
APPENDIX.

TO THE

SPEECH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Saturday, December 9, 1911.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado said:

Mr. SPEAKER At the meeting of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, held in Kansas City, Mo., on the 11th of last month, Gov. Blainforth, of Colorado, delivered an address which so forcibly presented the rights of the West and so clearly exposed some of the evils of the leasing of the public domain that his remarks attracted wide attention and favorable comment. His address was very timely, and presented in a new manner the distinction between real conservation of our natural resources by the prevention of waste and monopolization, and the policy which makes of conservation a mere mask under which lies concealed the purpose of a perpetual Federal ownership and interference in the necessary use and development of the country. His address set forth so forcibly the evils of bureaucratic rule and the infringements upon the rights of the West that are now being practiced by this administration, and presented so clearly the remedy, that I feel his address in full should be printed in the Congressional Record for the general information of the country.

I therefore ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by incorporating the address of Gov. Shafroth delivered at Kansas City.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record, including an address by the governor of Colorado. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

SPEECH OF GOV. JOHN F. SHAFER, OF COLORADO, AT THE TRANS
MISSISSIPPI COMMERCIAL CONGRESS, AT KANSAS CITY, MO., NOVEMBER
25, 1911

35. CHAIRMAN, DELEGATES TO THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI COMMERCIAL CONVENTION AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: There has been a strong sentiment in the East in favor of conservation of the natural resources of the public domain. All rational people are in favor of such conservation, if by that term is meant prevention of waste. But the sentiment has gone further. It has considered the meaning of making the most of the land, and of taxing the natural resources of the public domain by means of leases of grazing, oil, phosphate, asphaltum, coal and mineral lands for the benefit of the Federal Treasury, and of making water-power plants pay a royalty to the National Government for electric horsepower. It has also considered the recent conservation laws, and has drawn conclusions, including such a tolling

Fifteen million acres of land in Colorado have been set aside as forest reserves. Of 420,000 acres of coal land have been withdrawn from much small reclassified, and on reclassification there has been placed such enormous values upon the same (in some instances as high as \$400 per acre), that it practically operates as an absolute withdrawal of all the coal lands from entry. This is an enormous area and is equal to that of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island combined.

Most of these forest reserves are on the mountains, situate more than 7,500 feet above sea level, where nature has decreed that large timber can not grow, and many millions of acres are above timber line, where no timber whatever can grow.

It has been estimated that of the forest reserves in Colorado 30 per cent contain good merchantable timber, 30 per cent scrub timber, and 40 per cent are without timber. Thus 70 per cent of the forest reserves in Colorado have no connection whatever with forestry. It is ridiculous to contend that these reserves can be reforested in Colorado, because according to a report of the Agricultural Department, it takes in many State 100 years to grow a pine tree 18½ inches in diameter at an altitude of 7,500 feet above sea level.

This is not a partisan question, as President Cleveland set aside 25,986,329 acres of forest reserves in the West, and President Taft, in his message to Congress of December 8, 1910, declared that these are not questions over which to quarrel in partisan politics. Ninety-four of the Senators and Representatives of those Rocky Mountain States, irrespective of political affiliations, are opposed to this policy. The total area of the forest reserves established by the Presidents up to this time amounts to 192,931,197 acres.

PUBLIC DOMAIN HELD IN TRUST FOR SETTLEMENT BY CITIZENS OF ALL THE STATES.

Congress, time and again in its acts, has referred to all of that property acquired by the National Government as the "public domain," and, in all references to the same, has never intimated that such lands should be retained in perpetuity by the Government. Until recently it has been held, as its name implies, in trust by the Federal Government for the benefit of the people, and it has been the duty of Congress upon, develop, and improve the same. Not even residence in the State is required in order to locate a gold, silver, or mineral mine, a claim under the coal, timber, or stone acts. Certain improvements and payments only are necessary, and the work can be done by hired men. The public domain is not a thing of the past, and it is the property of the United States has in the public domain. It is truly a domain

It has never been the policy of the United States to make money out of its lands. The sums charged are presumed to amount to very little more than sufficient to cover the expenses of properly regulating the disposition of the same.

It has been well recognised in all countries that they must have lands for colonization; for relieving the congested population of their cities, so as to make better and more prosperous citizens.

