

between democracy and republicanism. They are afraid of the republican party, because they think that it means negro rule. With them the paramount issue is the control of their state governments. They care more for this one thing than any national issue. The tariff is but of little consequence, compared with the negro problem. The money issue is of still less importance.

The south is the democratic party. The north is the republican party. Here are two conflicting civilizations. Neither party is truly national in the sense of being supported about equally throughout the country.

For about ten years after the civil war negroes voted and negroes were elected to office in the southern states. This became so offensive to the whites that negro suffrage became the paramount issue. Force was used to prevent them from voting. The United States government was appealed to for help, and the army was sent to enforce the right of negro suffrage. The great money panic of 1873 to 1879 came along. This put a stop to all prosperity in the north. The democrats elected the house of representatives at Washington in 1874 and in 1876 the democrats claimed that they had elected Samuel J. Tilden president. The country was threatened with civil war again. The matter was settled by compromise. One part of the compromise was that the army should be removed from the southern states. As soon as this was done the "carpet-bag governments" fell, and there were no more negroes elected to office—no more negro suffrage.

Thus ended the experiment of the republicans to settle the negro question.

For twenty-five years the democrats have been trying to solve the problem and thus far have failed. The democrats can govern the southern states in their own peculiar way, all the time. But they cannot govern the northern states. There is something in democratic civilization that does not find favor in the north. It is the treatment of the negro and the tariff question. If the democratic party should come into power again, it would set the whole north against it. Mr. Bryan tried to get the party out of the old rut, but it could not rise above the old level. A large section of the party wanted negro slavery and tariff for revenue only.

The whites make the laws in the southern states, and they ought to make them in such a way that men like Booker T. Washington can at least vote.

There are about nine millions of negroes in the United States. What shall we do with them? The south has appealed to the north, to know what we shall do with them. They are citizens under the 14th amendment, not only of the United States, but of the state "wherein they reside." They are citizens because they are natives of the country. They were brought here against their will. They were held in bondage two hundred years, and then liberated. They cannot be sent out of the country, because they are citizens. If the democratic party discriminates against them in any way, they will all be republicans. They are republicans now because they have been discriminated against by the democrats of the south.

Is the south afraid of negro domination? There are but two states in the union where they are in the majority, namely, Mississippi and South Carolina. If, in these two states, the whites, who now have the exclusive power of legislation, would make a law giving the blacks the right to vote as they reach a certain grade of intelligence, the race problem would soon be solved. The "door of hope" must be opened to these people or there will be a race war. To deny them the right of suffrage, simply because they are black, is to reduce them to slavery again. This cannot be done, because the federal government, in the hands of the north, will not tolerate it. And as long as there is any danger of it, the federal government will be in the hands of the north.

The president has a right to appoint or nominate negroes for office. Senator Tillman of South Carolina says he will vote to confirm the nomination of any negro the president will name for his cabinet, but he objects to a negro for collector of the port of Charleston. If Mr. Tillman wants to be really magnanimous, let him get South Carolina and the other southern states to nominate Booker T. Washington or any other capable negro for vice president of the United States. This would do more than anything else to do away with race prejudice. It would furnish an opportunity for the people of the north and south to indorse virtue under a black skin.

In South Carolina there are about eight hundred thousand negroes against about six hundred thousand whites, according to the last census.

This is an increase of both whites and blacks since 1890. The whites are increasing more rapidly than the blacks, which indicates that, perhaps, at some future day there will be more whites than negroes. But, if an election should be held now, and they should vote according to color, not a single white man would be elected to office. In the United States senate there would be two negroes from South Carolina and in the lower house seven representatives. This would be no calamity, provided the senators and the representatives were intelligent men, as Dr. Crum is conceded to be.

Blanche K. Bruce (colored) once occupied a seat in the United States senate as a senator from Mississippi; and he was the peer of any white man in it. This indicates that, if the negroes were allowed to vote, they would not always elect ignorant and degraded negroes to office. Besides, they are gradually improving, and they will continue to improve if the public schools are kept open to them. Education is the cure of all evils.

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### MAJORITY RULE

*Report of Work Accomplished and Outline for the Future by National Federation for Majority Rule*

On January 5 at the municipal election in Toronto, a common council and mayor were elected, pledged to install a people's veto and direct initiative through rules of procedure. This was the result of questioning candidates by a non-partisan organization, the candidates being informed that their replies or failure to reply would be made public, and every possible effort made to defeat the opponents of majority rule. As a result 17 of the 24 aldermen elected are pledged in writing, and so is the mayor.

