

court each man is counsel and each man is judge. That court may not stay the movement, but will control it. It can make the movement with all the wonderful things attending it subserve the higher thought, ennobling the individual."

Of what value is "an appeal to the great court of public opinion," unless the decrees of that court can be enforced; and if those decrees are "irresistible," why may they not stay this movement? Why may they not crush out the trust system? Justice Brewer says that this tendency is antagonistic to the republic, inconsistent with popular government, wholly against the republican thought of equality of right. If this is true, and "the great court of public opinion" cannot enforce decrees sufficiently to crush the system, then we must admit that we are powerless to protect the republic against evil tendencies; that we are helpless in the presence of institutions that are inconsistent with popular government; that we are impotent when confronted with devices that assail the thought of equality of right, that seek to transform a republic of free men into a nation of financial monarchs.

If it is possible for this "great court of public opinion" to make "the wonderful things" attending the trust movement "subserve the higher thought in ennobling the individual," if it is possible for "the great court of public opinion" to check the greed and rapacity of the trust magnates, then it is possible for that great court to render decrees so solemn and so strong that they may dissolve any institution or any system that is antagonistic to the republic and to the republican notion of government.

Moral Courage.

Speech delivered by Mr. Bryan at banquet tendered ex-Senator Charles A. Towne on the eve of his removal from Duluth to New York:

Buckley says that civilization is measured by the mastery of the human mind over the forces of nature. In elaborating this proposition he declares that the moral element in civilization is insignificant as compared with the intellectual element. The reason which he gives is that the same moral principles have been generally accepted throughout the ages, and he argues from this that the difference between races, nations and civilization must be accounted for by differences in mental development. His error, for I believe that he errs, is due to the fact that he confuses the acceptance of a moral principle with living up to a moral principle, whereas nations are to be measured, not according to the moral principles admitted to be true, but according to the moral principles which govern the lives of the people. If you will take the worst thief that can be found in the penitentiary and place him beside the best man you know, and then question the two, you will find that both admit the binding force of the Ten Commandments. What is the difference, then, between them? It is this, that one puts his moral principles into every-day practice and is known as an honest and upright man, while the other suspends his moral principles in moments of temptation and becomes a criminal.

A careful study of the causes that have led to the decline of nations and to the decay of races will, I think, convince an impartial student that the moral element is not only important, but paramount in a nation's life. Take, for instance, the fall of the Roman empire—it was not due to lack of intellect or to lack of the physical qualities. It was the Roman heart, not the Roman head, that went astray; and it is as true today as it ever has been in the past that there can be no real or permanent national growth unless that national growth is accompanied by the development of national conscience and national character.

The nation is but a collection of individuals and reflects the character of the people. As the moral element is essential to a nation so it is to an individual. There is no danger of our becoming indifferent to physical excellence, nor is it likely that we shall place a low estimate upon the development of the mind, but in our rush for wealth and material advantage there is danger that we

shall ignore the most important part of man—the heart.

Plutarch said that men entertained three sentiments concerning the gods; that they feared them because of their strength, admired them for their wisdom, and loved them for their justice. Men entertain towards their fellows the same sentiments which, according to Plutarch, the ancients entertained towards their deities. Force may excite fear and genius may arouse admiration, but we only love the heart that loves. Justice—the fruit of love, is the element which gives strength and permanence to organized government. So important is the moral element in the individual that no man has ever won a lasting place in the affections of the people who has not in his life given evidence of a broad and deep affection for his fellows. It may be truthfully written upon every monument reared by grateful hands to the memory of a great man: "We loved him because he first loved us."

Of the qualities of the heart, moral courage is one of the most essential; it is the shield that protects the other virtues; it is the fortress that guards integrity. The image of the Creator is never seen more clearly stamped upon the brow of man than when God's creature stands erect, proclaiming the conviction of an honest heart, and ready either to live for them or to die for them. There is strength and inspiration in the presence of such an one.

