

on the 3d, under the auspices of the people of that State. One of the victims had stolen a 5-cent loaf of bread. This sort of thing is what we flatter ourselves with, by calling it "civilization." Sometimes we call it "justice." When we do we ought to see how the goddess of that name lifts her bandage and winks one eye, while her scales tip as her attention is thus diverted. The savagery of these whipping bees is not merely in their brutality—degrading alike to whipped and whipper as that is; but in the fact that only petty offenders are punished in this way. Big offenders are never whipped and seldom punished at all. They are not so much as interfered with in their depredations. Injustice is a truer mark of barbarism even than brutality. The brutality of the just is consistent with advancing manhood; but deliberate injustice implies moral degradation.

It may be that the Chicago alderman who makes accusations of corruption in connection with local traction matters is actuated by malice and is wanting in proof. We suggest, however, that some of the aldermen upon whom his accusations reflect, and some of the local newspapers that have rushed to their side, would make a better impression if, in referring to the matter, they distributed their emphasis more judicially. So much emphasis on the possibility of the accuser's having indulged in slander, and so little on the possibility of his having let the public into a traction secret, is not without significance. The innocent attitude would be one of judicial poise until the evidence is in. And the investigating committee itself should understand that its duty does not begin and end with the accuser. Merely to discover and report that he does not prove his charges, would be generally regarded—and properly so, under the suspicious circumstances in which traction matters are being pushed by certain financial interests and certain aldermen—as a case of "whitewash."

Sydney Smith was at times prophetic in his wit. Take for example his division of mankind into classes, among which were the "noodles," the "sheepwalkers" and the "let-well-aloners." He described "sheepwalkers" as "those who never deviate from the beaten track, who think as their fathers have thought since the flood, who start from a new idea as they would from guilt." The "let-well-aloners" he regarded as "cousins-germane to the 'noodle,' yet a variety; people who have begun to think and to act, but are timid and afraid to try their wings, and tremble at the sound of their own footsteps as they advance, and think it safer to stand still." Smith might have added that the "let-well-aloner" perpetually exemplifies the adage that "the good is the worst enemy to the best;" but even as it is, what a prophetic description he made of your good honest American Republican who was as yet nearly a century in the future.

Republicans are again threatening to cut down Congressional representation from the South on the ground that Negro citizens there are disfranchised. This is right. It is fair in itself, and it is in accordance with the provisions of the Federal constitution. But the question must not be made either a sectional or a race question. Every State that restricts the franchise in violation of the same provision of the Constitution, must suffer reduction in Congressional representation in the same manner and to the same proportionate extent as the Southern States.

Now that Congress has resumed its sessions, attention may once more be appropriately called to the excellent bill, sleeping in one of the convenient pigeon holes of the Senate, which provides for the circulation of the Congressional Record on reasonable terms. The terms proposed are one dollar for the short sessions and two for the long sessions. At present the price is so high as to be

practically prohibitive, and few see the Record except through the favor of a Congressman. Yet it is a paper with which every public-spirited citizen should be familiar. In France, the daily *Journal Officiel*, which contains in full the parliamentary debates of that country, as does the Record of Congressional debates here, is sold throughout the French republic for the equivalent of an American cent. This is about the price proposed for the Congressional Record, and there are good reasons for adopting the proposition—which may be the reason why it has not been adopted.

If it is true, as has been reported in this country, that Alfred Trombetti, a great Italian philologist, has discovered and demonstrated the unity of origin of human speech, the anthropological science of our materialistic age has another problem to wrestle with. Unity of language origin is very significant of unity of race origin; and if it be conceded that the Aryan, the Semitic, the Hamitic, and a variety of minor races are one in origin, as Mr. Trombetti's discovery indicates, it may become progressively more difficult to believe that races still lower are later evolutions from the animal.

The enthusiastic burial of plutocratic Democracy by democratic Democrats is not yet so remote historically as to deprive Samuel E. Moffett's opinion at the autopsy of timely interest. Mr. Moffett, a nephew of Mark Twain and a democrat after Twain's own heart, accounts for the demise as a case of "fatty degeneration of harmony."

INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT ON CLASS PREJUDICE.

Northern men who remove to the Southern States frequently suffer a revulsion of feeling on the race question, and the tolerance that they had in the North becomes a strong antipathy to the Negro in the South. This phenomenon is made much of by op-

ponents of true democracy, but in reality it illustrates merely the weakness of human nature and not the unsoundness of democratic philosophy.