At the formation of the Government the original States owned all the lands extending from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River. The States recognized that all of this western territory should be inhabited and erected into prosperous States, so that wealth could be added to the country, and a force of brave and patriotic citizens be reared therein, ready to respond to the call of the Nation in times of need.

The original States granted to the National Government all of that territory lying between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River. This was done, not for the Nation to hold in perpetuity or out of which to make profit, but in order that the territory might be speedily and properly developed. They recognized that the lands were worth nothing without people could be induced to settle upon and develop them.

All of the large acquisitions by the Government have been paid for in money. The Louisiana Purchase cost \$15,000,000; the Florida purchase, \$5,000,000; the Mexican acquisition, \$15,000,000; the Gadsden purchase, \$10,000,000; and the Alaskan territory, \$7,200,000. They amounted to 1,849,720,587 acres of land, costing, including interest paid, \$88,157,889.38, or an average of 4.7 cents per acre.

The Government has constantly pursued the policy of disposition of the agricultural, grazing, and mineral lands to the best interest of those people who would go from any part of the Union and settle upon, locate, and develop the same, and it was so; until during the last 5 or 10 years that we have heard people seriously contend that a revenue should be derived for the National Treasury from the leasing of these lands.

This Rocky Mountain region was the least inviting to the pioneer. It was Daniel Webster who used this language as to the western territory which we acquired from Mexico:

"What do we want of that vast and worthless area, that region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirling winds, of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs? To what use could we ever hope to put those great deserts and those endless mountain ranges, impenetrable and covered to their very base with eternal snow? What can we ever do with the western coast, a coast of 3,000 miles, rockbound, cheerless, and unlivable?"

[illegible]

to a very high place of vision and of inspiration. It makes of him the custodian of the honor and integrity of a great society, an instrument of humanity, because an instrument of justice and fair dealing and of all those right adjustments of life that make the world fit to live in.

If I contrast with this ideal conception of the function of the lawyer in society what I may be excused for calling his actual role in the struggle for law and progress and the renovation of affairs, I hope that it will be interesting as suggesting a view of our great profession which is in any wise touched with cynicism or even with the spirit of harsh criticism. The facts do not justify a cynical view of the profession or even a fear that it may be permanently losing the spirit which has ruled the action of the greater members of the bar and of the immortal judges who have aided at the bar and given strength and flower to the growth and liberty and human right. I wish to submit what I have to say in all fairness and without color even of discouragement.

The truth is that the technical training of the modern American lawyer, his professional prepossessions and his business involvements, impose limitations upon him and subject him to temptations which seriously stand in the way of his rendering the ideal service to society which is demanded by the true standards and canons of his profession. Modern business, in particular, with its huge and complicated processes, has tended to subordinate him, to make of him a servant, an instrument instead of a free adviser and a master of justice. My professional life has afforded me a rather close view of the training of the modern lawyer in schools, and I must say that it seems to me an intensely technical training. Even the greater and broader principles of which the elder lawyers used to discourse with a touch of broad philosophy, those principles which used to afford writers like Blackstone occasion for incidental digressions on the character and history of society, now wear in our teaching so technical an aspect, my seen through the medium of so many wire-drawn decisions, are covered with so thick a gloss of explanation and ingenious interpretation, that they do not wear an open and genial and human aspect, but seem to belong to some remote and private science.

Moreover, the prepossessions of the modern lawyer are all in favor of his close association with his clients. The lawyer deems himself in conscience bound to be contentious, to maneuver for every advantage, to contribute to his clients' benefit his skill in a difficult and hazardous game. He seldom thinks of himself as the advocate of society. His very feeling that he is the advocate now of this, now of that, and again of another special individual interest separates him from broader conceptions. He moves in the atmosphere of private rather than public service. Moreover, he is absorbed now more than ever before into the great industrial organism. His business becomes more and more complicated and specialized. His studies and his services are apt to become more and more confined to some special field of law. He grows more and more a mere expert in the legal side of certain classes of great industrial or financial undertakings. The newspapers and the public in general speak of "corporation lawyers," and of course the most lucrative business of our time is derived from the need that the great business combinations we call corporations have at every turn for their affairs of an expert legal adviser. It is apt to happen with the modern lawyer, as it has happened with eminent lawyers of our American communities that by the time they reach middle life their thoughts have become fixed in very hard and definite molds. Though they have thought honestly, they are apt to have thought narrowly; they have not made themselves men of wide sympathies or discernment.