It is sometimes difficult to select a subject for an after-dinner speech, but when I received an invitation to participate in the farewell banquet tendered by the people of Duluth to their distinguished townsman and my friend, the sentiment, "Moral Courage," at once occurred to me, for he has given signal evidence of the possession of that manly quality which makes him welcome defeat rather than surrender that which to him seems right. We admire the physical vigor and the attractive graces of our guest; we admire the clearness of his intellect, the force of his logic and that fund of information which enables him to fortify his arguments by illustrations drawn from history and from nature's book; we listen with lingering delight to the magic of his voice and are led captive by his persuasive oratory; but far above our admiration for his other qualities we place our admiration for the moral courage which has made him conspicuous among the members of his generation.

We need this moral courage for the protection and preservation of our government today. We need it among public officials, that they may prize above pecuniary rewards and above the flattering whisperings of ambition, the honor that comes from faithful service and a clean record. Whether a man is serving his fellows as an official in the city, in the county, in the state, or in the nation, he needs moral courage to enable him to withstand the pressure that is brought upon him by the great corporations that are clamoring for favors and are able to richly compensate those who will consent to turn public office to private advantage.

Moral courage is needed among our private citizens, that they may be as bold to punish unfaithful officials as they are ready to commend the faithful. In times of war the individual is ready to give his life, if need be, in the service of his country; the demands of peace are equally imperative. The nation is entitled to the brain and heart as well as to the body; it claims the best thought and the best conscience of its citizens.

Great issues are at stake; great interests are involved—aye—even our civilization itself, and through us the civilization of the world. This nation is a world power; it has not acquired its influence by recent wars, but for a century its ideas have been permeating the world. Every citizen is a factor in our civilization, and by his conduct raises or lowers the level of that civilization. He cannot expect his neighbor to be more conscientious than himself; he cannot rely upon some one performing the duty that he ought himself to discharge. He owes it to his country, as well as to his generation and to posterity, to throw the weight of his influence upon the right side of every public question. For the proper discharge of his duties he will require the highest form of moral courage.

Some may be disposed to stamp the word "failure" upon the political career of Charles A. Towne. I hope that the future may have in store for him a reward that will be worthy of his high merit, but, even if he were to die tonight, he would not have lived in vain. He has set an example that must weigh heavily on the side of civic virtue. He has faced without flinching a fire as hot and hellish as ever came from cannon's mouth and he has won a victory greater and more glorious than ever crowned the life of one who fawned

at the feet of power or bartered away his manhood to secure an office.

Because he forgot himself in his devotion to duty he will be remembered by the people when time-servers and self-seekers have disappeared.

Liberty of the Press.

The following is an extract from an argument made by John Milton to the parliament of England in defense of the liberty of the press (published in the *World's Best Essays*):

"First, when a city shall be, as it were, besieged and blocked about, her navigable rivers infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battle oft rumored to be marching up even to her walls and suburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more than at other times, wholly taken up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reformed, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, even to a rarity and admiration, things not before discoursed or written of, argues first a singular good-will, contentedness, and confidence in your prudent foresight, and safe government, lords and commons; and from thence derives itself to a gallant bravery and well-grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who, when Rome was night besieged by Hannibal, being in the city, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon Hannibal himself encamped his own regiment. Next it is a lively and cheerful passage of our happy success and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational faculties, and those in the acutest, and the pertest operations of wit and subtlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is, so when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has, not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue destined to become great and honorable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

What would ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light springing daily in this city, should ye set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel? Believe it, lords and commons, they who counsel ye to such a suppressing do as good as bid ye suppress yourselves; and I will soon show how. If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mind, and free, and humane government; it is the liberty, lords and commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us—liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarefied and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven; that is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing of the truth, unless ye first make yourselves, that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your own virtue propagated in us; ye cannot suppress that unless ye reinforce an abrogated and merciless law that fathers may dispatch at will their own children. And who shall then stick closest to ye, and excite others? Not he who takes up arms for coat and conduct, and his four nobles to Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defense of just immunities, yet I love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."