

The Festival of the Republic.

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the Triumph of the Federal Republic. Before we reach that result, shall we have an interregnum of Imperialism and Despotism, with a slow recovery through revolutions—putting back human progress certainly another century, and perhaps more? That is the great question for us and this generation!

But the Memorial of the Great Republican should be somewhat practical as well as theoretical. His question "QUO VADIS?" means, "How are you meeting the dangers which now surge up against the Republic?" Those are, as we have intimated, from two sources: (1) That it may be lost by anarchistic inattention, corruption and carelessness of the people; (2) That it may be stolen from the people by integrative and centralizing powers selfishly owned and used and not under the control of the whole people, nor for their benefit. This last is evidently our present great danger. Such dangers are especially the result of wars. "INTER ARMA SILENT LEGES," "In Arms (Wars) the Laws are silent," said Cicero. The "Powers that be," then in power become permanent, because they must then act independently of the direct laws and manifested will of the people, and in the emergencies they make the laws; then the popular and even the judicial departments of the government exist chiefly to enact and register the integrative centralizing measures or "rescripts" long before the name of the Republic is gone. So was it when Cæsar bore away the Republic of Cicero, and when Napoleon brutally abolished the Republic of Paine in France. Such events are, therefore, the great object lessons of history to us.

We too have had our wars, and every one of them has had such a centralizing tendency, that our people will have to be aroused as never before, if the Republic can stand another. Think of it! Our war of the Revolution, the "War for Liberty" ended in a petition to Washington to become "Imperator." If he had not been a sturdy Republican "the dream of a Republic" would have ended then. Let us never forget that service of that great and good Republican! It is a blessed thing that Mr. Conway has been able to show that Washington's apparently cruel inattention to Paine when he was in prison in France, and Paine's resentment of it and harsh criticism, was the result of want of information and consequent misapprehension on the part of both. (See Conway's Writings of Paine, Vol. 3, chap. 21, and Vol. 4, xiii.) It is proved that Gouverneur Morris was the wicked marplot who caused those spots—the only serious ones that seemed to rest upon the great originator,

and the great defender of Republicanism.

O for time to refer to each of the wars of our Republic, and to show how the inevitable centralizing consequences have been most timely and most fortunately neutralized by Democratic champions of the people, especially by Jefferson, Madison, Jackson; and LINCOLN, whose sudden death, from this point of view, may yet in future years be seen to have been the death wound of the Republic. This is to be feared, because since his assassination the people have not been able to put at their head any great "Tribune of the People," who could do for them what Jefferson did in 1800. Lincoln saw, and expressed it plainly many times, that the real danger of the war would be after its victory. Every President we have had since our civil war has, consciously or unconsciously—mostly the latter—added to those dangerous centralizing consequences, and has had unexpected, but tremendous powers and influences forcing him and the people in the same direction, until now, as Emerson warned us, "The Fortune of the Republic" trembles in the balance.

Now let us try to drop mere party politics for a few moments and look at these tendencies as we know the "Spirits" of Paine and Lincoln would regard them in their "Quo VADIS?" warning to us.

1. The people have lost their money: and yet they are overwhelmingly in debt, and they are still getting in, instead of getting out of debt. Lincoln laid his finger on that war debt as the beginning of great trouble. We have paid it really twice in value, and now it is larger than ever, and no end of it is in sight! We have bound ourselves hand and foot by limiting ourselves in our means of payment to the gold which is already chiefly held by our creditors! Debt means bonds; bonds mean bondage; bondage means usury; usury means use—use of your body and life as a slave—and that means dependence, poverty, degradation and misery of the masses, and the lordly prominence of the few who have usurped the life of the people and the reality of their Republic.

2. The people have generally lost the power of free labor or employment of themselves—because it can no longer be made to pay. Why? The capitalistic methods of production and distribution have become monopolistic. That means that the mighty machine has taken away the tool, and the factory the shop, the department bazaar the store—even the professions are syndicates. All of which means that the people have lost their birthright to labor, except as wage-slaves at the will AND PROFIT of another, and not for themselves—except for the bare

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