

Let the mind of a people be enslaved by ignorance and superstition, by selfish interest and desire, and Thor and Jupiter, the divine right of kings, the inquisition, human slavery and the Czar of Russia are possible. When once the mind is free nothing can withstand it; before it temples and sceptres, arbitrarily enslaving man, false creeds and dogmas fettering him are powerless. This spirit, progressive and invincible, forced magna charta and created the house of commons. It guided the course of the Mayflower. It stimulated hearts with heroic fortitude to endure those terrible winters at Plymouth Rock and Valley Forge. It inspired the splendid charges of the national army in '64 and '65, and amid the awful carnage of war, the principle of freedom stood sublime. Aye, name it what you will, there is a marvelous power which exists co-ordinate with human life, a silent force which year by year is bringing the race nearer the goal of freedom, a spirit, before which monarchial tyranny, class privilege and blinded bigotry, must flee before the avenging angel of Almighty God.

Freedom must be realized by man in society in relation to his fellowmen. In the very constitution of society there are present two forces—the one and the many, the individual and the state. Human nature forms the basis of society. Were human nature perfect, did each man recognize the rights of his fellowman, individual action would need no restraint. But, hemmed in by selfish interests, shackled by ignorance, each member of society seeks his own advancement regardless of the welfare of his fellows. Hence the necessity for government. Hence legislatures, prisons, and standing armies. Hence that conflict in society which will continue so long as human beings are actuated by motives of avarice and hate.

Present in every period of history, determining theories of government, directing social and political movements, balancing and counter balancing each other are these two conflicting elements—the individual and the state. The spirit of individual liberty forces its way resistlessly onward until stayed by the power of the state. The state, becoming arrogant and arbitrary is forced to give way before the demands of the individual for justice and equality. The unlimited assertion of either principle has invariably been followed by national disaster. Excess of individual privilege, lack of power in the state destroyed the Grecian republics. Not at the heart of Caesar was the dagger of Brutus aimed, but at the principle of absolute power in the state. In the feudal system with its petty lords and barons, and in the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV, these opposing principles again found realization. From absolute despotism, the pendulum swung back to the absolute anarchy of the French revolution—to the reign of Terror, to the sovereignty of the Guillotine, to the domination of Danton, Marat and Robespierre. Napoleon Bonaparte cannonading the mob from the steps of St. Roche, announced the return of law, the restoration of the state. In American political history these same forces have been at work. Setting forth diverging policies of government, they gave rise to the principles of national supremacy and state sovereignty. Hamilton, Webster, and finally the entire north on one side, Jefferson, Calhoun, and the south on the other.

Not only to the distribution of political power, but also to the control of industry does the conflict between these primary social forces extend. The tendency toward the concentration of capital in the hands of the few, struggles perpetually with the tendency for its diffusion among the many.

Man seeks to actualize his potential freedom. To accomplish this purpose, industrial organization forms the great means; men combine with men, corporations are formed,

factories are set in motion, labor divided. Note the change this system has effected during the nineteenth century. Commercial and industrial development has been accomplished as if by magic. Resulting from this feverish growth, there has come the exaggeration of property power in the individual. Contracts have been made, regardless of their effect upon the general welfare, corporations with unlimited power have been formed, illegal trusts and combines violating the sanctity of contract have organized, entire industries have been monopolized, private enterprise destroyed, rates established, money have been extorted for the necessities of life, the masses have been robbed, and the spoiler goes unquestioned. Landlords, oil-kings, and railroad princes, Wall street, board of trade, and stock exchange are the marks of modern industrial tyranny.

Reform is the demand of the hour. From mine and forge, from mill and factory, thousands of dissatisfied men and woman, poorly clad, and illiterate children clamor for and demand reform. But how is reform to come? In the midst of a conflict whose issues are human liberty, human happiness, human life itself, in which the existence of government, the preservation of social order, the continuance of civilization is at stake, from what source are relief and peace to come?

Reaction against individual power over property has given rise to the current theories that government control of industry is the source from which industrial freedom is to come. From exaggeration of the power of the individual, modern reformers go to the exaggeration of the power of the state. Theorists and abstract philosophers, disregarding human nature, ignorant of the constitution of society, forgetful of the province of government, have incited otherwise contented laborers until now they are wild with fancied wrongs. Meeting in organized forms all over the country these laborers are violating the same law of individual liberty, trampling upon the same right of private ownership and sanctity of contract, as are the corporations against which the vials of their wrath are poured. They propose that government shall create by its own will, without regard to inherent worth or natural value, an unlimited supply of money based wholly upon credit. They would sweep away the national banking system, establish government warehouses, government sub-treasuries, and devise a scheme by which the government itself is to lend money to individuals. They would place the railroad and the telegraph in the hands of the government, beside and equal with the coinage of money and the levying of taxes. They would right the wrongs of labor by acts of government, remove inequalities in wealth and condition by the mandate of the state and abolish the laws of nature and the decrees of an omnipotent power by legislative enactment.

The policy of these modern reformers, carried to its logical effects, would sweep away all motive to act or work, all human ambition, all human progress. With all power vested in government, without competition, institutions become stationary, thought becomes fixed. It is by individual effort stimulated by the hope of success, that every step forward in civilization has been taken. It invented the steam engine and the printing press. It braved the dangers of an untried sea and opened to mankind a new continent. It wielded the ax of the backwoodsman and kindled the camp-fires of the early settlers on the frontier. It has girded continents with steel and encircled the globe with lightning. It is the moving spirit of American prosperity, the vital spirit of American freedom, the essence of modern civilization. Vain all attempts to undermine the very existence of government by interfering with the free activity of its members. Vain all