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MODERN SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

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HON. CHARLES S. THOMAS
SENATOR FROM COLORADO

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MODERN SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS.

It was at the suggestion of my lamented friend, the late Senator Bacon, that the chancellor of this great university graciously invited me, some months ago, to take part in your commencement exercises. I welcomed their overtures with a prompt and unconventional enthusiasm, because it afforded me an opportunity to indulge a long-cherished desire to visit the dear old State of Georgia, which had been postponed and almost forgotten in the whirl and sweep of life's pressing activities. The temptation they held before me was irresistible; and I surrendered to it with a selfish gladness that took no thought of the obligation it entailed. I did not reflect that what gave me great pleasure might bring you greater affliction, until I began to prepare for the task assigned me. I then realized that even happiness entails responsibility, that my summons hither was more of a conscription than a compliment, and that I must try to justify the wisdom of my selection by the value of my counsel. The engagement I have assumed is, therefore, a serious one; for the proverb that advice is cheap is true in the double sense that it is easily given and seldom accepted. The old perceive their errors after they have been committed and warn the young against their repetition. The young, always wise while youth remains, listen to the warning with respectful tolerance and soon forget or disregard it. And so the current of life proceeds as men flourish and decay. We learn much from the achievements of those who have gone before, yet take little heed of their individual experiences. But this can not excuse me from following the example of greater teachers, as it will not deter you from following that of former disciples.

May I not, however, turn aside for a moment to express my gratitude to the chancellor, through whose courtesy I am here to-day? I do not think you fully realize what an honor it is to me to have been chosen as the speaker for this great occasion. I was born in Georgia and my boyhood days were spent upon her soil. I was here during the terrible ordeal of the Civil War, when every household laid its youth in sacrifice upon the common altar, when men fought and died, when women prayed and suffered, when carnage and desolation brooded over our fair land from the ocean to the Gulf. I was here when peace came, with its train of greater horrors, and then I turned my face westward, as the sad alternative of the young man who had not where to lay his head. It was then that Alexander H. Stephens, the greatest intellect in Georgia's illustrious galaxy of immortals—whose prophetic vision has been verified by the events of time—declared that the Western Territories were the asylums for the young men of that day; but the South, rich and rejuvenated, would lure their offspring back to her sheltering embrace and claim them as her own.

My friends, the child of the South may leave her borders in quest of fortune; he may make his home in other climes; he may cast his

lot with distant communities, and these may crown him with wealth and distinction; he may sever all the ties that bound him to his native land; he may return to it nevermore; but a child of the South he must ever be. He may change his environment, but he can not change himself. Her blood is in his veins; her stamp is upon his soul; her image is in his heart. In the stillness of the morning she beckons him and he smiles. In the watches of the night his memory reaches backward to other days crowded with joys and sorrows, and he yearns for the scenes he may not revisit and the friends who may not remember him. His dreams are languorous with the old negro melodies, the odors of the magnolia, and the notes of the mocking bird. He views her from afar, but he can not judge her fairly. He may criticize her action, chide her impulses, or condemn her provincialism, but he knows that her traits and her conduct are her own, so he would not have them otherwise. And he rejoices in her vast material development. He recalls the terrible days of the reconstruction period and bares his head with reverent joy in the presence of a people who from the sackcloth and ashes of that desolating era, by the sheer force of indomitable courage and patriotism, have faced every political problem, confronted every material difficulty, encountered every industrial obstacle, and overcome them all.

Forty-three years ago I left you. You were then oppressed, misgoverned, discouraged. You were ruled by the sword and the scalawag. What the war had spared the carpetbagger had seized. Despair was universal, and the black horizon was without a star.

To-day the South is the most attractive and prosperous section of the Republic. It is an industrial wonderland, whose transformation is your handiwork. Through its throbbing activities, great in achievement and greater still in the certainty of their future expansion, are revealed the creative genius and unconquerable spirit of Anglo-Saxon energy, now dominant chiefly in this fair land of flowers and sunshine.

