

manity. I protest, therefore, against the violent wrenching of that great war of beneficence into a war of greed and conquest. I protest against the clouding of a soldier's honorable service with the shadow of repudiation and infamy. I protest against turning the glorious, freedom-giving campaign of Santiago into a black and disgraceful story of national rapacity and unfaithfulness.

A PROPOSED SOCIOLOGICAL EXPERIMENT.

An interview published in the Detroit Evening News, of January 22.

Frank H. Warren is the senior member of the firm of Warren & West, proprietors of the Hammond building barber shop. Mr. Warren has been a barber for something over ten years. He is also a large owner of very valuable Mackinac Island property, and is now taking a full course in the Detroit law school. Between tonsorial efforts, Mr. Warren takes down yellow-bound law volumes from a bureau, and bones assiduously on Blackstone and other gentlemen who have taken the law rather seriously.

It is rather unusual to see a barber go from lather to international law; from an egg shampoo to constitutional history.

The spectacle invoked the inquiry, and Mr. Warren talked enthusiastically of a sociological experiment which, if successful, will be the solution of a great national problem. In a few words, Mr. Warren is preparing himself for a great lifework, to take to the heart of Africa a colony of his own race; in the center of the dark continent to hew out the form of a commonwealth, making its own laws and bringing civilization to the millions of wild blacks, their primeval forefathers.

The only evidence that Mr. Warren shows of his African extraction is a slight swarthy complexion. He has entered upon the great work with full knowledge of its magnitude and the difficulties that he will inevitably encounter.

Mr. Warren said to the News:

"It is about ten years ago now that I first began to think of the great benefit it would be to the colored race. I went through the grammar schools of Saginaw and got as far as the ninth grade. Then I was obliged to leave school. As the practical side of the movement dawned upon me, I made up my mind to devote my time to the work and to prepare myself to take an active part in

the work. I had to wait for a good many years before I was in a position to study law. I felt that a knowledge of law was indispensable in the execution of such a work. I am in the first year of the law school now, and it will be three years before I am prepared to take up the great work actively.

"In outline the plan is this: There is an organization in this country called the African Colonization society. Their headquarters is in Atlanta Ga. Bishop H. M. Turner is really at the head of the work. For years this society has been active in this work, to take back to their native Africa a colony of American negroes. They have raised for the purpose a fund that already amounts to something between \$70,000 and \$80,000. It is being agitated all over the country. Circulars are being written and distributed, and even the rough outline of the form of government to prevail is being discussed.

"With this movement I have decided to cast my lot, and in this enterprise I have decided to risk what property I have accumulated, about \$10,000.

"The purpose of the colony is really threefold: It will be an outlet for the negroes of this country, and, in that way, a solution of the race problem of the south. It will tend to civilize the natives of the continent, and I believe that is the religious duty of the American negro. And, third, it will be a practical test for the single tax theory, in which I have the most implicit faith. The single tax will certainly be one of the fundamental principles of the government.

"My idea is to start for Africa with not less than 1,000 American negroes and their wives and families. The country that I have decided upon is about 300 miles southeast of Liberia and north of the Congo. It is in the heart of the wilderness, but communication can easily be opened with the coast and the coast trade. The question of what flag flies over the country is of little importance. When James G. Blaine was secretary of state we exchanged a great deal of correspondence in the matter of suzerainty. Mr. Blaine said he had no doubt that any nation would not only offer no objection, but would assist materially in the work of colonization. In every way possible we would retain the American methods and customs and national character, and, if possible, the American flag.

"That part of the continent has

been selected principally because of its favorable climate and remarkably fertile soil. The temperature never falls below 70 degrees and never rises above 90 degrees. The soil gives two crops a year. A man there can cultivate five acres of ground, and each crop of five acres will produce at the minimum \$800, and at the maximum \$2,000.

"All this can be accomplished with a great deal less labor than the average negro is now made to do in the south, practically for nothing. He will be free to make his own way.

"England will offer a ready market for our crops. The steamer lines with England are direct and the commercial communications are excellent.

"I believe that this will be a solution of the race problem in the south. Those that go will have abundant opportunities to succeed. Those that stay will get the advantage of more opportunities, and they will be better considered by the white employers of the south.

"I have read extensively books of sociology and economic reforms. I do not believe that Bellamy's theory in 'Looking Backward' is practical in any way. I believe in free and equal opportunity. Every man should be given an opportunity to rise or to fall. I shall advocate the exclusion, at first, of all intoxicating liquors. I am not a prohibitionist, but a free liquor trade might mean the ruin of a young colony.

"We are encountering a great deal of opposition among the American negroes. They do not understand it. They fancy that it is a plan of the white people to get rid of them, and they are stubborn and imagine that they are being abused. Then most of them do not feel that it is their duty to go back to their country and assist in the work of civilizing their own race. They have no moral scruples. But they must be instructed and shown their duty in the matter. We will try to take skilled artisans of all kinds. I am anxious to secure the services of educated and intelligent Africans to help me in the administration of government and to mold the life of the young commonwealth.

"When can we go? I don't know. When we are prepared. It may be three years and it may be more."

Mr. Warren is at work on a little booklet, which will receive its circulation in the spring. It will be distributed among the colored people,

and is entitled: "Is It Our Duty to Go Back to Africa?"

