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The Progressive Movement

The Progressive Movement

*Its Principles and Its
Programme*

BY

S. J. DUNCAN-CLARK

With an Introduction

BY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT



BOSTON

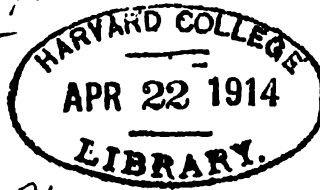
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INTRODUCTION

I earnestly wish that this book could be read by all Progressives. The Progressive Party in this country embodies the Progressive movement, the movement which concerns itself with the rights of all men and women, and especially with the welfare of all who toil. The Progressive Movement is greater than the Progressive Party; yet the Progressive Party is at present the only instrument through which that movement can be advanced. Our effort is to make this country economically as well as politically a genuine democracy. The leaders of both the old parties at times pay lip service to the principles and the purposes of our party; but it is only lip service. Our purposes are the purposes of Thomas Jefferson when he founded the Democratic Party; although the lapse of a century has shown that the extreme individualism and the minimized government control which in that day served to achieve his purposes are in our day no longer serviceable. Both our purposes and our principles are those of Abraham Lincoln and of the Republicans of his day. All we have done has been to apply these principles in actual fact to the living problems of today; instead of praising

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them as applied to the dead problems of half a century back, and repudiating them with abhorrence when they are invoked on behalf of the men, women and children who toil in the Twentieth Century.

As has been so well pointed by Mr. Duncan-Clark, this movement is in its very nature a mass movement and not in any sense a one-man movement. It is the intelligent expression of a popular protest; it is the instrument of the people's aspiration for a larger, economic social and political life; it is the acknowledgment that our progress has been unequal from the ethical, political and industrial standpoints, so that our governmental clothes need to be changed and enlarged to fit our increasing bodily growth, our increasing and changing economic needs. Government and industry are the two chief functions of our social organism. It is impossible wholly to separate these, the political and the economic functions. They are interdependent. There is a constant interplay and interchange among the forces severally going to the composition of each of them. The Progressive Party recognizes this fact, not as a mere glittering generalization or as a philosophy of theoretical abstraction, but as something concrete to be practically dealt with. In consequence we have adopted certain funda-

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mental principles and have accompanied them with a practical programme through which they may be realized and wrought into the fabric of our social organism.

Mr. Duncan-Clark takes up chapter by chapter the chief features of this programme. I commend each chapter to the study of our people. He has well and truthfully portrayed the conditions which demand a new party. He has shown that both the old parties as at present controlled and managed represent the forces of reaction. If the Republicans had been true to the principles of Abraham Lincoln, if they had followed these principles in good faith, there would have been no need of the new party. But the Republican managers, the bosses in the Republican machine deliberately stole the party organization from the rank and file of the party, and denied to the rank and file the right to express their own political convictions. They deliberately wrecked the party in the interests of political and commercial privilege, preferring to see it ruined rather than that the rank and file should be allowed to control it in their own interest and in the interest of the people as a whole. If the Democratic Party were true to the purposes of Thomas Jefferson for the uplifting of the people it would of necessity adopt the Progressive plat-

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form. Unfortunately the Democratic Party has inherited such a legacy of bad principles from its States' Rights and pro-Slavery days, and from the advocates of an uncontrolled and unlimited individualism, that it seems practically impossible for it under any leadership to shake itself free from the shackles of its own creation.

The Socialists are trying to construct a party based on class consciousness, and for one class only. Socialism may mean almost anything. A Socialist may be a man who in practice is a violent anarchist, and the greatest possible menace to this country, or he may merely be a radical reformer with whom most of the men who think as I do can work heartily as regards the major part of his programme. But we thoroughly repudiate his doctrine of class consciousness. The Progressives preach social consciousness as an antidote to class consciousness. We point out to the reactionaries who so bitterly opposed us that such social consciousness is the only effective antidote to the class consciousness of the Socialist. I believe emphatically, as Mr. Duncan-Clark says, that one or the other of these two gospels will prevail; and the attitude of the owning class will largely determine which of them does prevail. Frank acceptance of the Progressive doctrine of social consciousness by the men at the top is the

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only effective way to prevent the woeful damage that would come from the triumph of class consciousness.

I commend to our readers all these different chapters, those on child labor, on our industrial ills, on the need of conserving our rural life, all of them. Perhaps it is especially well at this time to study those chapters dealing with the Progressive Movement, the Trusts and Big Business, and the Judiciary and the People. As Mr. Duncan-Clark says:

"To the Progressive the Big Corporation is not an evil to be eradicated, but a potential good to be developed. While insisting that no method of duress or chicanery must be allowed to interfere with the opportunities for competition, he does not blind himself to the fact that the competitive era in industry is passing, and that government must reckon with co-operation as the new force in shaping the economic life of the Nation."

"Frankly recognizing the economic conditions that make for big business, and the social value of industry organized upon a large scale for production and distribution, the Progressive Movement proposes a programme that will give little business an op-

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portunity to grow bigger and impel big business to be honest; and by honesty is meant more than a mere technical obedience to the law of business as it stands; more than scrupulous fair dealing with competitors—it includes an acknowledgment of obligation to the people as they are represented by the workers and consumers.”

As Mr. Duncan-Clark well points out, the Progressives take a fundamental and radical issue with President Wilson when he says that a lowering of the tariff, or any kind of tariff reform, will solve the trust question and that aside from this what is needed for a solution of the question is a return to the practice of universal and unlimited competition. As Mr. Duncan-Clark says:

“The Democratic Party, more strongly impressed than even the Republicans with the desirability of competition, proposes to eliminate the idea of ‘reasonable restraint’ from the Sherman law, and to precipitate itself in implacable warfare against all business combination. The outcome of such propaganda must be worse than that pursued by the Republicans. It will result in a disastrous disturbance of business to no good end, and its impossibilism will become more manifest with every step.”

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As Mr. Duncan-Clark points out, the effort to insist on returning to conditions that prevailed fifty or more years ago is madness. As a matter of fact it is futile madness. It would accomplish but a little mischief even if honestly tried. It is preposterous to propose to abandon all that has been wrought out in the application of the co-operative idea in business and to return to the era of cut-throat competition. We of the Progressive Party propose to increase the prosperity of the business man, but we propose that that prosperity shall be shared with general public and with the wage-workers. Our proposals are definite. We do not propose to set an arbitrary limit to growth. We do not propose to make mere size an offence. We do propose that there shall be hearty and generous recognition of exceptional ability if guided by a decent spirit of fair play, and if the reward is made to depend upon serving, and not upon swindling, the public. We do propose to prevent growth by oppression, and wholesomely to discipline unscrupulous business into a sense of social responsibility. We propose as remedies publicity, supervision and regulation. Even the reactionaries are now reluctantly admitting that there is need of the first two of these three remedies. As Mr. Duncan Clark says:

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"As to the character and extent of the third there is room for debate, and the final determination must be the result of careful experiment, a step or so at a time, as has been the case in the Government's dealing with the railroads."

Mr. Duncan-Clark points out that the Progressive Movement assumes the innate decency of man. We believe that business men would prefer to conduct their affairs honestly rather than dishonestly. We believe that the spirit of fair play is dominant in the hearts of most of us, and will awaken to new strength under conditions designed to stimulate it and to make it easier of operation. We believe that the average decent business man—and the average business man is decent—will welcome the kind supervision and regulation that affords guidance to him in the conduct of his affairs, pointing the way to compliance with the law, and to social co-operation, rather than waiting until wrong has been done, and then hauling the offenders into court. We believe that the Progressives have in mind a better solution for the great business proposition before the public than is offered by any other group of political thinkers. The business plank is one of the most essential parts of the platform. It is as essential

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to the well being and happiness of those of our people for whom the conditions of life are hard as are our specific pledges for their benefit. We believe that the business man, the farmer, the professional man, the wage workers, down at bottom have more interests in common than they have interests that are diverse, and we believe that the Progressive Party alone offers the programme by which the diverse interests can be reconciled or minimized and all the needs of the great common interest fully met.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Sept. 12, 1913.

The Progressive Movement

The Progressive Movement

CHAPTER I

PROGRESSIVE FUNDAMENTAL

"The prime need today is to face the fact that we are now in the midst of a great economic evolution."

These words were spoken by Theodore Roosevelt in his "Confession of Faith" at the first national convention of the Progressive party. They take us to the very root of the Progressive movement. They formulate in a single sentence a fundamental truth that coordinates all the characteristic phenomena of contemporary social, industrial and political unrest.

In approaching a consideration of this basic statement of fact it should be made clear, in order to disabuse the reader's mind of any possible prejudice, that the Progressive movement is not a class movement; it is not an attack upon any class that constitutes an essential factor in our existing social and industrial system. It is rather an attempt, scientifically and philosophi-

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cally, to discover a means for such readjustment of all factors, in their mutual relations and interdependence, as will result in the largest measure of good for the whole people.

This thought will be more fully elaborated in the second chapter, but its brief presentation now will serve to prepare the reader for the spirit and purpose of what follows. In the humor of those who reason together in order to find a common basis and a common *modus operandi* for the general welfare, without impugning motives or seeking needless controversy, it is hoped we may be able to view some of the pressing problems of our time and to consider some of the remedies that are proposed by the Progressive party. In other words the aim is a better understanding. Much of the trouble and discord that afflicts the world, much of the bitterness that obscures clear vision, arises, not from malice, but from misunderstanding.

It will be necessary to speak plainly, and where evils are evident they will not be spared; but the attack is neither upon individuals nor upon a class, but upon those ills and injustices that are the result of social maladjustment and

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of an imperfect development of the social conscience.

When Colonel Roosevelt said "We are now in the midst of a great economic evolution," his more precise meaning was, obviously, that we are now in the midst of a great crisis in economic evolution. Economic evolution is a continuous process. For years it may be imperceptible to any but the closest student. Then, suddenly, it seems to develop impetus, and civilization faces a new crisis in which history is made.

Former Senator Beveridge has indicated one of the chief factors contributing to the critical situation in which the Nation now finds itself. In his address as chairman of the Progressive party convention he dwelt upon the remarkable improvement in the facility for wealth production that has resulted from the introduction of machinery. "One man," said Mr. Beveridge, "can do the work of twenty."

Necessarily this revolution in industry has had a tremendous effect upon the whole social fabric. Col. Roosevelt recognizes the same fact in other words. He says, "In the last twenty years an increasing percentage of our people have come to

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depend on industry for their livelihood." He means, of course, that form of industry for which the tools are owned by others than those who use them.

The reason for this is plain. With the invention and improvement of machinery the era of handicrafts passed. Fifty years ago most men owned their tools and their jobs. They were able to make a comfortable living by supplying a limited market, usually a mere neighborhood market, with the commodities produced by the slow process of hand labor. But the introduction of machinery wrought a transformation. The competition of the machine drove the small handicraft producer out of business, and forced him to seek employment from the men who owned the machines.

And thus the ranks of the men who owned their jobs and their tools were gradually thinned, while the army of those dependent upon others for an opportunity to earn a living continually increased.

In the days of small industries and handicraft the master and the men worked together; there was an intimacy of relationship and a mutuality

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of interest that gave an aspect to toil which it has almost wholly lost in these latter days. Now we have thousands of men cooperating under centralized direction. Each man has his own restricted function to perform. He knows little or nothing of the business in which he is a "Hand," outside of his own specialized sphere. The man at the head of the concern may be utterly ignorant of the mechanism by which his product is manufactured. He is an executive; he understands purchasing supplies and making sales; he can organize and manage. He hires superintendents and foremen who are experts, and who can attend to the details of process. Those to whom the concern belongs—the stockholders, even the directors—may live thousands of miles from the factory; may never have seen more of it than a picture on a letterhead, and seldom care to hear more of it than a financial statement may set forth. Their interest begins and ends in its profit-making possibilities. That there is a lacking sense of social responsibility on the part of the various factors in such an organization is not surprising. It is only necessary to contrast the attitude of the extremes in this re-

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lationship to see how naturally, how inevitably, a gulf has widened that threatens social dislocation. At one extreme we have the workers, interested primarily, if not solely, in wages, and at the other we have the owners, interested primarily in dividends. The common interest—the work itself—no longer unites them.

Following the introduction of machinery and steam power improvement was rapid and the organization of productive industry went on apace. As so-called labor-saving devices multiplied, not only were more of the independent producers forced into the ranks of the wage-earners, but the opportunities for the wage-earner grew less, since "one man could do the work of twenty." So we came to be burdened with the problem of enforced unemployment and all its sequence of social ills.

While yet the West was new territory this trend of economic evolution was delayed in reaching a crisis. There was opportunity in the West. But the tidal wave of population that sought its fertile fields, its mines, its ranches and its forests is now recoiling upon the East, and the nation is feeling the pressure.

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Nor is the effect of the industrial revolution that has been wrought by machinery felt alone in the manufacturing industries. Agriculture, more slowly but no less surely, is being brought under its transforming influence. The appearance of the power machine on the farm has worked a very miracle of change, and the man who cannot afford the modern substitute for the horse and the mule is at a serious disadvantage. The need of large capital in farming is becoming an important factor in the situation. The recent agitation for facilitating borrowing on the part of the farmer is one of its surface manifestations.

And these tendencies, in recent years, have escaped the field of productive industry to find a widened opportunity in the world of merchandising. The department store and the store-chain are evidences of this fact. The department store was greeted with prejudice and opposition on its arrival. It crowded out many of the smaller stores. I knew a man who had a successful business of his own in the sale of men's furnishings. Two years after the first big department store opened in my home city he had closed his doors and taken a job as salesman be-

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hind the counter of his new rival. He is but an example of thousands. Today we accept the department store as an established institution and a most valuable one, just as we must accept the big factory in industry and the trust in commerce.

