

them to kill the aged and infirm by throwing them off bridges as a sacrifice to the river gods. The oldest son upon his marriage became the head of the family. In the heroic age of Greece we notice that Ulysses is king of Ithaca while his father, Laertes has but an estate by the courtesy in the kingdom. Besides, during the period of migration, which may have lasted a thousand years or so, and the nomadic pursuits of the Teutonic races, the conditions were not conducive to the establishment and maintenance of an ancestral tomb. At any rate Tacitus found the spirit of personal independence the paramount characteristic of the Germanic tribes.

The Latin races seem to have no ambition to break away from their traditions, from their notions of the old family religion. They seem satisfied with the thought that whatever was is, and forever will be. The Teutonic races have not completely broken away, in a sense, from their ancient worship; but there has been a mighty and continuous struggle to discover just what this ancient family worship is; and in this process of evolution the dross has been cast off, and these races have come nearer and nearer to the truth and thus have become better, stronger, nobler, higher and nearer to God.

#### The Roman Church.

The institutional identity of the Roman Catholic church and the ancient family is readily apparent. The pope is the connecting link, in the male line, between the worshipers of his religious family and God. The "pater familias" of the church is the exclusive authoritative source of truth and of power. Like his ancient prototype he belongs to himself only. Being the fountain of all things he is irresponsible to anyone. The images of saints around the altar and hearthstones are the successors of the Lares and Penates, the manes of the days of old. The burning of incense corresponds to the sacred fire, and the money paid for masses for the repose of departed souls is the substitute for the sacrificial offerings on the ancestral tomb. Holy water is not unlike the ancient lustral waters in its uses. Vestal virgins have their followers in the female orders of the church. Burial in a consecrated cemetery is still essential in order that the manes may enjoy the favors that flow from the ceremonial at the tomb. Claiming to be universal it believes itself the only family that has any business on earth, and has a monopoly of the truth. "Thou shalt have no other God before me." Any person who dies without the pale of the church is foredoomed to a fate like that of a manes without descendants. The church, too, is like a corporation. It never dies. All the earnings of its members were wont to be turned over to it as trustee. All members strive to minister to the church. They are for

the church, not the church for them. Do the names of great philosophers adorn the annals of her history? Does one name grace her lists who has ever preached the gospel of the rights of man? The grandeur of the God-like nobility of the individual man, in the contemplation of whose immortality all artificial institutions pale into insignificance?

The spirit of the "patria potestas" has created a peculiar conception of law in the minds of those peoples who have come under its influence. Law, having its source in the father is purely his own will. There is nothing superior to him. It is not an external agency that affects high and low alike. "The will of the emperor has the force of law," is the maxim of the civil law. "I am the state," exclaimed Louis XIV; "Mich und Gott," says the emperor of Germany. Possessed of such conceptions a successful revolutionist is not conscious of violating law. He has substituted himself for the former dictator and is then a law unto himself. There is no consciousness, no moral force, no authority above him. He cannot commit a wrong.

#### Law.

The contrast of the Anglo-Saxon conception of law brings out this peculiarity very distinctly. Law, as we comprehend it, is the reflection of the collective thoughts upon order and regulation of all men; is an authority superior to the will of any one man; and all, king and vassal, are alike its subjects. King John to his sorrow ran amuck this distinction at Runnymede. The Latin conception is not conducive to law and order. It is not firmly grounded in the moral consciences of the race as anything stable or permanent. I think this explains the cause, to some extent, of the frequent revolutions among Latin races. The individual does not feel that his thought is an integral part of the law; the lack of which feeling predisposes indifference if not disrespect for law. Again he must be more or less conscious of subserviency to the whim or caprice of the "pater." This mental attitude develops a sentiment of dependence on external agencies, a moral, mental and physical unfitness for the struggle for existence. China has been stationary for 4,000 years, Spain for 200 years, and even France seems to be on the high road to national decadence. With their conception of law, of ethics, the French cannot hope to produce men who can cope with the sturdy, self-reliant and aggressive Anglo-Saxon across the channel, and in due time will be Fashodaed off the face of the earth.

#### Non-Evolutionary.

Where freedom of thought and liberty of conscience are smothered evolution is inoperative and progress is a myth. To the Latin the idea of local self-govern-

ment is a pure mental abstraction. He needs regeneration. It is probable that in the tropics self-governing institutions will never be able to maintain themselves on account of the climate. If the history of civilization has demonstrated one thing it is that no race which is incapable of self-government is fit to govern other races. It has likewise demonstrated that nations built upon the principles of the "patria potestas" may have "first freedom, then glory, then corruption, then decay."

#### Federal Paternalism.

But so long as belief wields such powerful influence over the mind of man no race will ever wholly break away from paternalism. It is grounded on religion, the strongest emotion in man. It is part of our very nature. We may observe its influence in the social, religious and political life of the United States. There is a large, and apparently a growing, class of persons, who by some mental process make themselves believe that congress and the president constitute a huge "pater familias;" that this modern "pater" has superior wisdom to that of any voter; knows better how the individual should conduct his business; where to sell his butter and eggs; where to buy his books; how to make contracts; where and with whom he should exchange the products of his toil; that there is magic in legislative acts; that somehow the individual must have "paternal" laws to protect himself against the consequences of his own conduct.

As a result we have tariff laws to enhance wages, immigration laws to keep out of our "family" the barbarians of Europe. We do not want the English, Germans or French to come sneaking around our hearths, our sacred fires, and to pollute our lustral waters with their foreign notions. America for the Americans. These foreigners have other gods, other prayers, other governments; therefore, if free trade is good for the barbarian English it would necessarily be injurious to us. No foreigner shall present himself at our worship; it would be impious and a sacrilege to the manes of Hamilton and Clay. But by the ancient process of arrogation and adoption, now called annexation, behold the metamorphosis! the barbarian becomes ipso facto an American and free trade with his former brothers would kill him.

Our reciprocity commissioner is an arch priest at the shrine of the "patria potestas." By his dispensation we are permitted to trade with the hated barbarians on terms we are confessedly unfit to make ourselves. In fact if we did it would warrant the "pater" to prohibit our worship at the shrine of our ancestors unless we pay the prescribed penalty for such sacriligious acts.

Some invoke the thunder of the "pater" to frighten us from drinking beer. Again, others wish the aid of the paternal power to coerce free men into