> Back of the canvas that throbs the painter is hinted and hidden,
> Into the statue that breathes the soul of the sculptor is bidden.
> Under the joy that is felt lie the infinite issues of feeling,
> Crowning the glory revealed is the glory that crowns the revealing.

Your workshops and factories, crowded cities and inviting fields, are a composite picture whose outlines are aglow with the spirit of the new régime. The age of miracles is gone; but you wrought one when you cast off your mantles of despair and resolved to work out your own salvation through the painful but purifying processes of toil and sacrifice, when you turned your faces to the future, unlocked your stores of natural wealth, and won your way back to riches and power through the gateways of material progress.

Your affliction was extreme, but you have emerged from its shadow chastened and without reproach. Your civilization was menaced with extinction, but you guarded with zealous care the ark and covenant of your fathers. You were pilloried for sedition, but to your children and your children's children will be committed the supreme duty of preserving the institutions and guiding the destinies of the American Union. From these halls of learning must come the men to bear that mighty burden.

For our modern civilization, though stupendous in achievement, carries in its bosom the elements of its own destruction. Science and mechanics have long been its handmaids. Their magic keys have unlocked nearly all the mysteries of nature and converted them into sources of limitless wealth and power. They have made commerce and industry the mainspring of all political, social, and economic life. They have bound the nations in coils that are vibrant with electric currents of instant communication and peopled the circumambient air with their countless messages of welcome and warning. Under their sway travel has become a luxury on land and sea. They have shaped cunning devices and Titanic machinery to relieve us of our tasks while multiplying our production manyfold. They have refashioned the processes of agriculture, energized the force of descending waters, and harnessed the winds to their chariots. They have cleaved continents in twain to make new routes for commerce, and lifted mankind to its highest levels of industrial progress.

But these achievements have their darker side. They have not been attained without creating many maladjustments. They have brought enormous riches to some; and they have lessened opportunity to the many. They have sharply accentuated the extremes of wealth and poverty. They have promoted enormous industrial and transportation combines employing wage earners by the hundred thousand, controlling great lines of traffic and production, and enjoying the revenues of kingdoms and principalities. These in turn have become preponderant in governmental affairs and have used their power for their aggrandizement and extension, to the detriment of the public weal. The people, alarmed at these conditions and hopeless of overthrowing them through the slow and doubtful processes of the law, are in revolt. The wage earners, organized for protection and defense, demand a greater and yet greater share of profit for their earnings and enforce their demands by the strike and the boycott. Socialism points to the glaring inequalities of life in a land blessed by nature with all her bounties, arouses class consciousness, and hails the day of collective ownership.

Nations, States, municipalities, corporations, and individuals have pledged their own and the property of their children to secure immediate capital until available moneys have been absorbed by countless securities, and the annual interest roll will soon be equivalent to the net earnings of commerce and industry. These gathered by the money lender, swell his hoard and supply him with funds for fresh and added promotions. Luxury and ostentation keeping pace with our widening circles of effort and achievement have sown far and wide the fecund seeds of envy and discontent. Justice, fettered by ancient technical and expensive methods of procedure, is delayed to all and denied to many. The standards of public morality have been degraded and forgotten in the universal greed which finds expression in the mad race for wealth. Corruption in public place, both high and low, is so frequent that it has become familiar. Only by its absence does it longer excite surprise. Historians are drawing parallels between the Rome of Augustus and the American Republic of the twentieth century, while thoughtful men, pondering over the warnings of de Tocqueville and the prophesies of Macaulay, are awaiting with dread the developments of the immediate future.

These conditions can not continue as they are. They must either improve or become more malignant. They will improve only through the earnest effort of earnest men. They will grow worse if disregarded, for such is nature's law. To arrest the further progress of public evils, to bring man to better understanding of his rights and duties, to adjust all men to better and safer relations in the modern mechanism of a truly industrial age, to restore the Government to its normal functions and bring to it the loyalty and devotion of all sorts and conditions of men, to restore equality of opportunity, and to reconcile class antagonisms to mutual understandings, are some of the tasks which the young men of to-day must assume and perform if they would preserve free institutions for their children.