But while accepting these things we must not shut our eyes to certain incidental consequences of their existence. It must be our effort to gain a social viewpoint that will enable us to re-adjust relations so as to eliminate the evils and perpetuate the advantages of the new system.

The greatly increased productive power of an era of machinery, organization and scientific efficiency has resulted in the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the comparatively few who own or control the means of production and distribution, and in the driving of the many into the ranks of the wage-earners, dependent upon this minority for the opportunity to gain a livelihood.

The distance between the extreme of bare subsistence and the extreme of over-abundance has tremendously increased. The encouragement for thrift has been vastly lessened. Social investigators tell us that the average wage-worker

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never expects to be anything else. He has discovered that saving is often disappointing. "Time and time again," said one to me, "I have managed to get my head out of the hole only to find somebody waiting with a club to knock me back in again." Rent, interest and profits—the devices by which those who own take toll of those who do not—have gone far to provoke the belief that the best the average wage-earner can do is to get as much of comfort as he can out of what he makes from day to day, and trust to Providence for tomorrow.

There being at all times more of the dependent class than there are opportunities for employment in wealth production or useful social service, we have, as a consequence, an ever present problem of unemployment and the persistence of a class that exists by some method of parasitism, frequently unlawful. Hence we have a system that fosters poverty and breeds crime. Those who are denied the chance to earn a living, or who find the circumstances under which it must be earned so onerous and perilous as to make it undesirable, will resort to professional mendicancy or employ cunning and violence. In ei-

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ther case they constitute a burden and a menace to society.

On the other hand the few, into whose control has passed the bulk of the nation's wealth, are instinctively impelled to seek protection and promotion for their vast interests by the exercise of the power inherent in their economic superiority. Such protection is most easily available through government as expressed in legislation; such promotion is achieved by obtaining special privileges and evading restricting laws. For these ends, too frequently, money is employed, and corruption and demoralization of the people's government results. It is to this condition that Mr. Beveridge refers when he speaks of the "invisible government."

Between the restless and often unreasoning protest of the disinherited many and the selfish domination of the privileged few, the great middle class suffers. It is exploited from above by dishonest big business and menaced from below by desperate poverty. The former presses it down; the latter reaches up to engulf it. More and more of the members of the middle class succumb to the double attack, sinking into the ranks of the dependent.

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Such, briefly, is the situation that the moving spirits in the Progressive crusade recognize. To them it is obvious that these conditions cannot be prolonged without involving a serious peril of revolution, which, after all, is merely evolution accelerated by the direct action of violence. The understanding of this problem in its causes, its present acute phase and its future dangerous possibilities, is the motive of those who have sought to give guidance to the prevailing unrest through the instrumentality of a new political party that will appeal to the awakening social conscience of the people, irrespective of class, and that will provide a means for united and determined effort to solve the problem with sanity and safety while it is still possible.

It is the faith of these men and women that the conditions which threaten social stability are not incurable; that human nature is not beyond redemption, and that poverty and crime, with all their attendant ills, are largely symptoms of misunderstanding and maladjustment.

The potency of this appeal and of the movement that has so rapidly crystallized about it, lies in the fact that the masses of the people feel in

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their daily lives the acute presence of the problem. In the words of Mr. Beveridge, "This party comes from the grass roots. It has grown from the soil of the people's hard necessities. It has the vitality of the people's strong convictions." The Progressive movement comes to interpret for the people a consciousness of wrongs that has been ill-defined in the minds of many. Nor is this consciousness found only in the minds of those who have suffered most. It is happily characteristic of our time that not a few who are removed from any immediate contact with poverty and distress have become seized by a conviction that their very removal involves an obligation, and may be enjoyed at an unreckoned and disproportionate cost to others.

The nation suffers from economic growing pains. We have not caught up politically or ethically with our industrial progress. Our clothes have not been enlarged and remodelled to fit our increasing breadth and stature. President Wilson recognized this fact when he said during his campaign "There is need to effect a great readjustment." The Progressives believe, however, that the Democratic party lacks the

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genius, the breadth of vision and the freedom to carry out the necessary readjusting programme. It is hampered by its adherence to economic theories promulgated a century ago, in an era of small competitive enterprises; by its belief in the outgrown doctrine of State rights, and by its views on the tariff. Furthermore it retains within its organization a strong reactionary element. It has yet to prove that it is purged of those who bow the knee to the Baal of the "invisible government."

It should be clear from what I have said that, whatever else the Progressive movement may be, it is essentially not a one man movement. It is in its very nature a mass movement; the intelligent expression of a popular protest; the instrument of the people's aspiration for a larger life—economically, socially and politically.

It is true the party owes much to the leadership of such men as Theodore Roosevelt, Albert J. Beveridge, Hiram W. Johnson and of such women as Miss Jane Addams. But these leaders did not make the movement. It would have come had they never existed. It would persist were they all to be suddenly snatched away by

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some strange power. In the hard school of experience the people have been learning their lesson. The effort to regain popular control of government had begun in several of the States before it broke out on the floor of Congress. Col. Roosevelt was in Africa when political insurgency developed into an aggressive attack upon the reactionary forces in the House of Representatives and the Senate. The overthrow of Cannonism was the first victory in the national arena. The insurgent spirit spread, and as it spread it engaged in self-examination, it became self-conscious, it began to understand its own source and cause and aim. Its scope widened.

Let us summarize the programme of the Progressive movement as the expression of popular protest and aspiration.

x From the economic standpoint the basic idea may be thus set forth: There exists in the United States, undeveloped or in process of development, an abundance of wealth to supply amply the need and comfort of every man, woman and child. There exists the machinery for the production and distribution of this wealth in sufficient volume for the demands of the whole popu-

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lation. A rational system of production and distribution, that recognizes the principle of social obligation, will make possible the elimination of all occasion for want and poverty on the part of those willing to engage in honest toil of brain and brawn. It will secure to capital stability and a reasonable reward; it will give labor a fair wage and to every man a chance to work under conditions conducive to health and general welfare; it will free women from excessive hours of labor and assure them decent remuneration; it will emancipate childhood from the bondage of mill and mine and factory, and, finally, it will protect the consumer against exploitation by such methods as unlawful price agreements and restriction of output.

✓ From the political standpoint the Progressive movement declares that the government belongs to the people; that freedom and justice can be conserved only by a self-controlled democracy acting through its chosen representatives; that the people must be the court of last resort on legislation involving constitutional interpretation as it affects the police power of the individual states; that they must be given the power to ✓

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✓ veto or to initiate laws directly when their representatives fail to act in accordance with their wishes; that all elective officers must be nominated directly and elected directly by the people, and must be subject to recall if negligent or disloyal in office; and that no sex barrier must be ✓ allowed to exist at the ballot box.

_____ From the social standpoint the Progressive movement establishes itself upon the conviction that human rights are superior to property rights; that justice is a bigger word than charity, and can be translated into the relations of the mart and factory; that honesty is a bigger word than success, and can be enforced upon those whose code omits it; that cooperation is more potent for human welfare and progress than competition, and needs only wise direction in the interests of all to make it a mighty factor for the common good, and, finally, that the highest ideal of citizenship, which is politics in its true significance, is service.

CHAPTER II

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The nation constitutes a social organism of vitally inter-related and interdependent functions. In order to conserve its healthful vigor, promote its peace and prosperity, and assure its steady growth toward a larger measure of life's enjoyment for all its people, these functions must recognize their mutual responsibility---their obligation to one another and to the organism as a whole.

This I conceive to be the fundamental principle of the Progressive philosophy. Others may express it in different phraseology, or from a different standpoint, but a study of the platform and of the speeches and writings of its leading exponents discloses to my mind this underlying thought linking all proposals and policies into a coherent chain of dynamic purpose.

No class, no interest, no activity can be treated in isolation from all others. The labor problem is not a problem of one group, but of the whole society. The problem of business, big and

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little, is the problem of the organism in its entirety. The problem of government is one that concerns all classes, all ages and both sexes.

The welfare of the nation, then, from this viewpoint, does not mean primarily the welfare of its capitalists, nor, as some argue, does it mean solely the welfare of the working class.

Because the capitalist group is prosperous we are not to assume as a necessary corollary that the people as a whole are prosperous and that all is well. Nor, on the other hand, are we to assume that the millenium may be won by deporting all the capitalists in the country and turning over everything they possessed to the workers.

Every newspaper reader is familiar with the interviews that appear from time to time in which some magnate of the financial world, about to depart for a few months of rest in Europe, or just returned from a sojourn in Egypt, expresses his satisfaction with conditions, points to the high prices of railroad and industrial securities, speaks of the encouraging crop outlook, and ventures his opinion that we are entering upon an era of enduring prosperity.

To these men it is amazing that anybody

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should be discontented or unsatisfied. They frankly confess their inability to understand the prevailing unrest among the masses of the people.

But nothing is more terribly true than the possibility that an extreme of wealth may exist side by side with an extreme of poverty. Nothing is more grimly comic than to hear some poor fellow, who has scarce enough to pay board and lodging, wax eloquent in his tribute to the fabulous riches of his country. "We are a great and prosperous people," he exclaims, linking himself for the moment by some hypnotic wizardry with the millions of his economic masters. These paradoxes are commonplaces. There was a time when the multitude swallowed them without winking; but the multitude is growing wiser. It begins to realize that its partnership with millionaires in the prosperity of the country has been largely fictitious; that the price of stocks is not necessarily an index of its own welfare.

Even the farmer has learned by stern experience that the high cost of beef and flour to the consumer may not mean a great deal for him.

The fact that these things are true points to a

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maladjustment of functions in the social organism, rather than to any inherent desire to exploitation, or incurable bias toward injustice and greed on the part of a class.

Fairness compels us to recognize the fact that, however we may suffer from a disproportionate distribution of wealth, the men who today control or own its larger measure represent a factor in the social organism that has been of the greatest value in the development of the country and in the creating of the magnificent productive system that is so potent in opportunity and possibility for good.

These men are not to be attacked. Not a few of them have sought to use their great wealth for the public good, acting in the spirit of trustees for that which they have acquired under a system of socialized industry and individual prosperity. The maladjustment is not of their creating. We are all of us responsible. In the scramble of a mad individualism to grasp the independence and the power that come through possession we have neglected the principle of organic welfare. It is this principle to which we are now returning in

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a new resolve and with a new understanding of its importance.

Maladjustment is found in politics. It is our Fourth of July boast that the people alone are sovereign in the United States. The cartoonist pictured, in days gone by, the crowned and sceptered voter sitting enthroned upon a ballot box. This is the ideal, but not the real; and so palpable has the proof become that it is no longer real that the cartoonist has abandoned a once favorite symbol, and now invariably depicts the voter as an insignificant, wizened and worried individual, who goes into hysterical transports whenever, by some odd chance, he wins a victory.

Pursuing the thought suggested by the condensed statement of Progressive philosophy with which this chapter begins, we may regard government and industry as two chief functions of the social organism--the political and economic. Each of these may be subdivided into lesser groups of functioning activities. Industry includes the capitalist or employing class, the workers and the consumers; government includes the legislative, executive and judicial representatives of the people, and the voters. The prob-

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lem of democracy is so to adjust all of these functions in their interdependency as to make each contribute the largest measure of good to the welfare of the whole. This is the problem which the Progressive movement is concerned in solving.

Between industry and government, as chief functions of the social organism, there is a close and proper relationship ideally. It is unhappily true that, as a matter of fact, the relationship has been, too frequently, close but improper.

Industry has made its point of contact with government largely through one subordinate function—capital. In this contact capital has insisted that it is not a subordinate function of industry—merely one of three co-equal factors of which labor and consumption are the other two—but that it is preeminent, and thus it has reasoned that it is the duty of government to protect and even to promote it. Government has responded. It has devoted so much of its energy to this task that many other interests, no less important, have been over-shadowed and neglected.

In its capitalist guise industry has succeeded

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in persuading many that the welfare of the nation is dependent solely and wholly upon its welfare. It has succeeded in persuading itself that this is true. The men who control industry are sincere in their belief that they are absolutely essential to the prosperity, even to the very existence of the country. They regard themselves as the pillars of the social and economic structure. One of them made his name famous by his blunt assumption that God had selected him and a few other superior human beings to administer the natural resources of the land.

Upon this hypothesis these men have justified themselves in dominating and directing government. Often the methods employed have lacked scruple. Senators and Representatives have been bought; legislation has been driven through by sheer force of wealth; popular legislation has been smothered in money. The pernicious system of maintaining salaried lobbies has grown out of this firmly imbedded idea. Even judges have been given European trips and otherwise subtly influenced. The ramifications of this capitalist hallucination are many and varied, and its greatest peril often lies in its less evidently

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improper deportment. It is a species of obsession that distorts the vision, warps motive and works social wrong even when it believes it is engaged in social service.

But now the people are demanding that labor and the consumer be recognized as having claims as strong as those of capital in the relation of industry to government, and that capital shall recognize its responsibility and obligation to the social organism as a whole. In other words the people urge that government must regulate industry so that it will contribute to the prosperity of the masses instead of merely to the wealth of the few.

、 This is the necessary readjustment of functional relations required by the Progressive philosophy.

The party platform in 1912 distinctly set forth this principle. In that division of it dealing with business it declared:

We demand that the test of true prosperity shall be the benefits conferred thereby on all the citizens, not confined to individuals or classes, and that the test of corporate efficiency be the ability better to serve the pub-

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lic; that those who profit by control of business affairs shall justify that profit and that control by sharing with the public the fruits thereof.