It is evident what must happen in such circumstances. The bench must be filled from the bar, and it is growing increasingly difficult to supply the bench with disinterested, unspooled lawyers, capable of being the free instruments of society, the friends and guides of statesmen, the interpreters of the common law of the people, the mediators of the great process by which justice is led from one enlightenment and liberation to another.

For the notable, I had almost said fundamental, circumstance of our political life is that our courts are, under our constitutional system, the means of our political development. Every change in our law, every modification of political practice, must sooner or later pass under their scrutiny. We can go only as fast as the legal habit of mind of our lawyers will permit. Our politics are in the great measure shaped and attitude and in the intellectual vigor and vision of our lawyers. Ours is so intensely and characteristically a legal polity that our politics depend upon our lawyers. They are the ultimate instruments of our life.

There are two present and immediate tests of the serviceability of the legal profession to the Nation, which I think will at once be recognized as tests which it is fair to apply. In the first place, there is the critical matter of reform of legal procedure—the almost invariable theme, if I am not mistaken, of all speakers upon this question from the President of the United States down. America lags far behind other countries in the essential matter of putting the whole emphasis in her courts upon the substance of right and justice. If the bar associations of this country were to devote themselves, with the great knowledge and ability at their command, to the utter simplification of judicial procedure, to the abolition of technical difficulties and pitfalls, to the removal of every unnecessary form, to the absolute subordination of method to the object sought, they would do a great patriotic service, which if they will not address themselves to it, must be undertaken by laymen and novices. The actual miscarriages of justice, because of nothing more than a mere slip in a phrase or a mere error in an immaterial form, are nothing less than shocking. Their number is incalculable, but much more incalculable than their number is the damage they do to the reputation of the profession and to the majesty and integrity of the law. Any one bar association which would show the way to radical reform in these matters would insure a universal reconsideration of the matter from one end of the country to the other and would by that means redeem the reputation of a great profession and set American society forward a whole generation in its struggle for an equitable adjustment of its difficulties.

The second and more fundamental immediate test of the profession is its attitude toward the regulation of modern business, particularly of the powers and action of modern corporations. It is absolutely necessary that society should command its instruments and not be dominated by them. The lawyer, not the layman, has the best access to the means by which the reforms of our economic life can be best and most fairly accomplished. Never before in our history did those who guide affairs more seriously need the assistance of those who can claim an expert familiarity with the legal processes by which reforms may be effectually accomplished. It is in this matter more than in any other that our profession may now be said to be called upon to give to the Nation the confidence of the country as it proves equal to the test or unequal.

As one looks about him at the infinite complexities of the modern problems of life, at the great tasks to be accomplished by law, at the issues of life and happiness and prosperity involved, one can not but realize how much depends upon the part the lawyer is to play in the future politics of the country. If he will not assume the role of patriot and of statesman, if he will not lend all his learning to the service of the common life of the country, if he will not open his sympathies to common men and enlist his enthusiasm in those policies which will bring regeneration to the business of the country, less expert hands than his must attempt the difficult and perilous business. It will be clumsily done. It will be done at the risk of reaction against the law itself. It will be done perhaps with brutal disregard of the niceties of justice, with clumsiness instead of with skill.

The tendencies of the profession, therefore, its sympathies, its inclinations, its prepossessions, its training, its point of view, its motives, are part of the stuff and substance of the destiny of the country. It is these matters rather than any others that bar associations should consider, for an association is greater than the individual lawyer. It should embody not the individual ambition of the practitioner, but the point of view of society with regard to the profession. It should hold the corporate conscience and consciousness of the profession. It is inspiring to think what might happen if but one great State bar association were to make up its mind to move forward these great objects with intelligence, determination, and indomitable perseverance.

The Bible and Progress.

(Address of Hon. Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey, in the Auditorium, Denver, Colo., on the occasion of the dedication and inauguration of the translation of the Bible into the English language, May 7, 1911.)

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the thought that entered my mind first as I came into this great room this evening framed itself in a question, Why should this great body of people have come together upon this solemn night? There is nothing here to be so nothing doing. The Bible is the last word that is to be spoken of is the history of a familiar book?