Long residents of any given locality become hardened to such social problems as specially threaten it, just as they do to the eccentricities of the climate. Such optimism as they possess has become accustomed to discounting the familiar perils and drawbacks; but when one of them removes to another section of the country the different problems that are there at the front have to him the added menace of the unfamiliar and unprobed. The French Canadians of New England, the millionaires of New York, the Hungarians of the Pennsylvania coal regions and the Negroes of the South seem more forbidding to Americans fresh from other localities than to resident natives. And the newcomer thinks that he ought to understand the situation better himself after living in its midst, so he yields deference to local public opinion. This places him at a disadvantage in combating in his own mind any grave errors that may prevail in his new home. He must grapple with such conditions as are new to him and see his way in the direction of a solution before he can enjoy the optimistic, the democratic view. With some men this requires years of contact with the situation, and others are never capable of it after the flush of youth is passed.

Other men are impracticable idealists whose bubbles never stand the shock of reality. They are enthusiastic democrats in their dreams of future Utopias that more practical men cannot see at all; but in actual affairs these dreamers work and vote for the trusts and all that they imply to-day. They sympathize strongly with the Negro or the Hindu so long as they are at a goodly distance from the great body of them; but if by any chance his own residence is changed to India or the Southern States the dreamer becomes the oppressor and his theoretical philosophy seeks other fields distant from his daily life. The Negro that these men sympathize with has never existed in real life except in scattered instances, and

such theoretical democrats must be counted on as thorough-going opponents of justice in practical affairs. They may fit into the orthodox heaven all right, but in this every-day world they are the main prop of the devil. Their idealism breaks down in the attempt to digest great masses of ignorant people, because they are unable to grasp the significance of the "saving remnant" of virtue immanent therein.

Many other conversions in the Southern States are due to a lack of interest in democracy and a want of any deep-seated principles on the subject. A man cannot really be called a hypocrite if he obviously has no principles worthy of the name and therefore has none to conceal. Such a man will gladly swap off most of his ideals of social rights and duties and never miss them, if he gets an additional five hundred dollars a year in exchange. In a mercenary age, when so many leading men of brains put everything on a cash basis, their followers are not likely to give much attention to abstract ideas of justice. The money mania brutalizes individuals and nations for race subjugation, and the decay of the old religions removes a check the world over.

The majority of people are superficial thinkers and so to great degree fall victims to their environment, however seriously they may take themselves and their principles. A change of residence may bring to light the fact that a man's views are mere echoes of local public opinion, with no basis in his own mind except parochial prejudice and incoherent fragments of reasoning. In that case there is nothing but sheer prejudice to prevent his falling under new leaders in his new locality, and in both places the chances are that his leaders will be those representing the most popular view. It is safe to say that most men who change their opinions with their residences are privates in the great army of thought or mere camp followers who have never done any real first-hand thinking on the subject in hand.

Then, of course, there are the conversions due to plain hypocrisy—a determination to get ahead in business or polite society regardless of justice to others. But back

of and beneath all these reasons for such changes of opinion is the tendency of what for want of a better term may be called "reversion to type"—toward that natural selfishness which tugs at every man like gravitation. The wild beasts habitually immolate themselves on their hatreds. Race and class antagonisms, cooperative expressions of individual selfishness, are and always have been great springs of human action. They lie just below the surface of civilization, and are ever ready to debase the most highly civilized type of man if his judgment weakens or his ideals relax.

HERBERT FOSTER.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

COLORADO.

Denver, Dec. 5.—In the Philadelphia Press of the 26th of November there is a misleading letter on the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's work in this State, which ought to be exposed. It is from William E. Curtis, that tireless space-writer, who reels off yarns like so much spaghetti. I shall try to straighten out some of his complicated puffs of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, by quoting his points seriatim, and replying to each separately.

Curtis:—The model hospital of the United States, and I am assured it is not surpassed in any other country, may be found at Pueblo. It is the achievement of Dr. R. W. Corwin, surgeon in chief of the Colorado Fuel & Iron company, and he built it with funds furnished by that corporation.

Facts:—The corporation did not furnish the fund. The employes furnished it out of their own pay checks at the rate of one dollar a month on each check. As the company has been in existence over 20 years, and has in that time employed certainly an average of 10,000 men, the contributions of the men must really stand as follows: \$10,000 a month for 240 months, \$2,400,000.

Curtis:—The methods and policy of the company are not approved by a great many people, and are severely condemned by the leaders and advocates of organized labor, who have several times endeavored to change them by strikes and other means.

Facts:—Organized labor does not oppose the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in its efforts to care for the sick and injured. It opposes the excessive and unequal charge of one dollar a month per capita, without regard to salary of employe or to hospital attention. It opposes any hospital plan that is not based on cost of administration. Organized labor is opposed to paying money back into the treasury of a company on the hospital plea, when the same is neither needed nor used for that purpose. It's the same as the