Men should have aroused themselves to these conditions long since. They are not plants of recent growth. They were apparent a quarter of a century ago. But *laissez faire* was long our shibboleth. Its spell is not yet wholly broken, albeit we know full well that evils of society do not mend themselves, but grow apace. The country must look for its safety to the intelligence, the self-denial, and the patriotism of the men of learning in the crisis of a surely coming change. This graduating class of 1914 will, I am sure, be found in the front rank of those who must meet and sustain it.

In its last analysis the problem which looms so large in bulk is not composed of many factors. Its primal elements are apparent. Law and order are the fundamental bases of human association. Ample provision is made in government for both. When violated or disregarded with impunity, their operation is suspended and our natural and political rights are all imperiled. This condition needs summary correction, and that fully accomplished makes further progress easy.

The fundamental evils of our modern society find expression in universal disrespect for the law and the indifference of the individual citizen to his political duties and obligations. The last postulate perhaps includes the first, being its distinct and actuating cause. Disrespect of the law leads directly to its violation, and laws which are violated with impunity are worse than no laws at all. Indifference to public duties leads to their neglect, and public duties neglected by so-called respectable elements of society, encourage elements not so respectable to seize the machinery of government and pervert it to their own sinister purposes.

Thirty years ago Joseph Cook said:

> Our greatest virtues and our greatest vices are both fostered by liberty. The absorption of citizens with their own exacting enterprises leaves law with too lax execution. The preoccupation of the good is the opportunity of the bad. Plato said that there will be no ideal state until kings are philosophers and philosophers kings. There will be no ideal Republic until citizens are active Christians and active Christians are active citizens. Plutarch and Cicero take notice of a law of Solon which declared every man infamous who in civil discussion continues neutral. The able American citizen, however, except on great occasions, is absorbed in his personal business, and leaves that of the public to the political machine.

If we would have self-government, or even honest government, we must realize at all times that we are the units which compose it, and that the mass will be as the units are. Political campaigns are exciting and attract the active zeal of the average citizen while they last, but not longer. His interest ceases with the casting of the ballot and is not aroused until another campaign is on. In the interval he is too busy or too indifferent to care about public affairs. If

summoned for jury duty, he pleads to be excused. If admonished of public wrongdoing, he wonders why politics should be corrupt, and may resolve to eschew them entirely thereafter. If he feels the encroachments of big business upon his occupation or his income, he is as apt to seek immunity by suing for its favor as to join the forces of resistance. The public business is not his business, but a thing apart. True, it levies taxes upon him; it should protect him in turn; it attends him from the cradle to the grave; its character was stamped upon it by centuries of struggle and sacrifice, but that only emphasizes its permanence; and present blemishes are but transient and will pass away as readily as they came. Therefore let those who are in political life and who understand it assume the task of reformation.

Moreover, the public business is most exacting. If we should give it heed, our own business might suffer both from neglect and from the resentments kindled by too much interference. And one requires recreation too. Who that enlists in the ranks of social or political malcontents can find opportunity for rest or travel?

Justice should of course be swiftly and surely administered to and for everyone. But it is an expensive luxury, fettered by archaic methods of procedure, and hidden in a countless multitude of distracting precedents. That, however, is the fault of the courts and of the bar. Let these reform themselves. Why should the busy man of affairs or the busier man of leisure be disturbed by intruding such a subject upon them? They feel no sense of responsibility for the existence of the evil and are therefore under no obligation to actively aid in its suppression.