Mr. Warren's brother, now attending the Booker T. Washington school, will assist in the work of colonization.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

The principle of proportional representation has been adopted by several widely separated countries, among them being Belgium, Denmark, Brazil and Tasmania. It is in Belgium that the most thorough trial of the system has been given. Five years ago a system of proportional voting known as the "free list" was adopted for municipal elections throughout the kingdom.

The system was applied in a partial and imperfect form by an opportunist ministry who wanted to stave off a full application of the principle. Notwithstanding this, the reform worked exceedingly well, and the general testimony is that it has promoted purity and efficiency of government, whilst markedly decreasing party bitterness and rancor. This success led to a further extension of the principle, and in December, 1899, an act was passed applying the free list system to the Belgian parliamentary elections, both for the senate and the chamber of deputies. In May last the general elections came on, when a million and a half of voters cast their ballots under the new system. It was a pronounced and remarkable success. There are three parties in Belgium—the clericals, the liberals and the socialists. At the previous election, under the old system, the clericals was grossly over-represented, chiefly at the expense of the liberals, but the new system set this right and had the effect of giving each party a fair and proportional representation in accordance with the numerical strength of each, thus proving its right to the name it bears. Party virulence was much lessened, because each party realized that the system was one which prevented any unfair advantage being taken.

We get these particulars direct from an able French book, "La Representation Proportionnelle en Belgique," written by Count d'Alviella, professor of the University of Brussels, and also an ex-senator. He gives a most interesting history of the struggle to obtain this great reform, which was finally carried by the help of the wiser heads amongst

the clericals, who realized that they were driving the liberals and socialists to combine against them.

Switzerland also uses the free list system. Several of the cantons (provinces) have used it for some years in their legislative elections, with great success.

Tasmania is the first English-speaking community that has adopted the proportional principle for legislative elections. In February, 1897, the two cities of Hobart and Launceston used the Hare-Spence system of proportional representation in electing ten members of parliament. In March last the same two cities again elected their ten members on the same proportional system. Tasmania is now a state in the new commonwealth of Australia, and will elect six senators and five representatives to the federal parliament. The house of assembly has just rejected a proposition to adopt the system of single-member electorates for the federal elections, and the whole island is to be one electorate, returning the senators and representatives on the Hare-Spence system of proportional representation.

The results of the last election in Belgium under the old system gave 112 clericals, 12 liberals and 28 socialists. The results of the first election under proportional representation gave 86 clericals, 33 liberals, 32 socialists and one independent.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN BELGIUM.

Extracts from "La Representation Proportionnelle en Belgique," by Count d'Alviella, translated for The Public by Miss Kate L. Johnston, of Toronto.

The moment seems to have arrived for formulating the conclusions which are made clear by the first application of proportional representation to the legislative elections of Belgium.

The first result has been to awaken political life in numerous districts where for a long time it had seemed to be extinguished, especially in the Flemish provinces. In the heart of the two Flanders, notably, at Anvers and even at Limbourg, liberal associations have been born or revived in localities most devoted to the conservative Catholic party. At the time of the earlier elections, in 1896 and 1898, the liberals abstained in many districts from any serious struggle for representation in the chamber of deputies. As for the senate, the elections took place without a ballot in 25 districts out of 36. This time the seats were contested in all the divisions of the country, as well

for the senate as for the chamber, with but one exception. The socialists entered into the struggle wherever they could find candidates, and the Catholics raised their flag in districts in the Walloon country, where they had never succeeded in electing a candidate within the memory of man.

Among other indirect advantages, proportional representation has thus put an end to the perilous coincidence which tended to establish itself between political divisions and racial or linguistic divisions. (In Belgium, as in Canada, there are two distinct races, speaking different languages.) The Flemish liberals have to-day in the chamber of deputies members who know their country and speak their language; just as the Catholics of the industrial districts find other representatives of their interests than "Luxembourgeois" — country squires, or Flemish proprietors.

A second result has been to diminish the virulence of the electoral campaign. Candidates have been able to organize their propaganda without their adversaries trying to prevent them, or troubling their meetings. Fewer personal attacks are recorded in the press; and recourse was seldom had to those maneuvers of the last hour ("roorbacks") which were but lately the culminating point of all electoral strategy.

At Brussels the public "assisted" at the curious spectacle of "La League" and "L'Association," both hard at work, without attacking each other in their meetings or in their journals. In a great number of divisions the socialists have openly adopted the candidature of liberals who were running for the senate, although the two parties were presenting opposing lists for the lower house. Even between Catholics and liberals the struggle has not reached the pitch which characterized it under the old system. This is, say the advocates of the old regime, because the real battle will be waged henceforth within the parties themselves. But is it not rather because the powerlessness to crush adversaries will be felt henceforth, and that it will be indeed necessary to recognize their right to existence? However that may be, it is an amelioration as notable as necessary in our political methods; and it will be fortunate should this amelioration be felt in parliament also. "We have in Belgium," confessed (after the elections) Hon. Jan Van Ryswyck to an editor of *La Metropole*, "the habit of exaggerating everything. It is a detestable method of reasoning. Exaggeration has invaded all our po-