But as I have sat and looked upon this great body of people I have thought of the very suitable circumstance that here upon the platform sat a little group of ministers of the gospel lost in this great throng.

I say the "suitable circumstance," for I come here to-night to speak of the Bible as the book of the people, not the book of the minister of the gospel, not the special book of the priest from which to sort forth some occult, unknown doctrine withheld from the common understanding of men, but a great book of revelation—the people's book of revelation. For it seems to me that the Bible has revealed the people to themselves. I wonder how many persons in this great audience realize the significance for English-speaking peoples of the translation of the Bible into the English tongue. Up to the time of the translation of the Bible into English, it was a book for long ages withheld from the perusal of the peoples of other languages and of other tongues, and not a little of the history of liberty lies in the circumstance that the moving sentences of this book were made familiar to the ears and the understanding of those peoples who have led mankind in exhibiting the forms of government and the impulses of reform which have made for freedom and for self-government among mankind.

For this is a book which reveals men unto themselves, not as creatures in bondage, not as men under human authority, not as those hidden to take counsel and command of any human source. It reveals every man to himself as a distinct moral agent, responsible not to men, not even to those men whom he has put over him in authority, but responsible through his own conscience to his Lord and Maker. Whenever a man sees this vision he stands up a free man, whatever may be the government under which he lives, if he sees beyond the circumstances of his own life.

I heard a very eloquent sermon to-day from an honored gentleman who was with us to-night. He was speaking upon the effect of a knowledge of the future life upon our conduct in this life. And it seemed to me that as I listened to him I saw the flames of those fires rekindled at which the martyrs died—died forgetful of their pain, with praise and thanksgiving upon their lips, that they had the opportunity to render their testimony that this was not the life for which they had lived, but that there was a house builded in the heavens, not built of men, but built of God, to the vision of which they had lifted their eyes as they passed through the world, which gave them courage to fear no man, but to serve God. And I thought that all the records of heroism, of the great things that had illustrated human life, were summed up in the power of men to see that vision.

Our present life, ladies and gentlemen, is a very imperfect and disappointing thing. We do not judge our own conduct in the privacy of our own closets by the standard of expediency by which we are daily and hourly governed. We know that there is a standard set for us in the heavens, a standard revealed to us in this book which is the fixed and eternal standard by which we judge ourselves, and as we read this book it seems to us that the pages of our own hearts are laid open before us for our own perusal. This is the people's book of revelation, revelation of themselves not alone, but revelation of life and of peace. You know that the great and constant struggle, for a man who has lost the sense of struggle life has ceased.

I believe that my confidence in the judgment of the people in matters political is based upon my knowledge that the men who are struggling are the men who know; that the men who are in the midst of the great effort to keep themselves steady in the pressure and rush of life are the men who know the significance of the struggle and the rush of life, and that they, the men on the make, are the men to whom to go for your judgments of what life is and what its problems are. And in this book there is peace simply because we read here the object of the struggle. No man is satisfied with himself as the object of the struggle.

There is a very interesting phrase that constantly comes to our lips which we perhaps do not often enough interpret in its true meaning. We see many a young man start out in life with apparently only this object in view—to make name and fame and power for himself, and there comes a time of maturity and reflection when we say of him, "He has come to himself."

When may I say that I have come to myself? Only when I have come to recognize my true relations with the rest of the world. We speak of a man losing himself in a desert. If you reflect a moment you will see that is the only thing he has not lost. He himself is there. What he means when he says that he has lost himself is that he has lost all the rest of the world. He has nothing to steer by. He does not know where any human habitation lies. He does not know where any beaten

path and highway is. If he could establish his relationship with anything else in the world he would have found himself. Let it serve as a picture.

A man has found himself when he has found his relation to the rest of the universe, and here is the book in which those relations are set forth. And so when you see a man going along the highways of life with his gaze lifted above the road, lifted to the sleeping ways in front of him, then be careful of that man and get out of his way. He knows the kingdom for which he is bound. He has seen the revelation of himself and of his relations to mankind. He has seen the revelations of his relation to God and his Maker, and therefore he has seen his responsibility in the world. This is the revelation of life and of peace. I do not know that peace lies in constant accommodation. I was once asked if I would take part in a great peace conference, and I said, "Yes; if I may speak in favor of war"—not the war which we seek to avoid, not the senseless and useless and passionate shedding of human blood, but the only war that brings peace, the war with human passions and with human wrong—the war which is that untiring and unending process of reform from which no man can refrain and get peace.

