

received larger and larger attributions; men's liberties and men's laws multiplying in a direct ratio one to the other and not in an inverse ratio.

2. That, at present, certain specific evils, recognized by all as grave and threatening, yet almost beyond question remediable by sane, well-studied legal measures, are allowed to remain and plague us merely or mainly because *laissez faire* has become such a fetish.

3. That the studied legislation thus referred to as desirable need not greatly extend public ownership, need not take aught from the rich, discourage any productive enterprises, repress individual initiative, or have the slightest leveling tendency; but may, on the contrary, be so shaped as to set free the matchless and invaluable force of individualism as has never been done yet.

4. That the execution of a just and careful programme of legislative reform in the interest of the common producer, by removing obstacles now in his way, by making him more of a man and less of a drudge, would vastly increase his productiveness and thus the nation's wealth, removing never a penny or a privilege from any who possess wealth already.

5. That the wise execution of such a programme, so far from tending toward socialism, would have precisely the contrary effect, preserving the state, as apparently nothing else can, upon its ancient and present foundations of personal intelligence and character, individual freedom, private ownership of goods, and individual effort.

6. That the aim and end of social agitation should continue what it has so long been, the elevation of individuals—the many, indeed, not

the few—yet the many man by man and not masswise, collective action being used resolutely when needed, yet temperately, as a means, and never save when it is certain to do what individual action could not achieve.

Reform by such means, while in appearance counter to orthodox democracy, so far, that is, as regards the doctrine of *laissez faire*, yet leads to the same end that *laissez faire* was meant to attain. It cannot, therefore, when understood, repel liberal hearts. It is, in another respect, the exact carrying out of all the original liberal manifestoes. It is the realization of freedom and progress along political paths. Not indeed by the quick "open sesame" which eighteenth-century pedants deemed available, yet no whit less really, the franchise is to enfranchise. Freedom's trail is often circuitous, but it nevertheless advances, not once returning upon itself, often as it may seem to do so.

This slowly but surely awakening insight, that the firm intervention of law, if it is only not wholesale but discreet, may accomplish now, for the setting free of healthy individualism and the consequent furtherance of all high social interests, the identical good results which the snubbing of officious lawmakers once accomplished—this *aperçu*, I say, is soon going to be the inspiration of liberal souls the world over. These old battle-peals: "the rights of man," "liberty, equality, and fraternity," will echo again. In response, hosts unprecedentedly vast will rally to humanity's standard. The war will be bloodless but decisive. Socialism in the offensive sense will not be enthroned, but all unsocialism, appertain to whatever class it may, will be dethroned forever.