The specific methods by which the Progressives propose to accomplish this readjustment of industrial and governmental relations will be discussed in later chapters. It is characteristic of the movement and the party that it has not dealt in a philosophy of theoretical abstraction, in mere glittering generalizations; it has adopted certain fundamental principles and accompanied them with a practical programme by which they may be wrought into the fabric of our social organism. In this, as much as in any other feature, the Progressive party transcends its political rivals claiming progressive aims. They have not yet had the courage to give definition to their avowed purpose of reform, or else they lack the constructive faculty—the ability to proceed from the general to the particular.

It requires no keen vision to perceive the injustice that exists in the present social order. It requires no great boldness to denounce it, now that the minds of the people are stirred and re-

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sponsive. But to go further; to bring these ideals down out of the clouds and to make their effective mundane application is a task calling for a higher order of intelligence and courage. This course immediately challenges criticism and opposition. Those who fear change, who are beneficiaries of things as they are, feel no great anxiety as long as the proponents of reform are content to deal in abstractions. They are even willing to applaud, for the sake of the popularity that seeming sympathy with progress brings. But as soon as the political philosopher becomes the practical statesman, and begins to apply his theories of the rostrum to the methods of the mart and the legislative assembly, real warfare results.

4 Before passing on to a discussion of the details of social readjustment let us consider certain broad lines of action upon which the Progressive movement must translate its political and economic philosophy into terms of actual life and human relationship.

1 And first, the people must be made supreme in government. As we have seen this is theoretically true of our political system. In the ab-

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strait no one ventures to oppose the right of the people to rule. In reality many oppose it. It is limited, obstructed and denied by individuals and by institutions. There has arisen in certain quarters a theory that regards the people as a mob—unreasoning, vacillating and subversive of order and security; this theory necessarily involves as its counterpart a belief in a ruling class, a class of superior intelligence, purer motive and higher aim. Unconsciously we have been evolving in a republic an aristocracy, a politico-economic aristocracy, that assumes the task of directing affairs for the welfare of the Nation, frequently opposing its own wisdom to the wisdom of the majority. It is in the main benevolent; it believes in doing things for the people; but it is unwilling to trust the people to do more than a very little for themselves.

This viewpoint, reflecting, in those political circles where it obtains, the thought of our masters of wealth, must have its logical culmination in a form of feudalism, under which the dependent masses will be the beneficiaries of the independent few. It contemplates a social order so planned that the harvests of a multitude of la-

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borers are garnered by a few self-constituted custodians, by them to be dispensed in such measure and in such form as they deem best.

However ideal such a system may be in the minds of those who are in a position to play the part of providence, assuredly it is not the destiny which was in the thought of those who founded the Republic, nor is it the desire of the people.

In order to counteract this tendency and to restore the current of our national life to its original channel, the goal of which is a free and contented democracy, the right of the people to rule must be established upon a firm basis. Those things that hinder must be removed, and, where needed, new instruments must be provided whereby the sovereignty of the people may be effectively and directly exercised. This phase of the problem will be dealt with fully in succeeding chapters.

* The second distinct line of action upon which the Progressive readjustment must proceed deals with the attitude to be assumed toward the economic function in the social organism, the combination of which with government has caused the tendency referred to above.

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Because certain incidental ills are recognized as arising from the predominance of this function in its capitalist form it is not to be supposed that the Progressive movement contemplates any violent attack upon it. On the contrary it frankly recognizes the vital importance of the modern phase of industry, and accepts as a fundamental axiom the permanence of the cooperative method in business.

To the Progressive the trust is not an evil to be eradicated, but a potential good to be developed. While insisting that no method of duress or chicanery must be allowed to interfere with the opportunities for competition, he does not blind himself to the fact that the competitive era in industry is passing, and that government must reckon with cooperation as the new force in shaping the economic life of the Nation.

There is a school of political economists who advocate the restoration of competition as the remedy for existing ills, and who would check the tendency to centralization of governmental authority by reviving the doctrine of state rights. This means an effort to readjust the social organism on the pattern of a century ago, instead of

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in harmony with the conditions of today. This is reaction masquerading as progress. Such restoration cannot be effected without destruction. It involves the abandonment of the larger part of what has been gained in a hundred years of growth in the realm of business and industry, and the unseating of the people's sovereign power in its national authority.

The aim of the Progressive movement is not to destroy, but to conserve and direct the great forces of industrial and political life so that they may contribute of their best to the happiness and prosperity of the people. It would retain for business every honest advantage it has won, every development in method that makes for greater efficiency, every ounce of power that may be used to contribute to the general good. It would wipe from its records the stain of oppression, the blood of those injured and killed through needless neglect and indifference, the tears of little children imprisoned in mills and mines and factories, the blot of trickery and fraud and lawlessness. It would endow it with a new dignity and beauty as a useful servant of the commonweal.

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And to this work of political and economic redemption, the Progressive movement maintains, the power of the people through their federal government must be brought. In his addresses on the "New Nationalism" Theodore Roosevelt first startled the country into a realization of the tremendous change that its material development had wrought in the nature of the problems confronting the people. He opened many eyes to see that issues, which in earlier years were localized and subject to state control, had outgrown their narrow boundaries and become questions of national concern, susceptible of effective handling only from the federal center of popular authority.

We are no longer a loosely bound bundle of self-sufficient commonwealths. We are one people. Forty-eight states are knit together by ties of rapid intercommunication and bonds of commerce. Wall street is not the financial center of New York, or even of the East alone, it is the throbbing money pulse of the Nation. Only a national policy can meet this new condition.

Industry and commerce recognize no arbitrary political boundaries; even vice has refused to be

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confined. The most potent argument urged against State regulation of hours of labor, wages and conditions of toil is the fact that it imposes a handicap upon those industries so regulated in competition with the uncontrolled industries of other states. Nor is the argument unreasonable. It must be given consideration. But it points clearly to the fact that problems of this kind may be dealt with fairly and adequately only by federal action that puts all competing industries upon an equal basis.

The existence of a so-called "twilight zone," an ill-defined and hazy territory between state and federal authority, has afforded undisturbed opportunity for the operations of the exploiter.

✓ Without infringing upon state autonomy the Progressive movement demands the illumination of the "twilight zone." It insists that the federal government must have liberty to exercise its function in behalf of the common welfare where the power of the individual state is shown to be insufficient. It proposes to supplement the authority of the state in such manner as to eliminate the no-man's land that forms the exploiter's paradise.

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Not only the promotion of human welfare, but the conservation of our natural resources depend upon the recognition and application of this principle—this national policy. The coal of Pennsylvania, the petroleum of Texas, the forests of Washington, the water-power of a thousand rivers and streams, are inseparably related to the welfare and prosperity of the whole people. These things are to be considered rightly as national assets. They may not be left safely to the administration of any purely local government. Under such a system the progressive state is at the mercy of the state that is corrupt and contented. In order that all may be protected, under the narrow policy of state rights, we must wait until every state has attained to a sense of social obligation. Before that day dawns privilege will have gained so strong a grasp upon the situation that escape will be well nigh impossible short of revolution.

The interstate commerce law is one of the clearest and most useful recognitions of federal authority. It has proved an effective means of regulating the railroads, and it has provided an instrument through which certain evils may be

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largely mitigated. The Mann white slave act, prohibiting interstate traffic in women for immoral purposes, is an instance of its wholesome employment. The Webb bill, forbidding the shipment of liquor into dry territory, is another example, the constitutionality of which, however, has to be tested yet. The Beveridge child labor bill, as yet unenacted, is based upon the power of the government to control interstate commerce, and is an illustration of how the Federal authority can interfere to lessen an evil that has outgrown the limits of state regulation.

The Supreme Court, in its opinion upon a suit arising out of the Mann white slave act, has given strong countenance to this theory of Federal authority. It has sustained the right of the Federal government to regulate interstate commerce in the interests of morality and human welfare, and has laid down the principle that Congress may supplement the power of the state where such action is necessary to make legislation effective.

X These, then, are the main lines along which the Progressive movement proposes to work out its programme of readjustment. Atuning itself to

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the spirit and impulse of the age, emphasizing all that is constructive in modern tendencies and preaching the doctrine of a social organism, depending for its health and growth upon the harmonious adjustment of all its functions, the Progressive party gives prominence to the federal government as the center from which the life of the organism may be most readily nourished, directed and treated for those conditions which need remedy.

Upon a foundation of political philosophy so broad and so firm, with an appeal to the intelligence and the sympathy of the people so direct and so convincing, the Progressive movement assumes the proportions of a great national party—the only truly national party the country has seen since the Civil War.

Mr. Beveridge has emphasized this fine phase of the new party. The bridging of the gulf between North and South, a gulf perpetuated by political traditions and prejudices that are constantly recalled and stimulated by the controversies of the two historic parties, is no small part of the glorious destiny to be fulfilled by the Progressives.

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The Republican party saved the Nation from dismemberment, but in an hour when the vision failed, it scattered the seed that has borne fruit in a deplorable political separatism. The solid South is the most serious condemnation of the Republican reconstruction policy. It is a heavy handicap upon the progress of the Southland and upon the common action of all the people for the common good.

Only a movement like that which has found expression in the Progressive party can break up this solidity, and give to the South a freedom of political thought and action that will enable it to take its place of due dignity and prestige in the affairs of the Nation.

The Progressive party is unencumbered by bitter memories; its appeal is universal; it carries no hidden insult for sentiments still cherished, no provocation for smouldering passion; it bears no stain upon its record caused by attempting to force the political recognition of an inferior race upon an unwilling and superior people. Demanding justice for the negro and the white, for all races and classes and creeds, it points the way to the achievement of this ideal through a vol-

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untary cooperation of all good citizens in the spirit of mutual forbearance and far-sighted patriotism.

No better, finer words can close this chapter than those of Albert J. Beveridge, with which he sounded the keynote of the Progressive movement at the Chicago convention in August 1912:

"We stand for a nobler America. We stand for an undivided Nation. We stand for a broader liberty, a fuller justice. We stand for social brotherhood as against savage individualism. We stand for intelligent cooperation instead of a reckless competition. We stand for mutual helpfulness instead of mutual hatred. We stand for equal rights as a fact of life instead of a catch-word of politics. We stand for the rule of the people as a practical truth instead of a meaningless pretense. We stand for a representative government that represents the people. We battle for the actual rights of man."

CHAPTER III

RESTORING POWER TO THE PEOPLE

If social and economic evolution is to go forward as an orderly process, linking peace with power and pursuing reason in reform, the people must regain control of their government. When the awakened majority in a community finds itself deprived of its right to the expression of its will through government, it turns to some other method for establishing its authority and gaining its end. This is history.

By slow process, but by sure, the right of the people to rule in the United States has been restricted, hindered and robbed of its effectiveness. It remains a constitutional right, but, in many instances it has been suspended or superceded by extra-constitutional causes. Machinery contrived in the early years of national existence for the purpose of ensuring popular control has been prostituted to the service of privilege. Political parties that originated with the people have passed into the possession of an alliance between business and professional politicians. The ac-

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cumulation of wealth in the hands of a few men has transferred the scepter of sovereign power from the voter to the vote-buyer, and the seat of authority from the ballot-box to the board of directors and the boss. The sign of the dollar rather than the sign of the cross has been stamping the seal of veto or approval upon many of the country's policies.

It is true there has been much accomplished in the last few years to remedy this condition. Even as I write the movement for a restoration of power to the people grows in impetus and counts new victories; but the revolution is not complete, and it is essential for a clear understanding of the crisis through which we are passing to include in this book a review of the conditions that have made political revolution necessary, and a description of the means by which the people are regaining their control of government.

Plutocracy, the rule of the moneyed few, is bipartisan. In its eyes the virtue of a political party consists in submission. It believes in party government only because, hitherto, it has controlled both the dominant parties, and, by keeping the people divided on false issues, has

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achieved its ends through the success of either. It cares little who may be the nominee so long as it is left in possession of the machinery. Indeed, if it has any preference in figure-heads, it prefers the man who can appeal to the people, conscious that it has always been able to appeal to the bosses with certainty of hearing and respectful response.

And this is the heart of the matter. For years the popular franchise has been the object of exploitation by those great interests having selfish ends to serve. Controlling the machinery of legislation and government, plutocracy has let the people vote while it made the laws. The "invisible government" has been the real power; the visible government merely the means to achieve its end.

Hence the need for a new party, in which the people will have unhindered control. Democracy and plutocracy cannot be successfully yoked beneath one party emblem. They are antagonistic forces; they have opposing aims, and they work by utterly diverse methods. Despite the presence of certain able, honest and progressively minded men in both old parties, there is ample

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evidence that they are still largely infected by the reactionary element.

The Democratic party, in the enjoyment of a great victory, is exposed to greater peril from the plotting of reactionary and anti-social interests, from the menace of special privilege and the ambition of professional politicians, than any other political organization. It represents power; it is the immediate instrument of legislative and administrative achievement. Plutocracy seeks power. It is desperately in need of power. It is on the defensive, and, with its back against the wall, it is prepared to resort to any measures in order to retain its grip upon the people's government. Democratic success will attract to the dominant party all the agents of privilege. This is its danger. It is against this peril that men like President Wilson will be compelled to watch with unflagging vigilance and to fight with unyielding courage. Democracy has yet to prove itself a fit instrument for the working of the people's will.

The Republican party is much like a business enterprise that has gone into bankruptcy. It will take time, energy and much money to reha-

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bilitate it, and to put it in working order. But the Democratic party is a going concern. Plutocracy has representatives holding positions of importance within its organization. Through these men, either it will gain control of the party, or it will force a disruption similar to that which brought about Republican overthrow.

