

sponse to an economic pressure which he feels but does not understand, thinks to relieve it by coercively organizing the working classes into a body that shall treat an injury to one as the concern of all. He ignores the fact that the pressure he feels may be one of increasing intensity, and that in such case organization may not be able to keep pace with it without a degree of coercion which means riot, troops, slaughter and the gallows. Labor unionists of the business type view the matter in still another way. They expect to lift their own class of labor above the level of lower labor classes—Ten-penny Jameses above Nine-penny Jims—by safe and sane business methods. They overlook the fact that a lower class of labor is all the time a competitive menace to the class above, and that no isolated unionism can long withstand it. Another type is the ideal non-unionist. He is a sturdy believer in the right of free contract between employer and employe—almost as much so as is the employer who finds him a convenient catapult for battering down the walls of unionism. Then there is the “business” non-unionist, who makes a precarious living by hiring out as a “strike breaker.” Like any other tramp, he is one of the phenomena produced by the general cause of the whole vexed labor problem. Merc flotsam and jetsam, his blindness or indifference to the nature of labor troubles is probably not very significant. As for people who deplore these troubles, but neither think with vigor nor speak out like men, lest they may check an income, or anger a parishioner, or lose a client, or get disliked in a club, or be marked as a crank, or otherwise suffer some petty annoyance—as for them, can they not realize what will happen if there is an intensifying cause for labor troubles? The time must soon come when that cause will bring on irretrievable disaster, in which even they, their own dainty selfish selves, may be engulfed along with the rest of us.

That there is a general exciting cause for these labor troubles we all instinctively feel. And we all really know what it is. We know that it is inadequate opportunities for employment on the lower levels of labor, relatively to the supply of such labor. This is the cause, and it is an intensifying cause. It cannot be dealt with by Federal injunctions or Federal troops, by labor unions, or employers' unions, by weak wishing or strong cursing. Let the cause continue to intensify, and we shall be overrun with hordes of laborless men. They will be of the type of the strike breaker, and their brutality will not always be vented on strikers. But if this cause were removed, if conditions were sought and established in which jobs were hunting for men instead of men hunting for jobs, we should have neither employers' unions nor laborers' unions. Every man would be his own union, and general prosperity and industrial peace would follow. How to effect this change, from a superabundance of workers to a superabundance of opportunities for work, is the crux of the labor problem. How can it be done? There are but two ways. We must either kill off surplus workers, or we must release cornered opportunities for work. Which shall it be?

Prof. Frederick Starr, the distinguished anthropologist, has a wise word for the proud Saxon who thinks himself superior to all other races, partly because he is successful at grand pillage and partly because his skin is bleached. Says Prof. Starr: “We think we are the chosen of God, but it is my belief that the real worth of the different races is one and the same. We are the most meddling race that ever existed. We meddle at home, we meddle abroad, we meddle everywhere; and it is the almighty dollar that is the reason for our meddling. That is the watchword of the Anglo-Saxons. Even our missionary work is simply meddling.”

Mr. Rockefeller's lawyer, who

undertook to show Washington Gladden how ignorant or how wicked he was in accusing Mr. Rockefeller of perjury, has not been so quick to reply to Mr. Gladden's answer as his assumed familiarity with the subject gave reason to expect. Indeed he does not seem to have replied at all, and up to date Mr. Gladden appears to have very much the better of the controversy.

Apropos of the organization in West Virginia of a company of Chicago merchants for doing business in Chicago, with the purpose of enabling them to go into the Federal courts with their litigations, which they could not have done but for their incorporation out of their own State, why is it not in order to ask whether the State of Illinois intends to allow such trifling with its sovereignty, or the Federal courts such frauds upon their jurisdictional authority.

#### RACIAL EQUILIBRATION.

The political dominance of the trusts and the rise of colonialism in this country are coincident with the furious democratic ferment in Russia—a retrograde eddy in the most advanced country at the moment when the least progressive western nation is precipitated into a step forward. The world is smaller than it used to be, and each part of it is in closer touch with every other. No important country can long remain far ahead nor much behind the others without the spirit of the age eating into it wholesale; soon, like the ocean, they will all approximate a common level. Modern science in abolishing isolation has made a unit of the race question in our Southern States, in Asia, and in Africa, as to-day each locality quickly feels anything of importance that occurs elsewhere.

