

the steam engine and the rise of the present industrial system, which I have called the "machina-facture." This last step has produced and is still producing a series of social changes which give rise to the social antagonisms of today, and which passing into the sphere of politics become questions of political issue.

The evolution of the industrial system was the force which socialized the clans and tribes into nations, and is the force today which is socializing the nations together with the ethical and religious ideals which are in corresponding process of evolution.

But it is the purpose of this paper to trace only in outline the beginnings and development of the industrial system which is rapidly enveloping the world and is socializing all mankind.

And the particular object in this is to show how the origin and organization of an industrial system formed a new basis and purpose for political combination. As the appearance of infancy in the animal world was ground for the genesis of the family, so man's economic wants and his inventing the means to supply those wants were the ground for greater political combinations than the clan and the rise of another great institution—the political state.

By the organization and development of an industrial system based on the right of private property and contract, the food supply was first enormously increased. It could be indefinitely increased by peaceful industry. This fact alone tended to do away with fighting. But that which was of the most profound and far-reaching significance was the fact of the free exchange of the products of labor arising out of the division of labor.

When one man found that by reason of some local advantage and superior personal skill he could produce more of a certain economic good than some other man who in turn by reason of his local advantage and personal skill could produce a different economic good and each could produce beyond his own wants, and each wanted what the other had, then the two men found out the advantage of free exchange of the products of their labor.

When, in this matter of the exchange of the products of labor or services men found that one man's interest was not opposed to another man's interest *then* exchange was substituted for robbery.

Men did not at first recognize this fact. They have not yet learned it. There is a large class of men yet who persist in interpreting the conditions of our present industrial life in accordance with the traditions of primitive life—when one man's success did mean another man's starvation.

Our tariffs—miscalled protective—are survivals of the barbarous mode of

thinking which fitted the ages before industrial civilization began.

The pacific implications of free exchange between persons and places within the same political organization are fully recognized in all civilized states, but not yet between all civilized nations. Nevertheless it is true that the beginnings of agriculture and commerce marked the beginning of the greatest social revolution in the career of mankind.

The conditions for the maintenance of the physical life were changed from that of the animal world and that of primitive man.

Two animals—wolves—confront one another. A fierce fight ensues. The stronger wins the carcass which the weaker had found and captured. That is primitive man. Two human beings—civilized men—confront each other. Each has wants, not merely physical wants, but *them*, and hundreds of higher spiritual wants developed by civilization. Through division of labor each has what the other wants. They exchange on an equitable basis.

That is civilized man. The interests of industry are antagonistic to war. The beginnings of an industrial system founded upon property and contract are the beginnings of human interests that are tending constantly to the elimination of warfare.

In the rise of industrial civilization are found the causes which tend to the elimination of warfare and the consequent development of the *idea of the nation*.

Looked at from the standpoint of the political state, progress in the formation of states has been made by the coalescing of small groups or tribes into larger and larger political aggregates.

This process has not gone on regularly and uninterruptedly and its tendency has been apparent only to the seer and the poet. The process of union and coalescence has been brought about by the needs and under the impulse of industrial civilization. The chief obstacle to union has been universal hostility and warfare inherited from primeval times.

The history of mankind has been made up of fighting; much but not all of it useless.

During the historic period the wars of Europe have been contests between the industrial and the predatory types of society, or, contests incident upon the imperfect organization of large political groups.

In the interest of the family and of the industrial society great political aggregates have been formed in three ways. First, by conquest without incorporation. A single powerful tribe conquered and annexed its neighbor but did not admit the conquered people to a share in its government. The conquering tribe used the conquered tribe to increase its military strength, robbed

the producers of wealth of the fruits of their labor and thus virtually enslaved them. This is the *oriental* type of union. Nothing pacific about it.

The second mode of union was that of conquest *with* incorporation. The conquering tribe annexed its neighbor and gradually admitted some of the people to a share in the government.

Thus arose the Roman Empire; the largest, most stable and the most pacific social aggregate the world had seen. It succeeded in breaking up the clan system in the best part of Europe. Its great contribution to civilization and to the development of the idea of the nation was its development of the conception of rights and duties coextensive with humanity, or the idea of law as universal.

The third mode of union of different social groups is by the device of representation, by which political power is retained in all parts of the community while its exercise is delegated to a central body.

This mode permits a *voluntary* union and is therefore pacific in its nature. The other two modes are involuntary.

Partly for this reason and partly because of the military pressure to which the frontier was constantly exposed the Roman government became a despotism which gradually took on many vices of the oriental type. This political weakness resulted in the overrunning of Europe by people of lower civilization organized in clans and tribes.

Then was retrogression toward primitive ages. But the retrogression was temporary and partial.

The third method of forming great political aggregates mentioned is *federation*. Fighting was essential under the two lower methods—fighting for conquest in the beginning and then fighting the rebellions that followed.

Under the method of federation there is no conquest, but a voluntary union of small political groups into a great political group. Each smaller political group preserves its local independence intact while forming at the same time a part of an indissoluble whole from which is no secession.

The first two methods are involuntary: brought about by force and held by force. The last is a voluntary union and is therefore pacific. It is self-constituted, and hence is free. But the conditions for this federation are high intelligence and high ethical development.

In early times such union was impossible. It is impossible now with savage and half civilized groups. Federation was first attempted by the Greeks. The plan failed for want of the device of representation. In later times it has been put into successful operation on a small scale by the Swiss and on a larger scale by our English ancestors.

The coalescence of shires into the Kingdom of England effected by means of a representative assembly and at the