The Progressive party alone stands a free, untrammelled instrument of the people's will, and, realizing the causes that have led to the prostitution and paralysis of the older parties, it places the strongest emphasis upon the vital importance of popular control. Through it the people may regain possession of the machinery of government at Washington and in the State legislatures. To this end the party appeals to the Nation on the broadest possible basis; it attacks no class; it obliterates sectionalism; it refuses to recognize sex distinction in the rights of citizenship. It is the clean, free instrument of all the people—of honest business, big and little; of the farmer and the wage-earner; of every liberty-loving man and woman.

And, in order to establish the people in control of government; in order to drive the pro-

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fessional politicians out of business, and dishonest business out of politics, the Progressive movement advocates two great political reforms:—Direct representation and direct legislation. Under the former general grouping are included direct primaries and popular election for all elective offices—municipal, State and national—the short ballot and the recall; under the latter grouping are included the initiative and referendum. Each of these specific measures of reform will be dealt with fully in subsequent chapters.

The Progressive movement is often charged with seeking to subvert representative government and the constitution. Every political boss; every dishonest business man; every grafter and privilege-seeker; every professional politician is a noisy defender of “representative government and the constitution.”

I do not mean that all who defend the old institutions and who oppose new methods in politics and amendments of the constitution are of these classes. There are sincere and earnest men who tremble lest the foundations of the Republic may be shaken by the changes that are proposed. In all ages such men have lived and

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feared. (They cling inherently to what is established; they dislike new things; they regard the people with distrust. It is a survival of those days when a ruling class was a recognized and lawfully constituted factor in the body politic; when men delegated governmental power to those, who, because of birth or fortune, were considered superior to the mass. The nearest approach to democracy they are willing to view with equanimity is government of the people, for the people by a few of the people.

But these sincere and earnest men are in an almost negligible minority. The force and substance of opposition to popular control of government originates from those classes that are interested in maintaining the intimate relation between the visible and the invisible government. They have devised ways by which our system of law-making and administration may be diverted from its original intent as an instrument of the people's will and employed to serve the purposes of privilege. We have had examples of the evil that grows out of this condition in the case of men who represented a great State or a Congressional district, nominally, and a great

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moneyed interest actually. The latter was the more profitable agency, but only so because of the possibility of its joint tenure with the former. Naturally a system of government which permits such advantageous manipulation is sacred in the eyes of these gentlemen, and he who would lay hands upon it an enemy patriotically and righteously to be denounced.

And this is the kind of representative government that is attacked by the Progressives. Their aim is to restore real representative government—government that represents the people.

Our system of government is fundamentally right. It is right in its original purpose. In mechanism it needs readjustment to meet the changed conditions of the time. It was evolved in an era when the country was sparsely settled; when there were no railroads, no telegraphs and few schools; when newspapers were scarce and among the luxuries, and free public libraries and magazines were lacking. The average of public intelligence—that is of public knowledge of affairs—and the possibility of enlightened public sentiment was small. There was no other way to ensure wise government than by the selection of

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men representing the various communities, who could come together, discuss the general welfare and make laws for all the people. The mass had to trust to the superior wisdom and altruistic motive of the few, and the mass could trust to them in the main, because, at that day, there did not exist the sources of corruption and the temptations to grasp at special privileges that have grown into being and power with the development of the Nation's industry and the accumulation of wealth by a minority of its people. /

It is true, even in those days, the tendency to "embezzle power" was not wholly lacking. The foundations were laid for the great superstructure of privilege and exploitation that has since been erected. But this the fathers could not foresee. They wrought with marvellous wisdom for the time in which they lived, and they left to us the task of remodelling, enlarging and developing the system as changing conditions might require.

Today knowledge is widely diffused. Schools, colleges and universities have raised the average of intelligence. Fast mails, telegraphs and telephones link every corner of the country and

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narrow the world to small compass. Thousands of newspapers keep the people informed; scores of magazines carry on an invaluable work of education. Free libraries, chautauquas and innumerable organizations devoted to the discussion of social, economic and political questions provoke study and reflection. One can pick a score of men in a few minutes from the passing throng on the street as well able to act on issues of interest to the people as the average Congressman or representative in a state legislature.

On the other hand private interests are vastly powerful and have been often unscrupulous, especially in their corporate form. They have not hesitated to purchase seats in legislative bodies for men who will do their bidding; they have smothered popular legislation, or inserted the obscure "joker" in laws that were drafted ostensibly to benefit the people. Conditions have arisen in this country which the original framers of our system of representative government were unable to foresee, and against which they did not guard. Surely we would lack the wisdom and and the patriotism of the fathers; we would be unworthy of the ideals they entrusted to us, did

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we fail to face these conditions, and in their spirit of courage to devise remedies to meet them. The Progressives are not repudiating the work of the great men who framed the constitution when they propose amendments to it. On the contrary they are exalting the spirit of their splendid service by refusing to be the slavish idolaters of the letter.

Under the conditions we have reviewed the rise of the professional politician is one of the most interesting and, at the same time, one of the most menacing features of our system.

Our representative government, with its delegate conventions to nominate candidates, with its indirect method of electing United States Senators, and with its complete committal of legislative powers to the elected representatives—buttressed and fortified in office beyond the reach of the people for their statutory terms—although originally designed to conserve the best interests of the Republic, became a veritable incubator of a professional political class.

Other conditions operated to emphasize this tendency. The people were largely engrossed in business affairs. During the developmental pe-

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ried of American industry opportunities were so many and so promising that men neglected the duties of citizenship in the pursuit of wealth. They were willing to leave the task of government to those who had leisure to engage in it, or who found in it a profitable occupation.

Thus there was evolved in every community a group of politicians to whom state-craft was a business. Having assumed the burden of looking after the affairs of the people, they, perhaps not without excuse, sought means by which they might obtain for themselves adequate reward for this public devotion. Gradually a division of responsibility was reached—the people did the voting and private interests did the rewarding. Now the fact is votes may be won by promises, but certificates of deposit and like substantial considerations are only to be gained by service. So it came about that the politicians made speeches to the people, and gave their services to privilege.

In the course of events, and as a consequence of the race to occupy the opportunities that a developing country afforded, at last a few of the people awoke to the fact that the opportunities

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were lessening in number and depreciating in value. They began to look about, and investigation disclosed the fact that there had been a steady concentration of opportunities in the hands of a few men, who were reaping enormous rewards and enjoying a monopoly of wealth, securely ensconced behind a wall of special privilege.

The discovery was disquieting. The people began to think about politics, about the action of Congress and State legislatures. They found that their assemblies were filled with Wall Street Senators and Representatives, with the agents of big corporations and railroads. They found at Washington and at every state capital an organized lobby, a Third House, nowhere provided for in the constitution, that had usurped their power, and that arrogantly blocked the way of the people.

The United States still had "representative government," but it no longer represented the people.

The popular awakening began to manifest itself sporadically and spasmodically. Direct primaries were among the first fruits. Here and

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there in more or less isolated states reforms were inaugurated. Experiments were made in curbing corporate wealth. A new interest was shown in the public utility problem. We began to hear about the Wisconsin idea and the Iowa idea.

Then the fire broke out suddenly in Congress. Insurgency became rampant. The overthrow of Cannonism was the first skirmish. It was the preliminary engagement on the national battlefield in the warfare to make representative government represent.

To the Populists and the Socialists belongs no little credit for having sown the seeds that have sprung to maturity in the present movement. Derided and scorned, they were pioneers. The Populists passed. The Socialists remain like storm petrels hovering over the sea of popular unrest. Should the Progressive party fail in its effort to synthesize the forces making for change in a constructive and effective program, the Socialists will have to be considered as a most serious factor in the political future of the Nation.

In the meantime the warfare goes on. The old parties have yielded to the pressure where it was strongest. They have grudgingly consented to such reforms as the initiative and referendum

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and the recall in certain States, while vigorously opposing them in others. But, until the crisis came at Chicago in the summer of 1912, there was no national party in which all classes could unite for the work of social and political readjustment.

It was there the forces of reaction and special privilege massed themselves to hold the Republican party, with its splendid record of proved achievement, against the people. Out of that clash of strong men and strong convictions rang forth the note of battle—a battle for popular rule that was to be as wide as the Nation. The upheaval scattered the embers of revolt into every town and hamlet in the country. The fire spread from Maine to California and from Washington to Florida.

The fight is on. There will be no discharge in this warfare. The Progressive party may persist or may pass, as other parties have passed; but the Progressive movement cannot be stayed. By this or that agency it will live, and grow, and triumph. It will restore sovereignty to the people, and the people will work out that readjustment of their common life which is essential to the Nation's future welfare.

CHAPTER IV

DIRECT REPRESENTATION

By whom should the people's representatives be chosen?

The question seems to admit of but one answer. There is little room for argument on the proposition that the people's representatives should be chosen by the people themselves.

And yet such has not been the case in many instances, and still is not true in some States, nor in the nomination of candidates for the presidency.

In a great many cases where provision has been made for direct nominations the custom of electing men to a multiplicity of offices at one time operates to make ineffective the very machinery that is designed to give the people immediate control of their representatives.

Further, the principle of direct representation involves more than the right to original choice of representatives. Unless the right also exists to remove and to replace those officials who fail to represent the people faithfully or intelligently,

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the principle easily becomes vitiated and loses its value.

Thus in the scope of direct representation I include the direct nomination and election of all elective officials; the short ballot, and the recall.

In the last few years great progress has been made toward establishing the principle of direct representation. The fight for popular government began on this battle-ground, and one by one the States have yielded to the pressure and the warfare has extended to the national field, where the direct nomination and election of United States Senators and the direct nomination of presidential candidates have been the issue.

The direct election of Senators has been won after a prolonged struggle. Time and time again the Senate refused to approve a resolution submitting a proposed constitutional amendment to the states. It was not until Oregon and some other states had taken action, providing by a somewhat complex method for the closest approach possible to direct election, and one or two notorious instances of alleged corruption in the obtaining of seats in the Senate had quickened

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public sentiment into a general clamor for this reform, that the Senate surrendered.

The Sixty-Second Congress adopted the necessary resolution. In order to make the proposed amendment effective it required the favorable vote of thirty-six state legislatures. Massachusetts was the first to ratify it, and Connecticut completed the quota in April, 1913. The last members of the Senate to be elected by a state legislature were James Hamilton Lewis and Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Illinois, succeeding Shelby Cullom and William Lorimer, who were chosen after a long deadlock about two weeks before the complete ratification of the constitutional amendment.

Hereafter the people will elect United States Senators as directly as they have always elected members of the House, and the political complexion of a state legislature will no longer be the factor determining the party allegiance of the state's senatorial representatives.

The method of choosing Senators by action of state legislatures had resulted in grave abuses. In cases where the legislature was divided by only a narrow margin of party preponderance

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the temptation to use improper methods for making combinations, by which a candidate of a minority party might win, was too strong to be resisted, and ugly scandals arose. In other cases, where there may have been no actual corruption through the use of money, patronage and similar inducements were employed with demoralizing consequences. Frequently a state legislature was paralyzed for weeks by a senatorial contest, and the business of the state and important legislation suffered in the delay.

The direct nomination of Senators is a matter of state legislation, and obtains in most states where the direct primary system has been adopted. In other states nominations are still made by convention.

Some attention must be paid here to the direct primary plan. Notwithstanding the fact that it has been widely adopted in recent years there are still not a few states which retain the convention system, or have a primary system that is inadequate.

The convention system was based upon the theory that there is superior wisdom in delegated assemblies. That theory no longer applies to

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politics, and the system itself has become the convenient tool of bosses, machines and special interests. Committees on credentials and resolutions do most of the work in conventions; a compact organization, with a chairman trained in tactics and indifferent to criticism or protest, can turn a convention into a body of subservient puppets, or can create a majority, where none existed, that will run rough-shod over the will of the people. The term "steam-roller" grew out of the convention system as a picturesque description of the ruthless methods employed by bosses and machines. The Republican convention of 1912 is one of the most conspicuous illustrations of this evil in political history, and furnished a tremendous impetus to the demand for direct primaries.

The direct primary places in the hands of the people the right and the power to name their candidates for office. It greatly lessens the peril of boss rule and strikes a crushing blow at the alliance between professional politics and privilege. Owing to the fact that the direct primary has been a more or less sporadic reform, assuming the shape that local needs or local prejudices

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dictated, there exists today a perplexing and complicating diversity in its employment throughout the country.

The fundamental principles generally recognized are provision by statute for the nomination of candidates for office at elections held under state control and at state expense. The plan was first tried in Minneapolis fourteen years ago. Its successful operation in the city led to its adoption by the state, and since that time many other states have followed Minnesota's example. Always the reform has been won over the protest and against the opposition of the professional politicians and their allied interests. In too many instances they have succeeded in so modifying the primary legislation as to rob it of its value.

A thorough review of the various types of primaries in use throughout the country would require a book devoted to this one theme. I can give under a general grouping merely an indication of the diversity that exists.

In a few instances the indirect primary is still employed. By this method the voters ballot for delegates to conventions at which candidates are

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nominated. This plan is a poor makeshift for popular control and subject to grave abuses. The optional direct primary is another weak and even vicious form of the plan. It leaves the party leaders free to choose between the method of direct nomination and the convention system. The dominant faction in the party can select whichever method suits its own purpose better. In some cases the party choosing to nominate by primary is required to bear the expense of the election. Funds for this purpose are usually raised by a pro rata assessment of the candidates, a condition that imposes a hardship on the man of small means, and makes his candidacy dependent upon financial help that carries with it an implied obligation.