Equally good results were obtained in the city of Detroit last November, and in Chicago last April.

In the state campaigns of last year the questioning-of-candidates system was applied in ten states and with the usual result, namely, a majority of the legislative body were pledged in writing in every state where the questions were asked by a fairly strong organization. In seven states the legislatures were carried, namely, Illinois, Missouri, Colorado, California, Washington, Montana and Massachusetts. This is a remarkable showing.

In Missouri the candidates for congress were questioned, and eight democrats and one republican are pledged to majority rule in national affairs, to be attained through rules of procedure. The newly elected United States senator from Missouri is also pledged in writing. These pledges are in the possession of the chairman of the legislative committee of the Missouri state federation of labor, and will be forwarded to the executive officers of the American federation of labor at Washington.

A most noteworthy fact is that the Missouri chairman states that he found it easier to secure pledges from the congressmen and senators than from the candidates for the legislature.

In Illinois both the candidates for United States senatorship pledged themselves to the referendum. The successful candidate made the following pledge through the public press:

"I favor any principle—I care not what it may be called—that will enlarge the power of the people on all questions, state and national, that affect the well being of the citizens."

There are also pledged to the majority rule system for the control of trusts. Congressman John Lind of Minnesota, and many other of the newly elected members.

The foregoing results are a complete demonstration that the referendum and the initiative are being established by merely questioning the candidates and publishing their replies or failure to reply. In short, by making majority rule a real issue, a majority of the candidates are secured at once. No candidate dares to openly oppose the establishment of majority rule.

#### THE WORK OF NON-PARTISAN ORGANIZATIONS

The questioning of candidates in last year's campaign was by the legislative committees of organized labor, and of the grange in the state of Washington, also by referendum leagues, and by non-partisan federations for majority rule.

These non-partisan organizations are being reinforced, and to a remarkable extent. Since January 1 of this year, two new movements have been launched:

#### "THE PEOPLE'S RULE."

Early in January, Hon. George Fred Williams asked the people of Massachusetts, regardless of party, to or-

ganize in each precinct a non-partisan organization for "the distribution of literature, for full and free debate, and for questioning candidates and pledging candidates, to the end that our politicians, officials and legislatures be turned from mastery to service of the people."

As rapidly as one per cent of the voters of a community have joined, organization takes place. Each organization is known as a council, and is identified by the name of the political subdivision wherein it exists.

By questioning the candidates for delegates to conventions, it is expected that the tools of the trusts and other monopolies will be kept out. This appeals to liberal republicans as well as to liberal democrats.

Three articles of faith are named: First, the establishment of majority rule; second, the ownership by the people of all public utilities; third, a restriction upon the power of judges in equity to take the liberty of the citizen without trial by jury.

Mr. Williams states that the movement is making splendid headway. The incentive and opportunity for active workers are set forth by Mr. Williams in a statement which he gave to the public at the time of announcing the new organization, and published in *The Independent* of January 22 and 29.

Membership in a non-partisan organization, along with membership in one's party, is not a new idea. For example, the members of referendum leagues are also members of political parties. In the new organization in Massachusetts the aim is to make majority rule an issue. This is accomplished by questioning the candidates of all the parties and publishing their replies or refusal to reply. Experience shows that the plan is effective.

In Missouri the republican party refused to pledge in its platform that, if placed in power, it would submit to the people a constitutional amendment for majority rule; but later when the republican leaders found that their candidates were to be questioned by organized labor they promised to write letters and advise their candidates to answer favorably the questions as to majority rule. In California also the republican leaders refused to place in the platform a pledge to submit a constitutional amendment, but of the 80 successful candidates in the house, 59 promised in writing that they would vote to submit the amendment. Equally good results have been attained wherever the questioning has been backed by a few men who really meant business. Publicity does the work. In no case has a candidate dared to openly oppose majority rule. The questioning of candidates is a great success. Each month the work becomes easier, for the people are working up to the fact that they can free themselves by establishing majority rule.

#### PARTISAN CLUBS— DIVISION OF LABOR.

Since January 1 the movement for questioning candidates as to majority rule has been reinforced by not only "the people's rule" in Massachusetts, but by "A Call to Arms" by Mr. Bryan in *The Commoner*, the request being that a democratic club be organized in every precinct to instruct delegates to the democratic convention. These instructions will include, of course, one for the referendum and the initiative. Mr. Bryan and his co-workers are thorough believers in majority rule.

