

RELATED THINGS

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DECORATION DAY.

For The Public.

The daisies grow across where once she passed,—
A shimmering legion;—buttercups are massed
Above the hot prints years obliterate.
Only the heat keeps virgil. Memory
Preserves in virile charm her former state
That haunts the earth and air and flowers, and me.
What then is Death that cannot call away
The spirit of a distant yesterday?
'Tis fitting that the meadow, gayly dressed,
Should newly every blossoming season shrine
That olden pathway. So would faith invest
In silver, all its visions of divinity
Fidelity; and so would love enfold
All of devotion it conceives, in god.

GERTIUDE COLLES.

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DEMOCRATIC RADICALISM.

Portions of An Inspiring Speech Delivered Before
the Democratic Club in Philadelphia, February
21, 1911, by Woodrow Wilson, Gov-
ernor of New Jersey.

There was something said recently by a very witty Englishman, which seemed very cynical, but which, I am afraid, is painfully true. He said: "It is not true to say of a man who has attained a distinguished position in his profession or undertaking, that you cannot bribe a man like that, because the truth is, he has been bribed. The existing order of things has made him, and he dare not touch the existing order of things for fear it should wreck him; the existing order has put him under bonds not to change it. He has been bribed."

Now it is time that notice should be served upon all these gentlemen that the existing order of things is going to be changed. The warning is only fair because it is only equitable that they should have time to make their preparations. I have known for a long time that it had to change because I have, of necessity, been associated with generation after generation of the young men who are going to change it, and who were, year by year, serving notice on me that they were changing it. . . .

An interesting circumstance about the radicalism of our time is that it purposes a restoration. Do not deceive yourselves, gentlemen, by the literary theory of American institutions. If in contrast what is called the radical programme let us say the programme which has been so successfully and admirably carried out in the State of Oregon, with the literary theory of our in-

tutions, you see a very radical contrast. The literary theory of our Constitution is that we are living under a representative government. The fact of our institutions is that we are not living under a representative government, and those who seek to bring the people—the will, the opinion, the purpose of the people—directly to bear upon affairs, are trying not to destroy, but to restore representative government.

It is very interesting to see how an audience like this responds and thrills at those old . . . formulas of liberty that have rung in this country from generation to generation on the lips of public orators. I believe, and hope, that my own pulse leaps to respond to them as yours does, but what I am interested in is the translation of liberty into experience, and my blood would leap much more quickly to the details by which we were to get it, than to the general statement of what it is we want to get. For our task at present is not to bring about, or rather, I would say, it is not to determine what specific readjustment and reforms we want, but it is to determine how we are going to get them. . . .

The theory of the Republican party has been that you must put the power of the people into commission, that you must entrust it to those persons in the community who have the largest stake in the community, and who, because they have the largest stake in the community, may be supposed to understand the interests of the community best. In other words, it is the intervention of a steering committee between the power that is to be used and the instrumentality through which the power is to be used. The Republican party ought not to be too severely blamed. The Republican party started out upon a very handsome mission; namely, to substitute free for unfree labor. It started out to serve one of the fundamental principles of liberty, but, in order to do so, it had to fight and carry to an end a very expensive war. In order to pay for the war it had to enter into certain partnerships with capital. Do not let us put the terms of our history wholly in parlor language. Let us face the facts as they are. . . .

The Republican party having to pay for a very expensive war, had to see to it that the government and the success of the Republican party became an investment for somebody, and in order to make it a permanent investment for somebody, they had to make it worth the while of large bodies of moneyed men to stand by the Republican party. I do not need to tell you by what means they did so. It was a very expensive partnership for the Republican party, because they had to keep raising the ante. They had to keep increasing the productivity of the investment in order to keep the investors satisfied; and therefore the amazing progression of the use we have made of the doctrine of Protection has been an absolute necessity on the part of the

Republican party if they were going to keep up the partnership. . . .

I am not impugning the honesty or the integrity or the patriotism of many of the distinguished men who have been connected with the Republican party. Still less am I questioning for a single moment the great body of my fellow citizens who have voted the Republican ticket. That is not the point. The point is that we are now beginning to perceive that the whole partnership was based upon a vicious principle, a very dangerous principle, and that in order to get a new adjustment we must bring all the parts of the social machine into the rearrangement, and must see to it that henceforth there is no particular partnership between government and selected interests of any kind.

How are we going to do it? You know that in order to maintain this partnership a very interesting body of machinery has grown up, machinery which had a most plausible appearance of being necessary, and which grew from stage to stage almost unobserved until we found that instead of using it, it was using us; the machinery by which we thought we were holding opinion together, and then found that we were only holding offices together—the machinery of nomination, the machinery of arrangement. It is an unpleasant matter to talk about, but it is an open secret. You know that the members of State legislatures have again and again found themselves obliged, with regard to all the important measures of the session, to take their orders from persons who were never elected to anything, but who constituted the nominating machinery by which the representatives obtained their positions, and hoped to retain them. The men who constituted this nominating machinery received their orders, in turn, from the interests which were provided, because the organization which had selected them had received the money for its operations from the interests whose orders were carried out in the legislature, either by stopping this bill or promoting that . . .

We all know without the least degree of discouragement for I am not discouraged even if you are and without the least touch of cynicism, that this has been the fact, and that in order to save the people brought into the game again, we have got to sweep something away and sweep it clean. Not organization, for organization is necessary, but that organization which does not derive its authority and inspiration from the people. . . .

What we are doing, therefore, is to break down these barriers, or rather, to use a better figure, is to cut down the jungle in which all sorts of secret forces are lurking, to cut down the jungle in which there is covert secrecy and concealment, for every process which should be open and is, as a matter of fact, private. It is to break down

all the private understandings of government and oblige them to be public understandings. . . .