The Anglo-Saxon has been a leading offender against the law of democratic equality between races, and quick to demand special deference to white men as such. Yet a stronger law of nature now has been the undoing of his racial pretensions. As leader of the world's commerce, and to

safeguard his own interest, he contracted the Anglo-Japanese alliance—an act of far-reaching effect in promoting democracy between races. The Jap has successfully pitted himself in modern war against the European and instantly his demand for equal standing as a man and brother begins to penetrate the ears of the masses in the Western world. Abstract democratic ideals may influence the best minds, but prudence and immediate self-interest act more quickly with the average man. The Englishman cannot now turn against his brown ally as the American did in the Philippines; happily the Jap is in a position to protect himself and to take his stand among the Powers of the world. His social recognition on that basis is certain in Europe and America, and already marriages begin to occur between leading diplomatic families of England and Japan.

But if the Jap is "as good as a white man" the primacy of the latter is destroyed, and every other race will be prompt to present its claims for consideration and to enforce them so far as its abilities and circumstances may permit. The present war will infuse fresh ambition and courage into the yellow man and the black man everywhere. The millions of China and of India will be stirred to their depths as their native leaders realize the significance of the forty years that the world allowed Japan unmolested to master modern methods of life. For all backward peoples the moral of her success is obvious and irresistible: Go thou and do likewise—or, at least, if you would become men, make the attempt and do the best that you can.

This of course is the doctrine of democracy applied at last to the uttermost parts of the earth—the right to self-development that naturally inheres in every man and in every people. Its antithesis is autocracy, benevolent assimilation, the forcible conferring of benefits upon subject peoples while the victims pay the freight.

The world's most shining example of that sort of thing is the present European over-lordship of the bulk of Asia and Africa, which is a menace and a threat to democracy everywhere. Success-

ful autocracy in the East gives that cult prestige and material resources to use in Europe and America; and despotism along race lines naturally bulwarks class autocracy in all countries because the same principle underlies both. Democracy cannot be secure in any part of the world until the whiteman's governments in Asia and Africa are extirpated root and branch. Let us hope that the first to go will be the half-hearted American imitation in the Philippines based on European models.

European dominance in the East will be impaled presently upon the growing radical democracy in Western countries and a quickened racial self-confidence among the Eastern masses. What will follow? Many Eastern peoples have not yet acquired sufficient popular enlightenment for successful republics; but it is obvious that our forefathers overestimated the value of republican forms, when we compare the despotism of many Spanish-American republics with the freedom of Canada. Each country will preserve continuity with its own past, so that political organizations will vary in type. But they are merely vehicles to express the spirit of the times. They facilitate or they hamper growth, but only to a comparatively limited extent. No form will be democratic in practice long after that spirit has departed from the people; on the other hand, the most strongly entrenched autocracy, racial or otherwise, can make no serious resistance when democracy is aroused with its overwhelming numbers.

Undoubtedly Republican forms are the highest type yet successfully practiced on a large scale; yet the real point of departure between democracy and autocracy is not in the letter of the law but in its spirit. It consists in the attitude towards the government of public opinion among its subjects.

If the people really believe in despotism they have the power under democracy to organize despotism; as they grow in intelligence and become capable of better things, they will recognize the defects of their government and revise it, forcibly or otherwise. This is sound, healthy growth of

the social and political body—growth from within predominating, although stimulated, of course, by action and reaction on environment.

But however liberal the letter of the law, its spirit is the acme of autocracy if it is imposed on an alien people from beyond the seas; and it stultifies the manhood of its subjects much more than a less advanced form of government supported by local public opinion. National home rule must be upheld by every true democrat as involving the minimum of friction in practical operation and the maximum of healthful growth for the country and the people. Quicker apparent results when achieved by the autocracy are not as enduring, being at the expense of the fiber of the national character of the subject people. Advanced races can best assist backward ones by voluntary cooperation and not by forcible subjugation.

So much for the well-being of the natives under Asiatic and African home rule. As for foreigners, the modern concert of Powers, by sheer weight of moral and material prestige, can uphold all proper rights of its own subjects who reside in or have relations with backward countries. And if a warship should at rare intervals be necessary to emphasize a point of difference between a native and a foreigner, its use would not necessarily prejudice the sovereignty of the minor government. Modern diplomatic differences and even wars between first-class Powers are not carried to the point of complete conquest and subjugation of the defeated country; and they need not be in the case of weaker governments unless the difficulty be used merely as a convenient excuse for international land-grabbing and people-grabbing.

HERBERT FOSTER.

"Has anybody engaged the berth above me?" asked the passenger in the sleeping car. "No, sir," said the conductor. "Then will you please tell the porter to fold it up, so I can have a little more air?" "Certainly not, sir." "Why not?" "Because, sir, that would be giving you more air than you have paid for, and you can see for yourself that we can't do business on that principle."—Chicago Tribune.