As a matter of fact the optional primary is never used where the convention plan suits better the ends of the party machine. The system prevailed for years in Kentucky, a state that has been boss-ridden and cursed by partisan and machine politics of the most vicious type.

In order to be effective the direct primary must be compulsory. Parties must not be allowed the opportunity to evade the right of the people to nominate directly.

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Another important variation of the direct primary affects the liberty of the voter to select candidates. In some cases what is called a "closed" primary obtains. In this the voter is allowed to vote only for the candidates of that party with which he affiliated at the last election. The "open" primary permits him to vote for the candidates of any party.

The argument urged for the "closed" party is the danger that voters in one political party may deliberately exercise their franchise for a candidate of an opposing party in order to ensure the nomination of a weak opponent. Against this argument is urged the injustice of compelling a primary voter to restrict his franchise to candidates of a party with which he affiliated at the prior election, but which, under changed conditions, may have forfeited his confidence. Furthermore the growing class of independent voters is excluded from participation in the "closed" primary, and this class often constitutes the most intelligent element in a community. Another objection lies in the fact that insistence upon a declaration of party affiliation violates the spirit of the secret ballot.

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But one of the most vicious direct primary vagaries is that which requires the candidates on a party ticket to make oath that they affiliated with the party from which they are now seeking nomination at the prior election. This provision is designed by the professional politicians to prevent any form of combination or any escape from the rigidity of party lines. It is a barrier to independence in politics and to the best interests of good citizenship. The direct primary law adopted by Kentucky in 1912 is framed after this fashion, and has already proved its value as an adjunct to the political machine.

Students of direct primary legislation, from the standpoint of good government, insist that essential features of a satisfactory system include provisions that it must be compulsory, held at the expense of the State, open to both voters and candidates, under strict regulation and protected by comprehensive laws against corrupt practices. In addition to this the State of Oregon provides for publicity as to the character and views of candidates through a pamphlet published under the state's authority.

Wisconsin is generally credited with having a

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primary law that approaches the model. It differs from that in other states by providing for preferential voting, so that each nominee is ensured a majority of the votes cast rather than a plurality. It was adopted in Wisconsin in order to overcome tactics employed by the bosses. The political machines had discovered that by inducing a large number of anti-machine candidates to enter the field they could so split up the opposition vote as to make certain of nominating their own candidates.

By the preferential plan each voter is allowed to indicate his first and second choice. Thus the anti-machine voters may split on their first choice and mass on their second choice. Unless the machine candidate can obtain a majority of all votes cast he will be defeated by the second choice votes of his opponents.

The so-called presidential preference primary is an extension of the direct primary system to the nomination of candidates for the presidency. Its difference from the method used in choosing nominees for lower offices is indicated by the word "preference." The voters, instead of directly nominating a candidate for President, ex-

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press their preference, or, practically, instruct the delegates chosen to the national convention of their party. These instructions differ from those that are given at conventions in the fact that they are the direct expression of the people made at the polls by ballot. The effectiveness of the plan depends upon the loyalty of the delegates to the will of the voters, but there is little doubt that this loyalty will be shown where the provisions for the primary are such as to leave no excuse for evading the verdict at the polls.

The plan was first adopted in Oregon, where the People's Power League has been so forceful a factor in devising and promoting the means for restoring to the people the right to rule. It was proposed by initiative petition and approved by the electorate of the State in 1910. California, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Dakota, South Dakota and Wisconsin followed Oregon's example in 1911. Other States have since taken similar action.

The Oregon law provides that at the regular primary for state officers, held in a presidential year, a petition of one per cent of the party vote may place upon the ballot as nominees of the party:

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The names of one person each for President and Vice-President of the United States.

The names of persons as nominees for delegates to the national party convention.

The names of nominees for presidential electors.

Of course there may be as many such petitions as there are interested persons in each party of sufficient number who have a candidate to propose.

A plurality vote determines the party choice for President, Vice-President, delegates and electors. The State pays the expenses of delegates not to exceed \$200 each. Arguments for or against presidential candidates may be printed in the State primary publicity pamphlet at \$100 a page.

The recall is another instrument by which the people are enabled to control their representatives. In simple words it means that those who elect to office have also the right to dismiss from office, and to substitute some other representative. In operation it requires that a petition signed by a specified per cent of the number of voters participating in the last prior election and

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preferring charges against the official whom it is desired to recall, shall be filed with the constituted authority. It is then mandatory to hold an election within a certain period, fixed by law, unless the official involved resigns. At such election this official has the right to be a candidate, and the people may nominate whom they please to oppose him. If an opponent is elected the recall has accomplished the purpose.

The recall originated as an adjunct to municipal government, Los Angeles claiming the honor of pioneer in 1903. Since then it has been adopted by many cities. It is an almost invariable feature of the commission plan of government, now obtaining in over 250 cities. A number of states have made it part of their constitutions, applying it to all state officers, with an increasing tendency to include the judiciary, and appointive as well as elective officers.

The percentage of signatures required to a recall petition varies from a minimum of 15 per cent to a maximum of 35 per cent. The latter is considered too high to be effective, and 25 per cent is generally accepted as a safe and reasonable proportion.

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When the great number of officials, municipal, and state, now under the shadow of the recall is considered, it is remarkable how little use of the weapon has been made. It seems to act very much as the strap or birch in the school room, that may lie on the shelf as a silent warning and admonition, but is seldom employed by the wise and capable teacher. The inclination of the official, who knows the people have power to deal with him directly, is to attend to his duties and give responsive ear to the popular will.

Recall legislation provides for a sufficient lapse of time between the filing of a petition and the holding of an election to prevent snap action being taken. The danger of the so-called emotional mob is a fiction conceived by those who have reason to dislike any increase in the power of the people.

The short ballot remains to be considered briefly as a means to obtain better representation. It is advocated on the theory that it is better to elect a few men intelligently than a multitude unintelligently. It contemplates the reduction of the number of elective officers to a minimum, and the placing of the appointive

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power in the hands of the deliberately chosen representatives of the people. By men like Theodore Roosevelt and President Wilson it is regarded as a fundamental reform in our representative system. It marks a reaction against that blundering and blind form of democracy which requires the people to elect every officer from pound-keeper to President, and which results in a ballot of enormous proportions containing names enough to make a small city directory.

When the people are required to select from twenty to a hundred men from a list of several hundreds, as is frequently the case, intelligent voting becomes impossible. The average citizen cannot be informed as to the character and qualifications of all the candidates in such an aggregation. He is familiar, perhaps, with the leading candidates on several tickets. He picks a good figure-head and votes the rest of the ticket blindly. Thus the boss and the machine are encouraged to nominate respectable heads for the party tickets, and to bury tools, made up of mediocrities and worse, in the ruck.

This type of ballot should be condemned as a violation of the anti-lottery laws. It puts a

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premium on ignorance, and heavily discounts the better voting element of the community. The short ballot, presenting comparatively few names to the voter, affords opportunity for intelligent choice, and eliminates the woodpile in which the proverbial nigger has been wont to hide.

Briefly stated the principles of the short ballot are:

First, that only those offices should be elective which are important enough to attract public attention.

Second, that very few offices should be filled by election at any one time.

Owing to the increased importance of the appointive power under this plan it is important that some form of civil service should be combined with it.

The short ballot has its best exemplification in the commission plan of government for cities. In a later chapter dealing with the application of Progressive principles to municipal affairs more will be said about this vital factor in promoting the kind of representative government that really represents.

The Progressive movement promises to be a

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tremendous impetus toward the spread of all these measures for putting new life into our representative system. Thus far,, as we noted, the reforms in this particular field have been sporadic, and vary in effectiveness in proportion to the intelligence and strength of the public opinion that gave them impulse. There has been no centralized effort to standardize direct primary legislation, for example. Hence chaos exists, and in many states the primaries are so poorly devised and so loaded with "jokers" that they fall far short of serving their purpose. Nationally the Democratic and Republican parties have taken no stand on these issues. In one state the Democrats will be radically progressive, in another intensely conservative; the same is true of the Republicans.

But the Progressive party has one policy for all states on such questions, and it maintains a bureau devoted to the work of drafting model legislation for the enactment of these reforms. It is standardizing popular government, a service greatly needed by the people, who, until now, have been groping their way, stumbling toward the goal, often misled by prejudiced advisers and betrayed by false friends.

CHAPTER V

DIRECT LEGISLATION

Direct legislation is the inclusive term for the initiative and referendum. It is the principle of conferring upon the people the power to propose and enact legislation independently of a representative body, and to pass upon legislation which has been enacted by their representatives.

This principle is as old as the idea of democracy. It has its roots in the earliest history of popular institutions. In ancient Greece and Rome the voting class enjoyed the right of direct legislation. The New England town meeting is often instanced as another example of law-making directly by the people.

But we are less concerned with these historic precedents than we are with the modern movement in which the principle has been readjusted to our system of government so as to supplement its representative character.

By the initiative is meant the right of the people to propose or initiate legislation and to pass it by direct vote. By the referendum is meant

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the right of the people to require that any measure enacted by their representatives shall be submitted to their approval before becoming law.

Thus the initiative is a method by which the people may obtain legislation which their representatives refuse or neglect to consider or enact, while the referendum is a method by which they may veto the legislation in which they think their representatives have acted unwisely or prejudicially to the general welfare.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the referendum has held a place in our process of constitution making from the beginning. The case of Massachusetts may be cited as an example.

In 1777 the General Assembly of Massachusetts drafted a constitution and submitted it to popular vote. This was a true referendum or reference to the people. The vote was taken in 1778, and by a ratio of 5 to 1 the people rejected the draft. A year later the Assembly referred to the people a question as to whether a constitutional convention should be called. The vote was affirmative; the convention was called and a constitution drafted. It was submitted to a

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third popular vote, and on this occasion the people approved.

The right of the people to act directly in the framing of their state constitutions was thus established in the very infancy of the Nation, and is recognized today in every state in the Union with the exception of Delaware. It seems a reasonable deduction that if we can trust the people to pass directly upon their fundamental law they may be trusted as safely to pass upon statutory law. It is the extension of this principle, already conceded in the making of constitutions, to the making of statutes that is advocated by the proponents of direct legislation.

The initiative and referendum made their first modern appearance as instruments of popular rule in statutory legislation in Switzerland, one of Europe's three republics. The parallel between conditions in the little old-world mountain country that led up to the adoption of these methods, and those that have promoted their adoption in America, is striking.

Prof. Frank Parsons, in his book "The City for the People," has given an interesting sketch of the Swiss situation prior to and after the em-

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ployment of direct legislation. Following the confederation of the twenty-two cantons, or states, that ended an era of civil strife in 1848, there came a time of industrial development largely marked by the building of railroads. An alliance of the railroads, the politicians, the land monopolists and aristocrats of the confederacy cruelly exploited the people. Graft and franchise grabbing became so general and so bold that popular indignation was deeply stirred. When the legislature of Neuchâtel granted a heavy subsidy to a railroad the end of popular patience was reached. The people began to seek a remedy for misrepresentative government. The referendum was practised in a few of the smaller forest cantons, and it was seized upon as the best means of counteraction for a legislature controlled by the privileged interests. The direct legislation movement spread rapidly; beginning in 1863 with the adoption of the initiative and referendum by six of the largest cantons, by 1874 the referendum had been adopted by the Federal government and in 1891 the initiative was added. Today both measures are used in every Swiss city, in most of the com-

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munes and in twenty-one out of twenty-two cantons.

The rapid industrial development that followed our own civil war, and that led to such intimate and dangerous relations between corporate business and government, has been the impulse back of the movement for direct legislation in this country.

Herr Carl Burkli, of Zurich, known in Switzerland as the "father of the referendum" is thus quoted by Prof. Parsons:

"The masses of the citizens of Switzerland found it necessary to revolt against their plutocracy and the corrupt politicians who were exploiting their country through the representative system. . . . The plutocratic government and the Grand Council of Zurich, which had connived with the private banks and railroads, were pulled down in one great voting swoop. The people had grown tired of being beheaded by the office-holders after every election. And politicians and privileged classes have ever since been going down before these instruments in the hands of the people."

J. W. Sullivan, an American writer who stud-

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ied Swiss conditions on the ground, has this to say about the results of the referendum in Zurich:

“The Zurich legislature knows nothing of bribery. It never sees a lobbyist. There are no vestiges remaining of the public extravagance, the confusion of laws, the partisan feeling, the personal campaigns, characteristic of representative government.....When men of Zurich, now but middle-aged, were young, its legislature practised vices similar to those of American legislatures; the cantons supported many idling functionaries, and the citizens were ordinarily but voting machines, registering the wills of the political bosses.....Today there is not a sinecure public office in Zurich; the popular vote has cut down the number of officials to the minimum, and their pay also.....There are no officials with high salaries.....There is no one man power in Switzerland.....No machine politician lives by spoils.....The referendum has proved destructive to class law and class privilege.”

Even allowing a little for over-exuberance in the enthusiasm of Mr. Sullivan, his testimony as

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to the effect of direct legislation upon conditions in Switzerland may be accepted as strong encouragement for those who see in it great possibilities of betterment in American political life.

The initiative and referendum were first adopted in this country by South Dakota in 1898. This being our earliest experiment in such legislation the measures, not unnaturally, show some of the defects due to over caution and incomplete trust in the wisdom of the people.