Public utilities controlled and operated by private interests, and coming in daily contact with the governing authority, form alliances with them wherever possible. These alliances inevitably result in profit for the utilities, in plunder of the governed communities. They breed corruption, discontent, and disorder. They are possible only because of the inaction or indifference of the citizen, whose efforts and energies are absorbed by his own affairs, or who looks with contempt and disgust upon politics as something which degrades by contact. And so the evils multiply. The average man comes to regard Government as an agency of big business, he sees the laws enforced or suspended in its interests, and loses his respect for both. His loyalty to the one is weakened and his disregard of the other is logical and inevitable. He follows the examples everywhere confronting him and profits or suffers as he pleases or offends the interests which he imitates. Administration in all its departments falls in public estimation and disorders increase as faith in the equality of man before the law declines.

Our Government is founded on the intelligence and moral sense of the people. We have always maintained that the one is the flower and the other the ripe fruit of education, that knowledge is both power and the proper application of it. Hence we have established vast educational systems, stretching from the kindergarten to the university and comprising every phase of academic and practical instruction. Great sums of money are annually gathered and expended in this behalf. The school is everywhere the type of American civilization. The cost of its maintenance is cheerfully borne by the citizen. Its advantages are offered to every child of the Republic, whose equipment for the duties of life is admittedly incomplete

without them. Education is the gauntlet which society places upon the hand of the youth and bids him go forth and defy the world. Our fathers enjoined its priceless value upon us and bade us confer it upon all the generations to come lest free government perish from the earth. Therefore intelligence is generally disseminated. Illiteracy is disappearing from our land. It is the golden age of books, of newspapers, of schools, of universities, and of platform instruction. We are the most generally educated people in the world.

Why, then, are we not better grounded politically, socially, economically than our forefathers were? Has education sustained our moral faculties, our sense of responsibility, our devotion either to ideals or to duty? Has it increased our regard for others or quickened our zeal for our country? Has it enlarged or even continued our obligation to posterity? Has it prompted us to regard our public institutions as a heritage to be enjoyed and then transmitted without impairment to those who will soon succeed us? I fear not.

It is a melancholy fact that the evils and disorders which have been evolved from our social and industrial life during the past century, and whose ominous shadows lie athwart the pathway of our immediate future, have run parallel with our educational development. Our moral stamina seems to have been weakened by our intellectual growth. As a nation we were more virtuous when we were more ignorant. We were more law-abiding when we were closer to the soil. Mental cultivation has stimulated a noxious growth of weeds along with the grain for which the soil was prepared.

And this is but half the truth. For education has been handmaiden to the growth of monopoly, to the corruption of government, to the widening of social distinctions, to the partial administration of justice, to the promotion of nearly every evil which distracts or threatens the social organism. It has been a shield for entrenched privilege, an obstruction to the enactment and enforcement of good laws, the apologist for economic tyranny rather than the advocate of political freedom. The concurrent progress of social inequality, class legislation, and special privilege with the extension of our educational systems has been so constant as to suggest to some thoughtful men the relation of cause and effect between them, and to justify the cynicism of Phillips that governments beginning in tyranny and force, in the feudalism of the soldier and the bigotry of the priest, have made every step of the world's progress from scaffold to scaffold and from stake to stake, that liberty and civilization are only fragments of rights wrung from the strong hands of wealth and book learning and that all ideas of justice and humanity have had to fight their way like a thunder storm against the organized selfishness of human nature. But this indictment is too comprehensive.

It may be fully conceded that education is not an unmixed blessing. Intelligence is as fully displayed in the discovery and manufacture of explosives as in the investigation of the causes and cure of disease, in encompassing the ruin of great enterprises as in creating them; in overthrowing law and order as in establishing them; in the destructive as in the constructive domain of human activities. And it may be further conceded, for it seems to be true, that the expanding intelligence of the age has been assiduous in the creation and rapid acquisition of material wealth and in the ascertainment and application of means and processes to that end. The strong men of the nation,

attracted by the colossal prizes offered by industrial and commercial opportunity, have with a few notable exceptions forgotten or disregarded their obligations to society, and devoted all their splendid talents to material things. Intense competitive conditions have demanded the subordination of all things to success.