No man can sit down and withhold his hands from the warfare against wrong and get peace out of his acquiescence. The most solid and satisfying peace is that which comes from this constant spiritual warfare, and there are times in the history of nations when the most noble and the noblest instruments of bloodshed in order to vindicate spiritual conceptions. For liberty is a spiritual conception, and when men take up arms to set other men free, there is something sacred and holy in the warfare. I will not cry "peace" so long as there is sin and wrong in the world. And this great book does not touch any doctrine of peace so long as there is sin to be combated and overcome in one's own heart and in the great moving force of human society.

And so it seems to me that we must look upon the Bible as the great charter of the human soul—as the "Magna Charta" of the human soul. You know the interesting circumstances which gave rise to the Magna Charta. You know the moving scene that was enacted upon the table instruments of bloodshed in order to vindicate spiritual conceptions. For liberty is a spiritual conception, and when men take up arms to set other men free, there is something sacred and holy in the warfare. I will not cry "peace" so long as there is sin and wrong in the world. And this great book does not touch any doctrine of peace so long as there is sin to be combated and overcome in one's own heart and in the great moving force of human society.

The franchise of human liberty made the basis of a bargain with a king. There are kings upon the pages of Scripture, but do you think of any king in Scripture as anything else than a mere man? There was the great King David, of a line blessed because the line from which should spring our Lord and Savior, a man marked in the history of mankind as the chosen instrument of God to do justice and exalt righteousness in the people.

But what does this Bible do for David? Does it utter eulogies upon him? Does it conceal his faults and magnify his virtues? Does it set him up as a great statesman would be set up in a modern biography? No; the book in which his annals are written strips the mask from David, strips every shroud of conceit and conceals him from him and shows him as indeed an instrument of God, but a sinful and selfish man, and the verdict of the Bible is that David, like other men, was one day to stand naked before the judgment seat of God and be judged not as a king but as a man. Is not this the book of the people? Is there any man in this Holy Scripture who is exempted from the common standard and judgment? How these pages teem with the masses of mankind. Are these the annals of the great? These are the annals of the people—the common run of men.

The New Testament is the history of the life and the testimony of common men who rallied to the fellowship of Jesus Christ and who by their faith and preaching remade a world that was in the grip of the East of the Roman Empire. It is the story of the triumph of the human spirit in the person of humble men. And how many sorts of men march across the pages, how infinite is the variety of human circumstance and of human dealings and of human heroism and love! Is this a picture of extraordinary things? This is a picture of the common life of mankind. It is a mirror held up for men's hearts,

and it is in this mirror that we marvel to see ourselves portrayed.

How like to the Scripture is all great literature! What is it that entrances us when we read or witness a play of Shakespeare? It is the conviction that this man, this all-observing mind, saw men of every cast and kind as they were in their habits, as they lived. And as passage succeeds passage we seem to see the characters of ourselves and our friends portrayed by this ancient writer, and a play of Shakespeare is just as modern to-day as upon the day it was penned and first enacted. And the little is without size or date or time. It is a picture of the human heart displayed for all eyes and for all sorts and conditions of men. Moreover, the Bible does what is so invaluable in human life—it classifies moral values. It appraises us that men are not judged according to their wits, but according to their characters—that the last of every man's reputation is his truthfulness, his acquiescence in the standards that he knows to be the standard of purity and rectitude.

How many a man we appraise, ladies and gentlemen, as great to-day whom we do not admire as noble! A man may have great power and small character. And the sweet praise of mankind lies not in their admiration of the smartness with which the thing was accomplished, but in that lingering love which appraises men that one of their fellows has gone out of life to his own redemption, leaving behind him the blessed verdict: "Well done, good and faithful servant!"

Did you ever look about you in any great city, in any great capital, at the statues which have been erected in it? To whom are these statues erected? Are they erected to the men who have piled fortunes about them? I do not know of any such statue anywhere, unless after he had accumulated his fortune the man bestoweth it in beneficence upon his fellow men, and alongside of him will stand a statue of another meaning, for it is easy to give money away. I heard a friend of mine say that the standard of generosity was not the amount you gave away, but the amount you had left. It is easy to give away of your abundance; but look at the next statue, the next statue, and the next in the market place of great cities, and whom will you see? You will see here a statue which gave his life to serve, not his own ends, but the interests and the purposes of his country.

