Edward Homer Bailey is a distinct loss, no less to the paper than to the community in which he has made a high mark of citizenship. One little pamphlet of his has carried his name over the world. It was only a tract, "How to Get Rich Without Working," but it is familiar to many whom its apparently sordid title has turned from greedy and grasping ambitions to thoughts of love for their fellow men. In English it circulates in the United States, Great Britain, Canada and Australasia; in Spanish, it has readers in South America and Spain; it is now in process of Chinese translation for circulation in that oldest of empires and youngest of republics. "A simple and convincing story of the workings of a bad system," as the Johnstown Democrat truly calls it, this little book alone is a worthy monument to the memory of a man who proved well his right to live.

## THE SOUTH'S PROBLEM.

The race question at the South is one of extraordinary difficulty. With twenty-five millions of people living together under legal equality, but separated socially into two classes who never intermarry, is presented a problem unique and baffling. How shall the sixteen millions of white people deal with the eight millions of Negroes possessed of civil, political and industrial rights and duties?

Representative Negroes have spoken for their race. We have heard from the Southern Democrat and the Northern Republican, and they do not seem to be very far apart in their conclusions. They appear to agree that the relations of the races must be determined finally, by and for the whites of the South.

I venture at this time to present the view of a Northern Democrat. Perhaps I have more than the average reason to speak, because, although of Northern parentage, I was born and bred to the south of West Virginia.

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Certainly the relations between the races are not on the way to a happy solution. I presume that Senator Tillman never tried to put himself in the place of his black fellow citizen—never asked himself what he ought to have done, or what he would have done, had he been born a Negro.

To my mind both the Republican and the Democratic writers upon this topic have abandoned the Jeffersonian doctrine of equality of rights. The Republican has done so, because that has been the trend of his party for a generation; the Democrat, because he has made the Negro an exception to the rule which guides his political life.

The Democrats of the South excuse their inconsistency by pointing to the bad results of Negro government during the "reconstruction" period, and assert that the Negro vote is still unintelligent and dangerous.

As to the abuses of the "carpet-bag" regime, how could it have been otherwise? With the mass of the voters and their legislators ignorant, inexperienced, and corrupted by a bad leadership, what else than folly and extravagance were to be expected?

Moreover, they found ready made for their use, fashioned by generations of white voters and legislators, a set of election machinery which no constituency in the United States, however cultivated, has been able to manipulate to its own satisfaction.



When the Democrats were last in power at Washington, Tom L. Johnson, then a Democratic Representative from Ohio, introduced a bill which would have enabled voters, whether educated or ignorant, black or white, to choose a House of Representatives well qualified in all respects for the duties of legislation. The form of proportional representation proposed by Mr. Johnson is known as the "free list" system, applied originally in Geneva, Switzerland. The first section of the Act was as follows:

The members of the House of Representatives shall be voted for at large in their respective States.

The remaining sections of the measure provided that each party in a State should be represented in Congress in proportion to the total number of votes cast for its candidates, and those receiving the highest number of votes were the ones elected. For illustration: Any party winning half the votes in a State would have half the delegation in Congress, made up of the candidates of that party getting the largest number of votes.

In nearly every Southern State this law would have given some representation to a party or parties other than the Democratic, and probably would have resulted in the election to Congress of a few Negroes. This expectation may account for the fact that neither Mr. Johnson's bill, nor another bill for proportional representation proposed in the 52nd Congress, was reported from committee.

If educators of the South, representatives of both races, can meet and confer together for the good of the schools, why may not statesmen do as much for the country in the Capitol at Washington?

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It is true that in the main the race question at the South must be settled by the white people of that section; but it is to their interest, as well as to that of the blacks, that the adjustment should be satisfactory to both races and be completed as soon as possible.

The refusal to accord to the Negro equal civil and political rights means the indefinite post-ponement of a settlement, with meanwhile all the present evils intensified. The leaders of public opinion in the South must choose between prolonged race antagonisms and the doing of equal and exact justice. With proper election machinery only good can come from universal suffrage.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

## **EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE**

## THE SOCIAL CYCLONE.

Vancouver, B. C.

During all the time of my wanderings in California, Oregon and Washington, going over 7,000 miles in an auto and taking nearly a year and a half to do it in, I had a wish to give my impressions of things as I saw them, but felt that partial, brief, superficial investigation is of little value. Now, however, that I have acquainted myself with the whole situation from Vancouver to Tiajuana, I have reached conclusions that to me seem to be warranted by the facts.



The real estate boosting element is absolutely in control everywhere south of the Canadian line. The Singletaxers are the only men who see what this means. All the other reform elements (Socialists included) are blind to the situation. With the great majority a "boosting" campaign is the sheet anchor. Reform is something to talk about. "Boosting" is something to work at.

In California the Singletaxers are in a hopeless minority. In Washington they are beginning to put up a good fight, but their hold on the mass of the people is a slender one. In Oregon they have made considerable headway, are well led and are putting up a splendid fight; but so far as I can judge the odds are heavy against them. The speculative element they can never win, the workers (farmers and laborers) are yet far from being won, and the most discouraging factor in the problem of winning them is the present condition of mind of the producing classes.



From Canada to Mexico I found the same con-

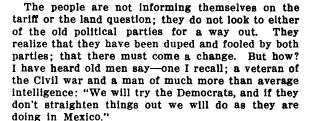
dition everywhere. There is a bitter feeling of resentment among the workers which appalls me. No man can know its intensity unless he live among them as I have done. To them there are but two classes—"grafters" and "workers." In their code every man who has acquired property or means is a "grafter" and every man who has not is a "victim." They have no confidence in the future, nor in the institutions under which they live; they look on courts and judges as instruments to record and enforce injustice.

Again and again I met with unpleasant evidence that because I went about in an auto and did not work for my living, I was looked on by the workers as an enemy and was the object of personal hatred. I frequented one industrial establishment for months and became acquainted with all the men. After a long talk with one of these on one occasion he said: "Well, you are about the whitest grafter I ever met." I pointed out to him that as he knew nothing of my history it was scarcely fair to class me as a grafter. He answered: "Why, course I know you're a grafter; no man ken git enough in this country by workin' to buy an auto and run 'round in it right along as you do; they is only one way to do it—grafting."

To these men there is only one way to remedy things, and that is by a resort to force.

They hesitate to take the initiative. But that will not be left to them to do. The real estate boosting element will begin the trouble. Everywhere they seem ready for a crusade against the workers who care to assert their rights. The I. W. W. ("I won't work," as the boosters stigmatize them) are just now the special object of their aversion. But they hate every worker who is not willing to pay an everincreasing price for a fraction of a subdivision indefinitely subdivided. They call him a "knocker" and boldly say he should be driven out of town. And they are ready on occasion with shotgun and revolver to tackle the job. See the news items from San Diego.

I am convinced that a serious situation confronts the Pacific States, and this is the view of some of the ablest Singletaxers I have met, even in Oregon, where progress toward a peaceable solution is most marked.



I am convinced that we are entering on momentous times and it is by no means clear how things will go. No half way measures will allay the prevailing spirit of unrest. Drastic measures of tariff reform are no longer a question of policy or expediency, but an absolute necessity of the situation as the first step. Singletax the next. If neither is done the situation is one of very great danger.

JOHN MACMILLAN.