For example no provision is made for the constitutional initiative. That is to say the people are restricted to initiating laws of a statutory character. Further, all laws so proposed must be submitted first to the legislature for action. In the case of its failure or refusal to enact a law so submitted the constitution requires that it must be referred automatically to the people at the ensuing general election. There is no means, however, by which the legislature can be compelled to observe this constitutional requirement.

Again an emergency clause in the referendum provision is so drawn as to limit the power of the people. A mere majority of the legislature may

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tack an emergency clause to any enacted bill by which it is removed from the scope of the referendum provision and becomes law immediately. Over 40 per cent of the laws passed in South Dakota have this clause attached. The people, therefore, enjoy the initiative and referendum only at the discretion of their representatives, a fact that robs them of much of their real value.

Even under these heavy handicaps the initiative and referendum have proved a great service to the state. They have put the powerful railroad lobby out of business. Laws providing for the physical valuation of railroads, the reduction of express charges, the increase in the assessment of railroad properties for taxation and the abolition of passes have been enacted. It is generally admitted these measures would have had small chance under the old system where the legislature was free from any direct check at the hands of the people.

I have cited South Dakota as an example because it furnishes illustrations of defects in direct legislation that are deserving of note, and at the same time affords testimony to the value of the initiative and referendum, even in imperfect form.

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Utah provides another instance of a peril to be avoided. In 1900 the people adopted a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum. The vote was small. Out of a total of 92,980 votes polled at the election only a few over 27,000 were cast on the amendment. It was given nearly 12,000 majority; but the amendment merely established the general principle and left the details to be enacted by the legislature. From that day to this the people's representatives have refused to pass the necessary law to make the principle operative, basing their refusal upon the light vote by which it was approved.

A constitutional amendment for direct legislation should be specific in the provision for all the machinery necessary to make it effective. It is not safe to leave the details to legislatures.

Possibly Oregon is most often quoted as an example of a state in which the initiative and referendum have played an important role in legislation. These measures were adopted by Oregon in 1902. They have proved to be the very foundation of progress in the state. The people have used them freely and with remarkable wis-

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dom. The initiative is direct; that is to say the people are not required to submit laws first to the legislature before acting upon them themselves. It applies to constitutional amendments as well as to statutory legislation. It is operative upon an eight per cent petition.

The referendum is operative upon a five per cent petition, but may be inhibited by an emergency clause attached on majority vote of the legislature. This is the same weakness that we noted in the South Dakota law.

An excellent feature of the Oregon law that has since been copied by other states, South Dakota among the number, is the provision for publicity pamphlets containing the measures to be voted upon by the people, and to be mailed directly to each voter in the state by the Secretary of State. Arguments for and against the measures may be inserted by private citizens or organizations upon payment of the proportional cost per page for the space occupied. This "voter's text book" is the chief reason why the initiative and referendum have proved in Oregon to be so useful an expression of intelligent citizenship.

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It is proposed to remove the one weakness noted in the Oregon law by amending it to provide that an emergency clause may be attached to a bill only upon a two-third vote of the legislature, and that in such event it will not inhibit the right of referendum, but will merely make the measure effective until such time as the people decide against it.

Because of the prominent part played by the initiative and referendum in Oregon that state has drawn much of the fire of those who oppose direct legislation. The testimony of two men, representing opposing parties, but exceptionally fitted to judge, is worthy of quotation.

Former Senator Jonathan Bourne, a Republican, says:

“Results obtained under direct legislation in Oregon compare so favorably with the work of a legislative assembly that an attempt to repeal the initiative and referendum would be defeated overwhelmingly. No effort has ever been made The results show that the people have exercised discriminating judgment.”

Senator George A. Chamberlain, a Democrat, says:

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“The people of this state are entirely satisfied with this amendment. I think you will find that opposition to the Oregon system finds its inspiration in the corrupt machine politicians and in those who believe that the liberties of the citizen should be subordinated to the so-called rights of property.”

It is interesting to note some of the measures that have been enacted by direct legislation in Oregon. One of the first was a direct primary law in 1904. In 1906 the people approved an anti-pass bill, an amendment permitting cities to enact and amend their own charters, and an amendment for direct legislation on all local and municipal laws. In 1908 they provided for the direct election of United States Senators by an ingenious plan pledging candidates for the legislature to support the choice of the people irrespective of party, they put a limitation on the amount and use of money to be employed in election campaigns, and adopted the recall and proportional representation. In 1910 a home rule bill for cities was carried, and employers' liability, presidential primary and good roads measures were among those to obtain majorities. In

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1912 a woman suffrage amendment was adopted, after having been defeated in three prior elections. Many other bills have been enacted and many rejected, but these are cited as illustrative of the kind of legislation favored by the people.

Doubtless years of costly agitation and frequent disappointment would have been required to obtain their enactment under the old system.

There is instruction in noting a few of the measures that the people have refused to approve. A single tax amendment was defeated in 1908 and again in 1912. An amendment increasing the salaries of legislators was buried beneath 50,000 majority. In 1910 prohibition was rejected by 17,000 majority. An amendment providing for the building of railroads by the state and another abolishing capital punishment met with like fate.

It will be seen that the people of Oregon, while progressive in certain directions, are not hastily radical.

Before passing from this review of direct legislation, let me cite an interesting example from the experience of Montana. Concerning politics in this state Dr. W. C. Eggleston, at one

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time editor of the Helena Independent, writes to Equity, an invaluable monthly publication devoted to popular government:

"I have lived and taken an active interest in the politics of eight states, and I have known personally every member of ten legislatures in different states. It is my deliberate opinion that a Montana legislature of 100 members could sit blindfolded in a political poker game and skin an average Illinois legislature down to a neck-tie and a pair of socks. In 1907 I reported both houses of the Montana legislature, and got so cross-eyed watching the bunch that I had to walk sideways to find my way home. In an assembly of Montana legislators the most corrupt and degenerate gas meter becomes an emblem of purity, honor and respectability."

Montana adopted the initiative and referendum in 1906, but under such unsatisfactory conditions that no use was made of the measures until 1912. There is no constitutional initiative, and petitions must be signed in each of two-fifths of the counties in the state, by eight per cent of the voters, in the case of the initiative, and 5 per cent in the case of the referendum. This pro-

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vision has made the obtaining of signatures a cumbersome and costly proceeding.

But even under these conditions in 1912 an excellent direct primary law, a corrupt practices act, a presidential primary law and a measure for the direct election of United States Senators were submitted and approved by big majorities. Thus the people of a notoriously corrupt state have obtained fundamental reforms that their legislature, controlled by corporate interests, could not have been persuaded to grant. As a result there is certain to be an improvement in future legislatures, and thus direct legislation will demonstrate its value as an adjunct to representative government.

The use of direct legislation in municipal government will be discussed in the chapter devoted to Progressive principles in their application to city affairs.

Equity, the publication referred to earlier in this chapter, lists six dangerous "jokers" that have been resorted to by those who desired to cripple direct legislation. They are:

1. Limiting the initiative to statute laws and prohibiting the voters from proposing and adopt-

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ing amendments to the constitution. This "joker" is found in South Dakota, Utah, Montana, Maine, Washington and Idaho.

2. Requiring an improbable or impossible majority to enact or reject measures submitted to the voters.

An example is Oklahoma where a "majority of all votes cast in said election" is the provision. Although five measures submitted since 1907 have received large majorities of the "votes cast thereon", none have been enacted owing to this provision. Ignorance and indifference are allowed to weigh against interest and intelligence in this provision.

3. Requiring petitions impracticably large, or making it needlessly difficult to obtain them.

Wyoming requires a 25 per cent petition, which is almost prohibitive. I have cited the difficulties imposed in Montana. Similar difficulties exist in Nebraska.

4. Framing an emergency clause provision so as to allow a legislature to block a referendum at its own discretion.

An emergency clause should require a two-thirds majority, and ought to specify the nature

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of the emergency. It should not forbid the submission of the measure to the ultimate decision of the people, even though providing for its immediate operation.

5. Fixing an arbitrary limit to the number of measures which may be submitted to the people.

The people are the best judge of how much work they can do. Oregon voters have shown themselves able to handle intelligently as many as thirty-two measures at a single election.

6. Failing to provide an adequate and efficient method of informing the voters concerning the measures submitted to them.

Direct legislation is successful in the degree in which the people are informed. The Oregon pamphlet system, already described is the best plan yet devised.

Except in cases of emergency, so declared to exist by a two-third majority of the legislators, and specified as to nature, all laws passed should be suspended from operation for ninety days after the adjournment of the session. During this period the people may prepare and file petitions for a referendum on such legislation as they desire to have submitted to them. No limit should

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be set to the time for obtaining petitions for the initiative.

Difference of opinion exists among advocates of direct legislation as to whether the necessary signatures to a petition should be specified by per cent or by number. There is a tendency to favor the latter plan, in theory, although in practise the former is the more common. In Maine the law requires the fixed number of 10,000 signatures for a referendum petition and 12,000 for the initiative. In Oregon the requirement is signatures equalling in number 5 per cent of the total vote polled at the last prior gubernatorial election for the referendum, and 8 per cent for the initiative. This is regarded as fair. It applies, of course, only in state-wide use of direct legislation. In municipal use the per centages are higher owing to the narrower territory in which the signatures are to be obtained.

The two objections most frequently urged against direct legislation by those who oppose it are its alleged subversion of representative government and its fancied tendency to encourage mob rule. The former objection was dealt with in the chapter dealing generally with the ques-

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tion of popular government. The latter objection is not very substantial, and calls for little comment.

It is urged only by those who have unworthy reasons for fearing the people, or who are temperamentally reactionary. Direct legislation is more deliberative than is representative legislation in a great many instances. More opportunity is given for thorough consideration and discussion of measures submitted under the initiative and referendum than for the vast majority of bills that come before legislative assemblies. Everyone is familiar with the manner in which a congested calendar is handled in the dying hours of a state legislature. Good measures are often killed; bad measures, under pressure of a lobby, are jammed through; few measures are understood by more than a small minority of those who vote upon them. Every kind of trick and strategy is employed to prevent discussion, when the interested majority so desires, and to obtain the passage of legislation on any other basis than its merits. "Deliberative assembly" is too often a sad misnomer for a legislative body.

Mobs are the result of oppression not of

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freedom. Passion is the outburst of suppressed feeling. The initiative and referendum give the people liberty to act in a sane and orderly fashion. They are a check upon precipitate and disorderly action. A man does not break through a pane of glass when he may more easily walk through an open door, and direct legislation is the people's open door to the things they need.

CHAPTER VI

WOMAN AND THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

In a striking manner the Progressive movement has brought woman into conspicuous place as a political factor. It has indeed done more to center attention upon her cause than years of suffrage agitation. In all conventions, conferences and gatherings of those interested in the Progressive programme she has been welcomed, both as auditor and speaker. She has been taken into the party councils, and has been given a position of leadership in no degree less prominent than that of men. Moreover a significant fact is that her presence and the promise of her larger participation in the duties of citizenship and of government have been greeted with greater enthusiasm than any other phase of the movement.

If we look for the psychology of this unusual phenomenon in politics we will find ourselves getting close to the very heart of the Progressive cause.

During the era in our history that has been

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dominated by the conception of private property as the chief treasure of society, the one pearl of great price to be cherished, protected and conserved, man has felt self-competent for the task of government. As the bread-winner, the wealth-producer and the wealth-acquirer of the race he has considered himself the natural guardian of property. Woman, through long experience an economically dependent sex, has not been regarded as necessarily a partner in the work of law-making and administration. Man, for the sake of retaining his supremacy, and under the illusion that he is the divinely constituted overlord and chivalrous squire of his woman-kind, has kept in his own control the machinery of government. It has been his chief aim to see that his right of possession was established and buttressed, for in possession lay his power, and in the opportunity for concession the satisfaction of his vanity.

Take time to study the legislation of a century and you will discover that it centers about one pre-eminent idea—the sacredness of property. Until within the last few years all other considerations were subordinated to this. Every reform

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aimed at the obtaining of a larger measure of human happiness has been forced to face this fetish; to make its peace with this mammon god. Not that property is without claim in the legislative arena, or that any sane man would advocate its abolition as a private right; but that it has held a supreme position, which is now challenged in the name of human rights and in the cause of race welfare. We are emphasizing anew the almost forgotten truth that property is made for man, and not man for property.

It is this attitude toward life and its problems that is the profound motive in the movement. The change has come gradually, but the consciousness of its arrival has been startlingly sudden in the mind of the masses. As yet all who respond to it have not analyzed the nature of the change or paused to question its cause; but they know that they look upon society with a new vision, a vision that sees the happiness of women and children, the achieving of right human relations and the common good as the great goal of civilization.

Men are realizing that their rule has been one-sided, biased and incomplete. They see that

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they have neglected much in their anxiety to protect themselves in the endeavor to acquire more. In order to conserve the sacredness of property and to promote the holy calling of its pursuit they have allowed the lives of little children to be woven into the fabric of the textile mills, or to be blighted by the darkness of the mines; they have let women be driven from the hearthstone of the home to the factory, the office and the department store, because she will work for lesser wages and so make larger profits possible; they have given license to the food poisoners; they have thrown a bullwark of high protection around certain industries while they exploited their labor to the verge of desperation and revolt.

The family circle has been broken into fragments for the sake of dividends. Into the making of wealth, the building up and entrenchment of property, have gone the right to be young, the right to be happy, the right to love and to be loved, the right to regain the lost image of God in which man was created. Greed has stamped the mark of the beast upon the countenance of the prosperous, and hunger has stamped it upon the faces of the poor.

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How much we have sacrificed! How little, in comparison, have we gained!