I would be the last, ladies and gentlemen, to disparage any of the ordinary occupations of life, but I want to ask you this question: Did you ever see anybody who had lost a son hang up his yardstick over the mantelpiece? Have you not seen many families who had lost their sons hang up their muskets over their sword cases? Why is it that the yardstick is over the mantelpiece and the musket? There is nothing but perfect honor in the use of the yardstick, but the yardstick was used for the man's own interest, for his own self-support. It was used merely to fulfill the necessary exigencies of life, whereas the musket was used to serve no possible purpose of his own. He took every risk without any possibility of profit. The musket is the symbol of self-sacrifice and the yardstick is not. A man will instinctively elevate the one as the symbol of honor and never dream of using the other as a symbol of distinction.

Doesn't that cut pretty deep, and don't you know why the soldier has his monument as against the civilian's? The civilian may have served his State—he has also here and there you may see a statesman's statue, but the civilian has generally served his country—has often served his country, at any rate—with some idea of promoting his own interests, whereas the soldier has everything to lose and nothing but the gratitude of his fellow men to win.

Let every man pray that he may in some true sense be a soldier of fortune, that he may have the good fortune to spend his energies and his life in the service of his fellow men in order that he may die to be recorded upon the rolls of those who have not thought of themselves but have thought of those whom they served. Isn't this the lesson of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ? Am I not reminding you of these common judgments of our life, simply expounding to you this book of revelation, this book which reveals the common man to himself, which strips life of its disguise and its pretenses and elevates those standards by which alone true greatness and true strength and true valor are assessed?

Do you wonder, therefore, that when I was asked what my theme this evening would be I said it would be "The Bible and Progress"? We do not judge progress by material standards. America is not ahead of the other nations of the world because she is rich. Not so much as America is great because she has except her ideals, except her acceptance of those standards of judgment which are written large upon these pages of revelation. America has all along claimed the distinction of setting this example to the civilized world—that men were to think of

one another, that governments were to be set up for the service of the people, that men were to be judged by these moral standards which pay no regard to rank or birth or condition, but which assess every man according to his single and individual value. This is the meaning of this charter of the human soul. This is the standard by which men and nations have more and more come to be judged. And so the form has consisted in nothing more nor less than this—in trying to conform actual conditions, in trying to square actual laws with the right judgments of human conduct and moral rectitude.

That is the reason that the Bible has stood at the back of progress. That is the reason that reform has come not from the top but from the bottom. If you are ever tempted to let a government reform itself, I ask you to look back in the pages of history and find me a government that reformed itself. If you are ever tempted to let a party attempt to reform itself, I ask you to find a party that ever reformed itself.

A tree is not nourished by its bloom and by its fruit. It is nourished by its roots, which are down deep in the common and hidden soil, and every process of purification and rectification comes from the bottom—not from the top. It comes from the masses of struggling human beings. It comes from the instinctive efforts of millions of human hearts trying to beat their way up into the light and into the hope of the future.

Parties and governments are corrected by the impulses coming out of the hearts of those who never exercised authority and never organized parties. Those are the sources of strength, and I pray God that these sources may never cease to be spiritualized by the immortal subjections of these words of inspiration of the Bible.

If any statesman sunk in the practices which debase a nation will but read this single book, he will go to his prayers and be ashamed. Do you not realize, ladies and gentlemen, that there is a whole literature in the Bible? It is not one book, but a score of books. Do you realize what literature is? I am sometimes sorry to see the great classics of our English literature used in the schools as textbooks, because I am afraid that little children may gain the impression that these are formal lessons to be learned. There is no greater mistake. Ladies and gentlemen, that is not the spontaneous outpouring of some great mind on the cry of some great heart. And the reason that poetry moves us more than prose does is that it is the rhythmic and passionate voice of some great spirit that has seen more than his fellow men can see.

I have found more true politics in the poems of the English-speaking world than I have ever found in the formal treatises on political science. There is no ray of the spirit of our own institutions in a few lines of Tennyson than in all the textbooks on governments put together.