Constitutions and laws, the rights of persons and of things, public morality, and commercial integrity have been largely subordinated to the material requirements of an industrial age. The affairs of government being either of secondary moment or important as adjuncts to material success, have sometimes been incompetently administered and frequently maladministered. The public machinery has been harnessed to the mill, the mine, and the railway. The man of modest affairs has suffered. He is the first victim of an industrial aristocracy, which manufactures wealth overnight with a printing press and levies its tribute alike upon the just and the unjust. In his wrath he rails against the Government, the laws, and the institutions of his country, all of which have been perverted from their purposes to his undoing. Public opinion, at last aroused, justly acquits ignorance of these conditions and as justly holds education responsible for them. It also calls upon the intelligence of the Nation to rouse itself to the task of readjusting its institutions, its business, its politics, and its morals to their normal functions lest the line of forbearance be crossed and the task be done with torch and sword.

To this call the educated young men of the land must respond. Their country demands their services in the work of peaceful revolution as urgently as it will ever need them for armed conflict. The tasks they must encounter require for their performance all the courage of the soldier and the virtue of the patriot. The general welfare is merely the welfare of each man and woman, and the one is attained through the establishment of the other. Universal justice finds complete expression only when every citizen may confidently look to its impartial exercise by whomsoever invoked. Equality before the law is consistent only with its application at all times in the same way under the same conditions. Freedom of contract is a mockery when society does not standardize the association with the individual. American citizenship loses its dignity and character, as those who possess it doubt the integrity of the local or General Government, and independence is a delusion to men whose wage falls below the needs and requirements of modern existence. Need I say that these contrasts between the ideal and the actual are alarmingly frequent? Or that they have sprung largely from the neglect or refusal of the educated citizen to recognize and discharge his public obligations? Or that such a man, though unconscious of the fact, is not a good citizen?

Let me try to demonstrate the pertinency of these queries. Our local governments are our most important ones, for they affect us more closely and constantly than those which are more comprehensive. The city embraces the home. It is concerned very largely with matters affecting comfort, health, good order, and peaceful intercourse. Its burdens fall entirely upon those within its geographical boundaries. It is relatively more expensive than that of the State or the Nation. It should regulate the local utilities and safeguard the citizen against all forms of exploitation. Its cheap but efficient administration is therefore essential in the highest degree, and for that reason was it chartered and endowed with part of

the public authority. Yet municipal mismanagement in the United States is a stench at home and a shame abroad. Until recently we have watched its progress from bad to worse with the impotence of despair, and why? Simply because the educated, refined, and substantial elements of society have given it little concern, and have finally taken its unspeakable corruption as a natural and therefore an irremediable defect in popular government.

And so, but to a less degree, with our State governments. These excite a greater interest than local ones. Yet they yield in turn to our interest in the National Government, which touches us from afar off, which commands attention because of its larger dominion. It is, nevertheless, of smaller import to the citizen in his everyday life than the others. Since the individual thinks and acts otherwise, however, he is more intent upon it, gives more thought to it, and keeps closer watch upon its operations; wherefore general government is less subject to reproach, than those of cities and Commonwealths. Even here, however, the activity of the individual is not regular, nor is it by any means universal.

Municipal elections seldom command 50 per cent of their legal voters, the absentees being the good people. State elections seldom command 60 per cent of the legal votes, the absentees being the good people. National elections will command perhaps 70 per cent of the legal vote, the absentees being as usual the good people. Here, too, is much ground for criticism, for the vote cast in the presidential election of 1896 was about as large as those which have since been held, albeit our population has increased by 30 per cent during the interval.

It is said that the absence of the householder is the opportunity of the thief. And it may also be said that the inaction of the citizen encourages the schemer to make a business of politics, and boss control is a natural evolution. Money needs political power for its larger dominion, and power needs money to make it more effective. Their alliance is as certain as the tides, when education, duty, and eternal vigilance are all asleep at the switch. It is not too much to declare that, for our social, industrial, and political ailments, our cultivated and intelligent classes are responsible. If this be true, these ailments will continue and grow more acute with time, until these classes shall rouse themselves to action, and apply their energies to the work of civic regeneration.