And yet perhaps this is too dark a picture. We are not pessimists, but optimists. This much we have done in the pursuit of property—we have produced, devised and assembled all the materials for a happier society. We are emerging now from the shop era of civilization into the conception of the Nation as a home. It is as if we had saved and denied and suffered in order that we might have the means wherewith to live. And now that the time has come to plan the new dwelling of the race; to set the house in order; to sweep and scrub and to arrange the furniture; to hang the pictures on the walls and to fill the larder with good things, what more natural than that men should turn to women, as they have done from the beginning, and say "We need you?"

The task has outgrown man's unaided doing. He realizes that in bringing within reach of all the advantages that he has laboriously contrived and accumulated, her help will prove of highest value. The knowledge, the invention, the material acquisition of an age of unparalleled ingenu-

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ity and productivity must be readjusted, disposed and employed so as to free childhood from the yoke of industry, restore womanhood to its queenly place in the domain of things human, and give to the man who toils a larger share in the product of his labor and a greater security in its enjoyment.

The home has been slipping away from us; in its place we have been given the tenement for the poor and the apartment house for the well-to-do. It is not a good exchange. We must win back the home.

The family has been disintegrating as a fundamental factor in the social structure. Economic pressure has driven mothers and children to toil with the fathers and grown brothers; it has deterred young men from marriage and forced young girls into lives of shame. The extravagance of the social-climber and the demoralizing idleness of the social parasite have filled our divorce courts. These are evils in the land, more destructive than political graft, more burdensome than a robber tariff. We must conserve the family.

And for this phase of the new crusade we need

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the comradeship of women. We want women politically free, not with hands tied upon election day. That is why the men in the Progressive movement have greeted with enthusiasm the declaration for full equal suffrage. The prospect of this splendid reinforcement heartens them for the struggle.

And in this attitude the men of the new party give evidence of their sincerity. It is the very urgency of the crusade that has quickened the desire for woman's help. It is disappointing that some women have failed to see this fact; that some, who are prominent in advocacy of the suffrage cause, have held aloof from the Progressive movement, have even opposed it. To them there is but this to say—they do not understand their own movement or its vital relation to the problems of the time; they do not realize how big is the cause they espouse, nor how deeply are its roots embedded in the subsoil of the race. If they did they would know that the moment a party was formed in which the welfare of human beings, rather than the rights of property, was made the supreme object, the inclusion of women in its fighting force was inevitable. Any other

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theory places too light a value and too superficial a significance upon the role that woman has played in shaping the present issues.

Thus the interest of women in the Progressive movement is far broader than that which might be represented by the suffrage plank in the platform of the party. This particular plank merely forms the link that gives her vital connection with the big, human welfare programme to which the movement is committed. No doubt other parties will follow the example of the Progressives in declaring for equal rights in citizenship, but women will remember that the Progressives were first to give preeminent place to issues that made their votes significant.

In the Progressive movement two supremely important factors in race happiness are recognized—motherhood and childhood. Politics of the past have taken these things for granted. It has assumed them as natural constants in the problem of society, largely outside the sphere of government. They have been left to the care of non-political reforms.

Our awakening to the importance of conservation began, logically enough, in the process of

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evolution I have outlined, with an interest in the wasting wealth of forests and mines, in the depletion of soil fertility, and such other phases of national heedlessness and extravagance as could be readily presented in the cold statistics of dollars and cents. But it could not long rest satisfied with a determination to save these purely material resources from the exploiter. The thought of the people being turned toward conservation it was inevitable that the human factors in wealth production should be forced upon their attention, and the Progressive movement gave voice and definiteness to the demand that the terrible waste of life and energy which has marked the Nation's pursuit of riches should be ended.

No phases of this waste are more deplorable than those which involve the deterioration of the maternal vitality of the race, and the squandering of youth's promise in the carnival of dividends.

The Progressive party faced the fact that economic necessity has driven into the fields of toil thousands of women and children. It listened, as no other party had, to the stories of men and women whose lives have been devoted to a study

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of this problem. It heard with sympathy, and with appreciation of its significance, the report of those who knew from long investigation and closest intimacy the terrible consequences of this development in our social and industrial system.

To set the women of the country free from the chains of toil in order that they may be fit for the motherhood of its future citizenship; to break in pieces the yoke that galls the tender shoulders of the boys and girls—these have become among the chief purposes of the movement; and wholly apart from the issue of suffrage, the recognition of these issues by the party makes an appeal to the sympathy and support of every understanding woman that cannot be resisted.

But, it is also true, that the Progressive movement, in giving to women a coordinate place with men in its programme and in its organization, is not unconscious of the powerful arguments and forces making for political sex equality. I have endeavored thus far to show that the welcome to women, extended so enthusiastically by the men of the Progressive party, was due to their sudden sense of need for woman's political comradeship, and that the response of women to the welcome

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had larger motives than the mere promise of the suffrage plank. Let us now devote some consideration to the conditions that, from the feminist standpoint, have given impulse and increasing urge to the equal suffrage movement in the last quarter century .

The industrial changes, which were considered in the first chapter, had a most important effect upon the life interests and the economic position of women. With the tremendous growth of manufacturing enterprise that followed the introduction of power machinery there gradually passed from the home sphere many of the occupations that had hitherto filled the hands of its womankind. The textile and fabric industries took over the making of clothes and the knitting of socks and stockings. The knitting needles followed the spinning wheel into retirement, and even the darning needle has had less opportunity for use since the day of "guaranteed" hose. Bread, made in big bakeries, took the place of the kind that mother made, and the rolling pin and the bread board ceased to hold a prominent position in the kitchen. The carpet sweeper drove out the broom and the vacuum cleaner

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drove out the carpet sweeper. Even the weaving of rags into rugs was converted from a household economy into a profit-making business. In a score of other directions socialized production for profit displaced home production for use.

The effect of this revolution differed according to the economic circumstances of the women responding to it. In working class homes it conspired with other causes, having similar origin, to induce the women to follow their occupations out of the household circle into the factory and the office. In homes where comfort and plenty obtained it left the hands of the women idle; it left their minds without sufficient interest. They turned to pleasure or to study as a refuge from ennui.

The extravagant excesses of the rich and the activities of the prosperous middle-class women in social and political fields are largely due to the industrial changes that liberated feminine energies from household cares.

The wage-earning women speedily became conscious of a handicap in fighting their battles, imposed by the restricted citizenship which man had decreed for them. Where these toilers are inter-

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ested in suffrage it is because they feel the need for political emancipation in order that they may hasten the day of economic betterment. The leisured women, who in clubs and other organizations took up the study of social and political questions, began at once to evolve a social consciousness and an enlightened understanding of the problems that affect human welfare. Knowledge craves power; it seeks means of expression. Unless this be given it becomes a dangerous force, suppressed and explosive. The new knowledge and sense of social obligation that have come to woman, as a sex, reasonably demands that it be related directly and effectively to the work of government, through which only can it hope to achieve its aims.

It is too late in the day to waste argument in rebutting the objections raised to woman suffrage by the standpat mind of either sex. When women were conceded the same educational rights as men, the granting of equal rights in citizenship became inevitable. Economic evolution has hastened the consummation. The old fashioned mind will continue to argue up to the last minute; but it will be useless. It requires

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little daring to venture the prophecy that in a decade equal suffrage will be nation-wide.

But there is one word that should be added. The most frequently advanced argument against woman suffrage is the old plea that "woman's sphere is the home." Let us gladly and heartily concur.

Woman's happiest and most useful sphere is the home. There exists no field of effort where she can accomplish more, or where her excellences find more effective setting. The Progressive movement is so thoroughly impressed with this belief, so wholly devoted to this conception of the great work that woman has to do, that it urges the extension of the franchise to women in order that she may be better equipped to defend her home domain.

We have seen that the home is seriously menaced under existing conditions. Without the ballot woman has been slowly but surely driven from the home, and compelled to submit to circumstances of competitive toil with men while lacking the voice in their control that men enjoy. Her children are often neglected in order that she may earn bread for them. They lose the

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maternal care for their moral welfare so that the mother may provide for their stomachs. The making of the home is delayed until late in the life of many a woman. When she enters upon the great undertaking for which she has been peculiarly adapted by nature, and in which she gives her best and richest service to the race, it is too often after she has sacrificed health and nerve in some exigent industry, and has no longer the freshness and vitality of youth to give to the bearing and rearing of her children.

Moreover politics has become in recent years a matter most closely affecting the home. In many states the school suffrage has been given to women on the ground that her natural interest in the welfare of the children entitles her to a voice in the management of educational affairs.

But women are equally concerned for the health of their children, that may be menaced in cities by impure milk, contaminated water supply, defective sewerage, unregulated bakeries and slaughter houses and a dozen other factors in municipal housekeeping. In the state and nation food poisoners threaten the safety of the children. These are conditions in which women

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have surely as great a right to exercise direct political control as in those affecting the schools.

Child-labor and white slavery have become acutely important state and national issues that bear intimately upon the home life and woman's interest in it. Yet lacking the ballot she is handicapped in combatting the evils they represent.

Is the tariff purely a business question? Ask the woman who must save out of her allowance the money with which to purchase suits, dresses, underwear, shoes and stockings for Tom and Mary and Jane.

The mother, deserted or widowed, must earn a livelihood for herself and family. She is driven into industry. The maintenance of her home depends upon her ability to obtain a living wage under working conditions that will not destroy her health. Thus industrial issues are vitally home issues in which thousands of women are interested.

It is impossible to divorce politics from the home. We have been too blind to this fact in the past. We are just beginning to see that politics centers in the home; that one of its first duties must be to conserve the home. If this duty

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is neglected then all other work we may do for conservation is rendered valueless.

The Progressive movement seeks to end political indifference to the home. It believes the votes of women will hasten its end, because they, better than any others, appreciate the need of relief. The Progressives want to make it possible for woman to return to her home, to regain her queenly place at the hearthstone, to be once more, in the sweetest and fullest meaning of the words, the wife and mother.

It is not politics that is taking women out of the home, but stern economic necessity, on the one hand, and a craving of unsatisfied intellect on the other. Equal suffrage will help to mitigate the one, and to meet the demand of the other.

This chapter would be incomplete without a word devoted to the prominent and useful part that women are playing in the organization and work of the Progressive movement.

Consistently with its declaration for full suffrage the Progressive party made place at once for the equal partnership of men and women in its leadership and ranks. Miss Jane Addams

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was chosen a member of the National committee. Her speech, seconding the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, will live in the literature of the movement. To Miss Frances A. Kellor is due one of the most important contributions to its work—the planning of the Progressive Service. This department of which more will be said later, represents a new factor in politics, and stands, significantly, for the best that woman has done to aid the cause of human welfare. Miss Kellor is now the efficient chief of the Progressive Service.

The department is one of research, study and reference, intended to be the quivering nerve of the party that links it vitally and intelligently to the deepest needs of the people. It is more than a bureau of cold statistics; it is a pulse with the heart-throb in it. It gives to the movement the beautiful dignity of that which seeks to serve.

There is nothing more typical of the new movement than the fact that it has replaced the old-time slogan "Anything for Office" by the splendid cry of "Everyone for Service." And to the women, more than to any other element in the movement, do we owe the emphasis on this inspiring watchword.

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Women are closely identified with the movement. They have organized their own auxiliaries to give help wherever help is needed. There are no restrictions on the opportunities for women in the Progressive party. The bars are down, even in states where she has not yet achieved equal rights under the constitution—and this last bar is soon to fall. The old parties can no longer be indifferent to the demands of woman since the new party has admitted her to full comradeship. Henceforth, shoulder to shoulder with man, not as his dependent and subordinate, but as his comrade in citizenship, she will keep step in the vanguard of the march to the goal of human happiness.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONSERVATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES.

The conservation of human resources is a distinctive policy of the Progressive movement. This, more than any other feature of its programme, has drawn to it thousands of earnest men and women, who, hitherto, have taken small interest in politics.

By it we are projected on to a higher plane of political warfare, where the air is more exhilarating and the vision clearer. There comes to us a new courage and a new zeal. The struggle, that had seemed so sordid, assumes a splendor and dignity that appeal to the best in our common humanity. We are fighting now, not for the rights of dollars, but for the rights of men; not for the protection of property, but for the safeguarding of women and children.

The field comprised by this inclusive phrase--the conservation of human resources--is so vast that only a library of books could deal with it adequately. And libraries have been written concerning it; great libraries, long neglected by

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our statesmen and politicians, but now becoming mighty factors in the shaping of issues and the remodelling of government.

The average man and woman, busy with the multitudinous affairs of life, has not the time for the wide study necessary to cover the far range of this particular phase of Progressive interest and propaganda. It is the purpose of the following chapters to condense the abundant material available to those of larger leisure, and to bring within brief compass and easy reach the substance of much research on the part of diligent students and advanced thinkers, in order that those with limited time and opportunity may be in possession of the important facts and main arguments supporting the constructive human welfare programme of the Progressive movement.

It was Theodore Roosevelt who first awakened the Nation to the fact that its natural resources were seriously threatened by the indifference of the masses and the anti-social greed of private exploiters. It was he who called the first conservation conference and gave to the movement that is now doing so much for the saving of our

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forests, mines, water-power and soil its first great forward impulse. That movement gripped the imagination of the people, and stimulated the social conscience in a remarkable manner.

