, Cyrus C. Miller and others who spoke against the bill were equally emphatic in both assertions, i. e., that the bill would do both of two things, bring about too much building and keep back building. One gentleman who spoke for five minutes at the last of the hearing stated that of course a tax on land values would keep land out of use. "It stands to reason," he remarked emphatically, "that if a man has four lots and is heavily taxed on them, he will only build on one"

Now, to a mere woman, who does not attempt to

understand the workings of the superior masculine mind, this last remark was a faze!

The Mayor stated that he did not believe it would be fair or expedient to have any such legislation adopted until the matter had been carefully studied. He had authorized various committees to make a thorough investigation of the taxation on land and buildings, both in New York and other cities. At the close of the hearing Comptroller Prendergast offered a resolution deprecating any such legislation as proposed by the Herrick-Schapp bill until the matter had been thoroughly studied. This sounded rather good than otherwise, for there is nothing those favoring the bill could wish for that would be better for them than an honest investigation of this question of raising city revenues. However, as Comptroller Prendergast himself came out with an open assertion that he himself was distinctly opposed to the bill and the majority of the Board seemed to agree with him, the prospects for this honest investigation do not look very favorable. The hall was closely packed with large delegates, recognizable through their blue badges, from the Allied Real Estate Owners' Association. They expressed great jubilation over the result of the hearing. Some outspoken remarks by Mr. Marsh led to what almost amounted to a hand-to-hand fight, after the Mayor and the members of the Board had retired. The extreme bitterness felt by those who are fighting this bill showed their determination to defeat it by whatever methods they can. Some remarks made in the heated argument—it became so heated that several policemen took a part in it—were amusing and at the same time instructive to a calm observer. One thing, repeated several times, was the peculiar suggestion that Mr. Marsh and the other backers of the bill were being paid by "Philadelphia capital to get business away from New York." This suggestion is certainly a novel one.

Throughout all that was said by the opponents of the bill, both during the hearing and after it, it was noticeable that they did not any one of them seem to grasp for a moment the fact that those backing the bill were doing so out of conviction that had little to do with self-interest. It did not seem to them to be in any way a comprehensible matter that a political fight should be fought on any other ground but those of the immediate money-interests of the fighters. From this conclusion, however, we must naturally exempt Professor Seligman who, however confused his arguments may have been, did not degenerate in any way into personalities. It was a very interesting occasion and it was certainly a lesson to the upholders of this bill that they are fighting against, not only the acute self-interests of their opponents but against an utter lack of understanding on the part of these opponents that there is anything else to fight about except self-interest.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.



THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING.

Modesto, California, February, 20.—The secretary of the Modesto Chamber of Commerce took me over the Modesto and Turlock Irrigation District yesterday. We covered about 35 miles of roads in each district, so that I got a fair insight into conditions