See what a commonplace thing we are doing, therefore. We are simply trying to square the facts of our government with the theory with which we have been deceiving ourselves. We do not mean to live any longer in a fool's paradise. We mean to have the kind of government we supposed we did have. If we cannot get the kind of legislation we want, we will have the initiative and referendum, and where they have been tried, it is found that the people have just as discriminating a knowledge of what is necessary as any recent legislature, at any rate, has exhibited. My conviction is that when once this direct access of the people to the execution of their own purposes is accomplished, the initiative and referendum will not be the ordinary means of legislation. They will be the very salutary gun kept in the closet. The knowledge that if they do not represent, representatives will be dispensed with, will make representatives represent.

In these measures, therefore, we are not dispensing with representative government, but making sure that we are going to have it. What are we fighting for, then, in this so-called radicalism? Radicalism? Yes, because it goes to the root of the matter, it not radicalism in the sense that it is an insatiate love of change, not radicalism in the sense that it is love of uprooting things. On the contrary, it is love of solidifying things and making them real instead of a sham. Do you suppose that we want to build stone superstructures upon card-board imitations of stone for foundations? We want to get the root of this whole thing, the radices, the roots, the radicals of it all, where we may hold fast. I like the image of the root rather than the image of the foundation, for the foundation takes nothing from the soil, whereas the root draws its whole sustenance from it and I know the history of government too well not to know that all its vital forces come from the hidden earth, from the hidden origins, the hidden fountains that lie in the great body of the people. I have not seen in reading history the source of strength coming from the top and flowing to the root. I have always seen them rising from the root into the branches. . . .

I tell you, gentlemen, that the so-called radicalism of our time is nothing else than an effort to release the energies of our time. This great people is not bent upon any form of destruction. This great people is not in love with any kind of injustice. This great people is in love with the realization of what is equitable, pure, just, and of good repute, and it is bound by the clogs and impediments of our political machinery. What we are trying to do is to release all its generous forces. . . . Release the generous energies of our people and you will come upon a time of prosperity when the hearts of men will flower, when men

will see that the true happiness of life is not in devising schemes of power, but in realizing in themselves the common aspirations of the race.

Just as in the great literature there come to expression the great emotions of mankind, so in politics there come to realization the great actions of mankind, so that men are partners with each other in the hopeful enterprises of human perfection and the hopeful enterprises of justice to which all government is consecrated. Let us not be jealous of the radicalism which seeks to derive all our forces from this single root of perfection.

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L'ENVOI OF HOUSE CLEANING.

(With apologies to Kipling.)

Laura Simmons in "The Circle."

When Earth's last picture is dusted,
And the floors are painted and dried—
When the oldest carpet is beaten,
And the youngest spider has died—

We shall rest, and faith, we shall need it;
Lie down for a moment or two—
Till the dust on the grand piano
Shall set us to work anew.

We shall have real paint to lean on;
Pile everything into the hall,
And scrub for hours at a sitting—
And never be tired at all!

And they that are clean shall be happy;
They shall eat off a kitchen chair,
And splash with a seven-foot dust mop
At the back of the chiffoniere.

And the Man of the house may praise us—
But shall (more than probably) blame;
And we never shall get any money—
(And certainly not any fame.)

But each for the joy of the cleaning,
And each in her feminine glee
To look just as well as the neighbors,
For the sake of Things They Might See!

BOOKS

CONSERVATION.

Irrigation and soil productiveness will probably be the most important factors of industrial development in the immediate future in our country. For this reason "The Conservation of the Natural Resources of the United States," by Charles R. Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, is of peculiar interest; and not only to technical engineers, but also to farmers and political economists. It is apparently without a rival among books, for information covering the principles and the principal facts pertaining to our natural re-

sources and their relation to our industrial development.

The settlement of open prairies, available as agricultural lands without irrigation, is complete. What remains of public land is either mountain or desert (including semi-arid land in the latter), and useless without irrigation. Largely for this reason the people of the United States are turning more and more to manufacturing as a means of livelihood; and this movement can be balanced off with agriculture only by governmental development. If left to private capital, the necessity for immediate returns on money invested in any given drainage area, will tend to limit irrigation and water power projects to the cream of that area, which may represent a very low percentage of its possibilities. The government can develop fully and wait many years if need be for investment returns. But if government is to undertake that work, it is essential to success that public opinion understand the questions involved. This book opens the door to more serious thought along this line than anything heretofore written.

Natural resources are doubtless more abundant than we can realize: as lumber disappears, for instance, cement comes in to take its place. But Nature's generosity is no excuse for human waste. Thriftlessness regarding natural resources must be stopped. The day cannot be far off when we shall be expected to use and conserve our resources through advances in scientific knowledge. It is scientific knowledge, indeed, that makes Nature inexhaustibly responsive to human needs. Not from waste of lumber has cement come, but from scientific interrogations of Nature; and herein Conservation travels double with Discovery.

F. L. CRANFORD.

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EVERY'S HISTORY.

A History of the United States and Its People. From their Earliest Records to the Present Time. By Elroy McKendree Avery. In Sixteen Volumes. Volume VII. Published by The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

Beginning with the campaign for adoption of the Constitution, with the making of which the sixth volume closed,* the seventh volume of Avery's series of sixteen carries the story of the American federation of States down to 1806.

The current which, before that century closed, turned the federation into the centralized Nation which the title of this work hints at grammatically in its use of the singular pronoun instead of the plural for the United States, had then begun to set in. Hamilton's financial policy is of course presented, and with fair judgment, and so is the development of new political parties. As an historical study of the way in which political

*See current volume, page 403.