A nation still, the rules and the ruled,
Some sense of duty, something of a faith,
Some reverence for the laws ourselves have made,
Some patient faith to change them when we will,
Some civic manhood firm against the crowd.

Can you find summed up the mainly self-helping spirit of Saxon liberty anywhere better than in these few lines? Men afraid of nobody, afraid of nothing but their own passions, on guard against being caught unawares by their own sudden impulses and so getting their grapple upon life in firm-set institutions. Some reverence for the laws themselves have made, some patience, not passionate force, to change them when they will, some civic manhood firm against the crowd. Literature, ladies and gentlemen, is revelation of the human spirit, and within the covers of this one book is a whole lot of literature, prose and poetry, history and rhapsody, the sober narration of the ecstasy of human excitement—things that ring in one's ears like songs never to be forgotten. And so I say let us never forget that these deep sources, these wells of inspiration, must always be our sources of refreshment and of renewal. Then no man can put unjust power upon us. We shall live in that chartered liberty in which a man sees the things unseen, in which he knows that he is bound for a country in which there are no questions mooted any longer of right or wrong.

Can you imagine a man who did not believe these words, who did not believe in the future life, standing up and doing what has been the heart and center of liberty always—standing up before the king himself and saying, "Sir, you have sinned and done wrong in the sight of God, and I am His messenger of judgment to pronounce upon you the condemnation of Almighty God. You may silence me, you may send me to my reckoning with my Maker, but you can not silence or reverse the judgment." That is what a man feels whose faith is rooted in the Bible. And the man whose faith is rooted

In the Bible knows that reform can not be stayed, that the finger of God that moves upon the face of the nations is against every man that plots the nation's downfall or the people's deceit; that these men are simply groping and staggering in their ignorance to a fearful day of judgment; and that whether one generation witnesses it or not, the final day of revelation and of freedom will come in which men will sing by the host of the coming of the Lord in His glory, and all of those will be forgotten—those little, scheming, contemptible creatures that forgot the image of God and tried to frame men according to the image of the evil one.

You may remember that allegorical narrative in the Old Testament of those who searched through one cavern after another cutting the holes in the walls and going into the secret places where all sorts of noxious things were worshipped. Men do not dare to let the sun shine in upon such things and upon such occupations and worship. And so I say there will be no halt to the great movement of the armies of reform until men forget their God, until they forget this charter of their liberty. Let no man suppose that progress can be divorced from religion or that there is any other platform for the ministers of reform than the platform written in the utterances of our Lord and Savior.

America was born a Christian nation. America was born to exemplify that devotion to the elements of righteousness which are derived from the revelations of Holy Scripture.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have a very simple thing to ask of you. I ask of every man and woman in this audience that from this night on they will realize that part of the destiny of America lies in their daily perusal of this great book of revelations—that if they would see America free and pure they will make their own spirits free and pure by this baptism of the Holy Scripture.

The Banker and the Nation.

[Address delivered by Dr. Woodrow Wilson at the annual convention of the American Bankers' Association, at Denver, Colo., Wednesday, Sept. 30, 1908.]

Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen: We have witnessed in recent years an extraordinary awakening of the public conscience with regard to the methods of modern business, and of the private conscience also, for scores of wise men have become conscious that the never were before, that the eager push and ambition and competition of modern business had hurried them, oftentimes unconsciously, into practices which they had not stopped, in the heat of the struggle, to question, but which they now see to have been immoral and against the public interest. Sometimes the process of their demoralization was very subtle, very gradual, very obscure, and therefore hidden from their consciences. Sometimes it was crude and obvious enough, but they did not stop to be careful, thinking of their rivals and not of their morals. But now the moral and political aspects of the whole matter are laid bare to their own view as well as to the view of the world, and we have run out of quiet waters into a very cyclone of reform. No man is so poor as not to have his policies for everything. The main structure of society being critically looked over, and changes of the most radical character are being soberly discussed, which it would take generations to perfect, but which we are hopefully thinking of putting out to contract to be finished by a specified date well within the limits of our own time.

It is not my purpose on the present occasion to discuss particular policies and proposals. I wish, rather, to call your attention to some of the important aspects of the matter, which should be carefully considered before we make up our minds which way we should go and with what purpose we should act.