Republican clubs will also be organized, without doubt, for the purpose of overcoming the trusts' opposition to the renomination of President Roosevelt.

These partisan clubs will attend to the questioning of candidates at the primaries and conventions. Next year the democratic clubs will do the questioning at the democratic primaries and conventions, and the republican clubs will question the candidates at the republican primaries and conventions. After both parties have made their nomination, organized labor and the grange should question the candidates of all the parties, and other non-partisan organizations can do the same; for example, non-partisan federations for majority rule, W. C. T. U. organizations, equal suffrage associations, etc.

#### ABSOLUTE NEED FOR QUESTIONING BY NON-PARTISAN ORGANIZATIONS.

The questioning of nominees by non-partisan organizations is the only way to insure favorable action for the referendum and the initiative. Experience shows this. Many times we have had the platform of one of the great parties in a state and in the nation declare for the referendum and initiative, but without making it a real issue in the campaign. In no instance has this method brought results—all the favorable action by legislative bodies for the referendum and initiative has been the result of non-

## Ask for Help

### A Postal Will Bring You a Way to Get Well.

Think how often you have read this offer. Why do you wait, while thousands write me and get well?

If you sick ones could only know what I know, you all would write.

I will mail you an order—good at any drug store—for six bottles Dr. Shoop's Restorative. You may take it a month on trial. If it succeeds, the cost is \$5.50. If it fails, I will pay the druggist myself—and your mere word shall decide it.

Whatever your prejudice or doubt, you must know this:—if the remedy did not succeed, the offer would ruin me. It must be apparent that I have learned how to cure.

When I have the faith to take all the risk, won't you merely write a postal to get well?

I have spent a lifetime in learning how to strengthen weak inside nerves. My Restorative brings back that power which alone operates the vital organs. I treat a weak organ as I would a weak engine, by giving it the power to act. My way always succeeds, save when a cause like cancer makes a cure impossible. And most of these chronic diseases cannot be cured without it.

You'll know this when you read my book.

Simply state which book you want, and address Dr. Shoop, Box 940, Racine, Wis.

BOOK NO. 1 ON DYSPEPSIA.

BOOK NO. 2 ON THE HEART.

BOOK NO. 3 ON THE KIDNEYS.

BOOK NO. 4 FOR WOMEN.

BOOK NO. 5 FOR MEN. (sealed)

BOOK NO. 6 ON RHEUMATISM.

Mild cases, not chronic, are often cured by one or two bottles, druggists.

partisan action. This is because no candidate desires to openly oppose majority rule, and consequently the question is not debated in the campaigns—it cannot become a live campaign issue. A declaration for majority rule by one of the parties does not make it a live issue, for the reason just stated; but wherever a non-partisan organization questions the candidates of all the parties they are all obliged to pledge themselves, and in writing, provided the questions are asked by men who really mean to bring the question before the public should the leading candidates refuse to reply. For illustrations showing that such has been the case see phenomenal results of last year's non-partisan campaign, described in this article.

There being, then, a distinct field of work for non-partisan organizations, and also a distinct field of work for partisan clubs, it follows that the organization of partisan clubs should lead to the formation of non-partisan organizations in order to complete the establishment of majority rule. This system of double organization is practicable because few, if any, meetings of members are required. The questioning of candidates is done by the executive officer on the letter-head of the organization. The latent power in the organization does the work—the power which the executive officer has to bring out the voters should a candidate refuse to declare for popular government.

And the formation of a non-partisan federation should lead to the formation of partisan clubs, provided the questioning at primaries and conventions is left to the partisan clubs, as we advise that it should be.

#### WILL TEND TO BUNCH THE REFORM VOTE

Populists, socialists, prohibitionists, and all who believe in progressive politics are desirous of installing a direct initiative by 5 or 10 per cent of the voters. This opens the door to live campaigns on each of the leading reforms. The groups that are working for the several reforms can each bring its question to a direct vote of the people. To secure this system is the province of the non-partisan federations for majority rule, and the formation of these organizations will tend to get together the reform votes, and for the following reasons:

If only one of the leading candidates is pledged, then there will be little incentive to nominate a third candidate; for the aim of the reform element is the establishment of majority rule, which requires the election of the candidate who is pledged to vote for that system. And where both leading candidates are pledged there will still be a choice between them, and the reform element, being assured of an opportunity to secure in the future a direct ballot on their particular reform, will be anxious to help elect the most progressive of the two leading candidates. In short the formation of non-partisan federations will tend to bunch the reform