And the hour has struck for the commencement of this gigantic task. Discontent is fast ripening into rebellion. Opposition is finding expression in armed resistance. State governments are confronted with serious dangers menacing law and order, and the unequal divisions of wealth are charged to privilege sanctioned and protected by law. Mobs in motly, speaking the tongues of Babel and recruited from all the nations of the earth, congregate in our great cities and flaunt red banners of rapine in the very face of authority. It is a time that tries men's souls, and yet a trial that should purify men like fire. Our Government must again be of the people; the energy and genius of intelligence must make it so; by the people, whose leaders must see to it that each and every man shall bear his part in shaping and supporting it; for the people, who reap its benefits only by keeping its mechanism in perfect order and constant operation. "Republican government," said Elihu Root, "is organized self-

control." Its maintenance is the mightiest task a nation ever assumed, for it is a perpetual one. The demands of business, of society, of home and family, all these are part of, yet subordinate to that greater duty to all the people, which this task demands. Each man in America is sovereign, each therefore in conjunction with his neighbor must perform the duties of the king. For this we establish schools, and disseminate knowledge. The sovereign has been derelict; he must reassert his prerogative or abdicate. The nation looks as never before to its men of conscience and education, to its graduates from the schools and the workshop, to the intelligence and patriotism of society, for its rescue from impending perils, and I have faith that it will not look in vain.

Our institutions, founded upon the principle that all power resides with the people, have, with four wars behind them, endured for 140 years. "What Wycliffe did for religion Jefferson and Samuel Adams did for the State. They trusted it to the people. He gave the masses the Bible, the right to think. Jefferson and Samuel Adams gave them the ballot, the right to rule. His intrepid advance contemplated theirs as its natural inevitable result. Their serene faith completed the gift which the Anglo-Saxon race makes to humanity. We have not only established a new measure of the possibilities of the race, we have laid on strength, wisdom, and skill a new responsibility. Grant that each man's relations to God and his neighbor are exclusively his own concern, and that he is entitled to all the aid that will make him the best judge of these relations; that the people are the source of all power and their measureless capacity the lever of all progress; their sense of right the court of final appeal in civil affairs; the institutions they create the only ones any power has a right to impose; that the attempt of one class to prescribe the law, the religion, the morals, or the trade of another is both unjust and harmful—then when, in 1867, Parliament doubled the English franchise, Robert Lowe was right in affirming amid the cheers of the House, 'Now the first interest and duty of every Englishman is to educate the masses, our masters.' Then whoever sees farther than his neighbor is that neighbor's servant to lift him to such higher level. Then power, ability, influence, character, virtue, are only trusts with which to serve our time."

The call for volunteers armed and equipped with these trusts sounded long ago. The schools have supplied them in ample abundance. They must now respond to the call. They are required to establish respect for the law and for authority that order may prevail in every section of the country; to recognize the evolution of new forces in the social structure and direct instead of vainly attempting to overthrow their influences; to reconcile the differences between masses of money and masses of men engaged in a common effort; to settle conflicts by the peaceful processes of mediation; to make men realize that the Government is the indispensable requisite of civilization, more needful to the dependent than to the powerful—that to weaken or to overthrow it is to loosen the furies of violence and rapine; to advance the general welfare by constructive reforms, which shall supplant destructive abuses; and above all to impress deep into the hearts of men the solemn truth that the right of the humblest citizen to life, to the enjoyment of liberty regulated by law, and to the pursuit of happiness through the agencies of a well-ordered and progres-

sive society can not be denied or disregarded without impairing the right of all men to the same priceless blessings. This is a task as inspiring as it is essential. It calls for the highest type of citizenship and requires the constant and unflagging vigilance of its votaries. Hate, distrust, and violence can not minister to the progress of a nation based upon popular sovereignty. Mutual forbearance, mutual sympathy, and mutual understanding directed by wisdom and intelligence will, I am sure, bring social and industrial peace to a discontented people and solve all our problems in the interest of our common humanity.