What strikes one most forcibly in the recent agitations of public opinion is the anatomy of our present economic structure which they seem to disclose. Sharp class contrasts and divisions have been laid bare, and the contrast between the old world or the old-time sense, but sharp distinctions of power and opportunity quite as significant. For the first time in the history of America there is a general feeling that issue is now joined, or about to be joined, between the power of accumulated capital and the privileges and opportunities of the masses of the people. The power of accumulated capital is now, as at all other times, in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons, but there is a very widespread impression that these persons have been able in recent years as never before to control the national development in their own interest. The contest is sometimes said to be between capital and labor, but that is too narrow and too special a conception of it. It is, rather, between capital in all its larger accumulations and all other less concentrated, more dispersed, smaller, and more individual economic forces; and every new

policy proposed has as its immediate or ultimate object the restraint of the power of accumulated capital for the protection and benefit of those who can not command its use.

This anatomizing of our social structure, this pulling it to pieces and scrutinizing each part of it separately, as if it had an independent existence and interest and could live not only separately but in contrast and content with its other parts, as if it had no organic union with them or dependence upon them, is a very dangerous and unwelcome thing at best; but there are periods of excitement and inquiry when it is inevitable, and we should make the best of it, if only to hasten the process of reintegration. This process of segregation and contrast is always a symptom of deep discontent. It is not set about accidentally. It generally comes about as it has come about now, because the several parts of society have forgotten their organic connections, their vital interdependence, and have become individually selfish or hostile—because the attention of a physician is in fact necessary. It has given occasion to that extensive and radical program of reform which we call socialism and with which so many hopeful minds are now in love. We shall be able to understand and appreciate our social affairs thoroughly, and handle them wisely only when we have made clear to ourselves how this situation arose, how this program was provoked, and what we individually and collectively have to do with it.

The abstract principles of socialism it is not difficult to admire. They are, indeed, hardly distinguishable from the abstract principles of Democracy. The object of the thoughtful Socialist is to effect such an organization of society as will give the individual his best protection and his best opportunity, and yet serve the interest of all rather than the interest of any one in particular; an organization of mutual benefit based upon the principle of the solidarity of all interests. But the program of socialism is another matter. It is not unfair to say that the programs of socialism so far put forth are either utterly vague or easily susceptible. That they are now being taken very seriously and exposed very ably to evidence, not of their excellence or practicability, but only of the fact, to which no observant man can any longer shut his eyes, that the contesting forces in our modern society have broken its unity and destroyed its organic harmony—not because that was inevitable, but because men have used their power thoughtlessly and selfishly, so that legitimate undertakings have been pushed to illegitimate lengths. There has been a social procedure of selfish segregation, and society has so reacted from it that almost any thoroughgoing program of reintegration looks hopeful and attractive. Such program can not be thrust aside or defeated by mere opposition and denial; they can be overcome only by wiser and better programs, and these it is our duty as patriotic citizens to find.

The most striking fact about the actual organization of modern society is that the most conspicuous, the most readily wielded, and the most formidable power is not the power of government, but the power of capital. Men of our day in England and America have almost forgotten what it is to fear the Government, but have found out what it is to fear the power of capital, and we watch it with jealousy and suspicion, and trace to it the source of every open or hidden cause of our troubles. Our memories are of history, but of what our own lives and experiences and the lives and experiences of the men about us have disclosed. We have had no experience in our day, or in the days of which our fathers have told us, of the tyranny of governments, of their minute control and arrogant interference and arbitrary regulation of our business and of our daily life, though it may be that we shall know something of it in the near future. We have forgotten what the power of government means and have found out what the power of capital means; and so we do not fear government and are not jealous of political power. We fear capital and are jealous of its domination. There will be need of much cool heads and much excellent judgment amongst us to curb this and to move without a sudden course to the narrow gulf of the old, from which we were the first of the nations of the world to find a practicable way of escape.

The only forces that can save us from the one extreme or the other are those forces of social reunion and social reintegration which every man of station and character and influence in the country can if some degree and within the scope of his own life set at work. We must open our minds to the new dream of the nations of our time, must bring about a new common understanding and effect a new coordination in the affairs which most concern us. Capital must give over its too great preoccupation with the business of making those who control it individually rich and must study to serve the interests of the people as a whole. It must draw near to the people and serve them in some intimate way of which they will be conscious. Voluntary cooperation must forestall the involuntary cooperation which