In this stupendous work of social and economic change the South must play a leading part. Her people are the lineal descendants of the race which won America from the grasp of the Spaniard and the ambitions of the Frenchman and then asserted its independence of the motherland. The waves of immigration have rolled across the continent for a hundred years and left your land untouched. Slavery turned it aside, and thereby kept your blood unmixed. Elsewhere it has been largely commingled with that of other peoples. We are Americans all, and loyal to the ensign of our common country, proud of its strength and glorying in its greatness. But this fair land of the South is the last abiding place of the Anglo-Saxon, founder of empire and champion of democracy, able to govern others because he has learned through centuries of sacrifice to govern himself. He has written every sentence in the long chapter of human freedom with his blood, and will maintain its cause as long as his race endures. He is by right of his sword and his laws the guardian of the institutions that his fathers founded for all men, and these are menaced by many dangers. An All Wise Providence with far-seeing vision set you apart for the ordeal which must come to a Nation whose doors are open to the stranger from every clime. You have been held together by the cohesive force of perils which no other people ever encountered. Statutes and bayonets have alike been powerless to break your ranks or deliver you into other hands. You have defied what seemed the enlightened opinion of all men that your race might endure undefiled. You have justified the reflection that you have been lawless only when governed by laws that were not your own.

We now perceive, dimly perhaps, but still we perceive that omniscient wisdom has disciplined you by infinite suffering for a task whose performance will put wisdom, courage, and fortitude to the test of supreme endurance, for American institutions may soon be hanging in the balance. The red rag of discontent challenges the flag of our country, organizations of men confront organizations of wealth, authority is mocked, and the mob threatens to arm with torches.

These manifestations are becoming general. Through all the domain beyond the Ohio and across the Mississippi, wherever the cross currents of discordant races commingle, wherever large centers of population exist, wherever combined industries have swelled their capitalization to huge proportions and command large bodies of wage earners, volcanic forces are gathering for upheaval. Thoughtful, anxious, earnest men and women everywhere realize what that upheaval means to them, to their children, to the institutions their fathers established for the happiness of mankind. But they take heart for the future in the conviction that here in the Southland is a

people, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, united, unafraid, equal to the discharge of every duty which in the providence of God may be allotted to them and dedicated to the defense and guardianship of popular government. Such a people may well become the Imperial Guard of the Republic in the days when an infuriated populace shall seek to topple authority in the dust. The solidarity of the South may yet prove the sheet anchor of a nation's hope and vindicate its character by the measure of its devotion.

But there is time and to spare for the peaceful cure of all our social ailments. Burke said that the aim and end of all government is justice, and a government not so designed lay under the imputation of being no government at all. The preamble of our National Constitution makes the establishment of justice its prime consideration. It might have ended there, for that comprehends all the other objects enumerated. Justice means brotherhood, human sympathy, equality of opportunity, and the right to that freedom which consists with its exercise by others. Good wages, healthy surroundings, comfortable homes, mutual understanding, human relationship between employer and employed, toleration of differences, arbitration of disputes, collective bargaining, the binding obligation of agreements when fairly made, these are a few of the things which the true establishment of justice would secure. And these secured will bring contentment, make industrial warfare unnecessary, remove social disorders, and minimize the commission of crime. They can be secured by mutual and persistent effort. From henceforth let no man face public sentiment with the query, "Am I my brother's keeper?" We are in very truth each other's keepers, enjoined by the great Nazarene to love our neighbors as ourselves. This commandment generally observed will blossom into the foliage of national contentment, of domestic tranquillity, of perpetual peace, and of widespread prosperity and happiness. There will be left plenty and to spare of human troubles, but strife and discord will be banished from the homes and hearts of all. God speed the day when duty shall supplant selfishness as the mainspring of human progress.

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