It is not surprising that, having had our attention thus concentrated upon the natural resources of the country, we should be led beyond this point of focus to thought for the human resources. We were suddenly startled into considering the common wealth, and from that we passed, with inevitable logic, to a consideration of the common weal. One morning we awoke to find the Nation engaged in stock taking. It was checking over its possessions. Here were vast riches—much already under private control; much, as yet, undeveloped and within the reach of prompt action on the part of its rightful owners, the people. Here was enough and more than enough, under just administration, to satisfy all wants, to drive the wolf from every door and to lift the shadow of poverty from every household in the land. Naturally we could not stop with such a stock-taking. Our thought went on to reckon with the related problem of conserving human life for the development and

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full enjoyment of all the great abundance with which Nature has blessed us so bountifully.

The Progressive platform is the first authoritative expression of any political party, other than the Socialist, to take account of this problem. It is true that President Wilson, in his inaugural address, devoted several strong and splendid sentences to the question of human welfare, but he spoke rather as an individual than as the interpreter of his party's attitude.

This phrase "the conservation of human resources" is no mere catch-word of glittering rhetoric. It has a very definite and a very vital significance.

In its broadest interpretation it means the preservation of the common life of the people, in both its individual and community expression, at the highest level of efficiency for production and of opportunity for development and enjoyment.

In order to achieve this ideal it requires the elimination of those conditions which now tend to create what Roosevelt calls a "Human deficit."

The evils that menace human efficiency and enjoyment may be grouped as follows:

Insufficient wages

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Economic dependence of women

Child labor

Over work

Occupational diseases

Industrial accidents

Involuntary unemployment

Illiteracy

Impoverished old age.

There is not one of these evils that is not subject to control and amelioration given a government that takes as much interest in the rights of man as in the rights of property. The Progressive party proposes to take up these evils, one by one; it proposes to deal with them boldly and effectively. They have been dealt with in other countries. Surely the people of America can do what the people of Germany, Australia, New Zealand and, more recently, Great Britain, have done through their governments. Surely with the example and experience of these countries, coupled with our own devisiveness and capability for self-rule, we can do even better what has been done so well by others.

There are two leading phases of this programme for the conservation of human resources that carry strong appeal.

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The first is suggested by that part of the definition given above which describes it as seeking "the preservation of the common life of the people at the highest level of efficiency for production." This is the economic phase.

We may pause here a moment to consider an objection to the whole human welfare programme that is raised by those who retain the old viewpoint as to the proper function of government. It is urged that we are stepping far beyond the legitimate sphere of regulation and control when we attempt to deal with the ills that have been listed as contributory to a social and economic human deficit. We are advised that all we may seek to do by legislation is to give men freedom to struggle for existence, and that we must leave to the inexorable law of struggle and survival the shaping of the outcome. In other words we may not go farther than to let the blind forces of evolution work out human destiny. The law of the jungle must be supreme in civilization. The fittest may survive. For the unfit we may have our charities—but not justice. Let competition have its perfect work, and he who cannot battle through may go

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to the wall. Any other programme than this, we are told, is based on a mere sentimental paternalism; it is emotional, hysterical and the hallucination of dreamers.

Our answer to this objection presently will be detailed and particular. Now, in general, be it said, that the new philosophy replies:—The law of the jungle is not sufficient for civilization. Evolution must not proceed blindly, else we set the reasoning power of man at nought. The law of the survival of the fittest is superseded by a higher law, that of fitting all to survive. The right to struggle for existence gives place to the larger right of existing to develope and enjoy. Competition yields to the better way of cooperation.

Almost coincidentally with the appearance of conservation as a word of newly developed national and social significance, the word efficiency began to find general currency and to assume extraordinary interest.

At first it was largely applied to the methods of work employed in industry, to the tasks of the factories and the management of the railroads. It gradually broadened out into every

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department of business. It invaded the field of religion and education.

But it was almost wholly confined to methods; it was a term for the science of system that sought to discover the manner of belting human energy to the daily task so as to eliminate waste in its expenditure.

Like conservation, however, efficiency was destined to have a deeper interpretation. It was not long before the thoughtful student discovered that waste lay not alone in method. He soon realized there was a terrible waste of the human machine itself: that the energy was not lost merely in making connection with the job, but that there were evils which depleted it at its source and weakened the generating power of the human dynamo.

The employment of labor for profit has been accompanied by a terrible and tragic drain upon the vitality of the workers. The system that exploits labor relentlessly; that denies the wage earner a sufficient reward to enable him to nourish properly his body or to live in an environment conducive to health and vigor, is blindly wasteful.

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Under these conditions, too common in this country, a man's productive value to society is tremendously lessened. It has been shown by actual experiment that excessive hours of work do not increase the volume of product, and that, on the contrary, they assuredly militate against the quality of the commodity. The man whose vitality is sapped by toil at low wages for long hours becomes, before he has nearly lived the natural span of useful life, a charge upon society. The community must bear the cost of caring for that which some individual or corporation discards after squeezing it of its worth.

It is well to bear in mind that there is no waste for which the price is not paid by some one. The employer reckons that human life is cheaper than any other commodity in which he deals, because, while he must bear the expense of wear and tear upon machinery, he can discharge the man who has ceased to be profitable, through vital depletion, and employ another man at the same or a lower wage. But what he does not pay for wear and tear upon the man, society must pay. It pays in the loss of his productive value, and it pays again in charity and taxation for his care.

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When we become aroused to the economic significance of this fact we will have the motive of an enlightened self-interest impelling us to end a system so stupidly extravagant and costly.

But there is another way in which these evils of the industrial system contribute to serious economic loss. They provoke class discontent. Strikes arise from them, those hideous battles on the field of industry which never fail to leave behind them their tale of dead and wounded. They are the food upon which the labor agitator waxes fat; they are the fuel with which the fire of class antagonism is fed. The paralyzing of great industries, the impairment of capital through the idleness of productive property, and the social loss through the idleness of labor are tremendously costly consequence of this short-sighted and unintelligent policy.

And once again there is loss because low wages, low standards of living and restricted ability to purchase the necessities and comforts of life react in a narrowing of the home market for the products of labor. This is a phase of the problem that is seldom emphasized, but it is a very important phase of it. The manufacturer, ever

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eager to increase his margin of profit, seeks to maintain wages at the lowest possible level. For the same reason he enforces long hours of toil. He forgets that a large proportion of the consuming public—the possible purchasers of his product—is composed of the wage-earners. Overlooking this fact he ultimately reaches the point in production where he finds it impossible to dispose of his commodities because the income of the workers is not sufficient to buy back for use what they have made for profit.

We are familiar with those crises that have arisen from time to time in the economic history of the country when we have been told by wise men—or men seemingly wise—that we are too prosperous; we have produced more than we can sell profitably; the market is glutted. It is a strange kind of prosperity, for it is, inevitably, the breeder of want and suffering for millions.

As the world market narrows, and competition between nations for the patronage of the foreign consumer grows keener, this experience will become more frequent, unless there is a change made in the chaotic planlessness of our so-called industrial system. We will have again

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and again the strange anomaly of what is termed over-production in a country where the hungry and the homeless and the ill-clad are ever present.

Such crises as these are terrific in their destructive effect. The country gets a reverse from which it takes years to recover. The waste of life in periods of industrial depression, following over-production, is beyond estimate; the social loss beyond the power of the statistician to calculate.

Here then are three ways in which indifference to human welfare entails economic injury. Surely without further argument a case has been made out for the importance of remedial measures. Surely the programme that contemplates bettering these conditions is not purely sentimental or emotional.

The trust, in one of its phases, is an attempt on the part of a class to cure the last of these ills. By combination to restrict output an effort is made to prevent over-production. This policy, however, is anti-social in its effect. It merely enables the owners of the productive process to eliminate a certain measure of waste and risk,

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and thus to increase their own profits without contributing to the welfare of society as a whole. In other words it is an effort to cure the evil by limiting the supply to the profitable possibilities for disposal, instead of by raising the standard of living so as to enlarge the field of absorption.

In beginning this chapter I said that we had entered a field on which the battle was for the rights of man rather than for the rights of the dollar. The reader may think that thus far the argument has failed to make human welfare the supreme issue. It is true I have endeavored to show that indifference to human welfare means dollar loss; not that I am so greatly concerned about the dollar, except in-so-far as it represents human labor and the exchange value for those essentials of life that the human being requires, but, because, with many, the dollar argument is still the most potent. We have thought so long in terms of dollars and cents that it is not until the cause of men and women and children is converted into this economic equation that we are able to see there is more than sentimentality in some of the things which social reformers urge.

But let us pass on now to consider the second

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phase in the conservation of human resources, second in point of order, but by no means in importance. In our definition it was called "the preservation of the common life of the people, in both its individual and community expression, at the highest level of opportunity for development and enjoyment." This is the social phase.

The economic phase really limits the viewpoint to the human being as an efficient machine for the production of wealth. Indirectly it contributes to the realization of this second and supreme aim of conservation, but without conscious purpose. To make it possible for all human life to find full and complete expression individually and socially; to bring the wealth produced by its labor into a subordinate relation, a relation of ministry rather than mastery—this is the ideal conception of the goal toward which industry and government should strive.

Unquestionably the industrial ills that were listed earlier bar the way to even an approximation of this ideal.

Probably there is no greater social and, therefore, human menace, in the existing system than its peril to the homes of the people. By all ear-

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nest thinkers the home is regarded as the heart of civilization. No adequate substitute for it can be found. The man, the woman, and the child—these three are the essential factors in the perpetuation of the race and its progress toward a larger experience of happiness and a richer destiny. The welfare of civilization will be measured by the care it bestows upon them, individually and in their family relation.

It is perhaps an old fashioned theory in some quarters that the highest and noblest function of woman is motherhood, but it is an old-fashioned theory to which the Progressive movement adheres tenaciously. If it is right in this position—and my readers will scarcely need persuasion—then to conserve womanhood for the exercise of this function should be a constant and determined aim of any humane and wise social system.

But, as we have seen in the chapter devoted to woman and the Progressive movement, economic evolution has developed an abnormal condition for the sex that militates greatly against its fitness for the bearing of children. The tendency has been to drive women into industry;

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to expend their vitality in arduous toil at an age when they should have been mothering the future generation. Marriage has been postponed for many until an age when the sex function is more or less impaired. In other instances, where earlier wedlock has resulted in families of three or more children, later necessities have deprived the infants of the mother's care. Sickness, accident or death of the male bread-winner, often desertion, have thrust upon the woman the burden of providing for her young. This involves absence from the home, or occupation in the home, to the exclusion of that maternal care so essential to right upbringing.

In like manner as the children themselves reach an age where they possess any earning power whatever, they, too, are forced out of the home life and family relation to engage in some kind of work for wages. This, of course, deprives them of educational opportunities. They grow up illiterate and lacking of equipment to cope with life or to rise above the low level of subnormal development. Confinement during long hours of labor and insufficient nourishment and rest deplete their vitality, shorten their lives

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and make them dependents or delinquents at an early age.

Nor, in many industries, is the case much better with the man. We have set too little store upon the importance of fatherhood as a social factor, even as we have neglected motherhood. The man who is worked from ten to twelve hours a day, whose wage is fixed at a bare subsistence figure, is handicapped to the verge of utter paralysis for home duty. To him home is merely a shelter in which sleep may be had and a hasty meal eaten. To him the marital relation is little more than a legalized opportunity for breeding his kind; reproduction combines with sex gratification the sordid motive of increasing the family's earning capacity.

Out of such conditions what can society expect?

These evils are destroying the home, and with its destruction passes the most powerful influence for good in the life of the Nation. The foundation of society is being sapped and undermined.

The progeny of such homes as these are not an asset but a burden. They may furnish cheap la-

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bor and an abundance of it for the employer. but it is cheap only to him. Society pays the deficit and pays it with interest. Poverty, degeneracy, vice and crime—these are items on the debit side that foot a tremendous aggregate. No commodities are sold at bargain prices because of underpaid labor for which the full cost must not be met by society in the long run.

Society is awaking to these facts. Society is awaking to the peril that threatens its peace and order and stability. It is beginning to understand that a superstructure built upon a human foundation depends for its security upon the willingness of the foundation to "stay put." There are many indications that submission has ceased to be a virtue characteristic of the social underpinning. The real pillars—made by the brain and brawn of labor—are quaking in a fashion that is disturbing to those who promenade upon the roof-gardens of our civilization, and they are peering over the edge to discover the cause of this uneasiness.

It is as well. Causes exist, and only by their removal can stability be restored. Civilization cannot continue as an inverted economic pyra-

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mid, delicately balanced upon the fine point of poverty and carrying above the huge weight of concentrated billions.

There must be readjustment. The right to work; the right to share a just proportion of the wealth that labor produces; the right to live and to enjoy life in its abundance, must be recognized by society as the portion of every man and woman who contributes a fair quota to the social good, and the portion of every child who is born into the world.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL WRONGS AND REMEDIES:

THE PROBLEM OF WAGES

Glittering generalities are not characteristic of the Progressive programme. Its leaders are often accused of being dreamers, and the accusation has its element of truth. But the dream of an era in which wrongs will be righted and righteousness will prevail in human relationships is surely a nobler mental attitude than passive submission to the nightmare of conditions as they exist today.

Every pioneer has been a dreamer, and every great achievement of civilization is a dream come true.

The Progressives have dreamed, and from the mount of vision have descended to the plains of every day life determined to find a way in which the dream may be made actual. They are hitching their stars to their wagons, if the old metaphor may be reversed, and are going to pull the wagons out of the mire on to a higher level of experience and opportunity.

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In approaching a solution of the problems that involve a readjustment of the present order so as to comply with the newer ideals of social and industrial justice we are confronted with the wages system as one that offers evidences of serious abuses demanding remedy.

There is, perhaps, no more difficult or delicate phase of the general problem than this. In order that we may the better understand its significance and the wisdom of the methods suggested for improving the conditions that are incidental to it, we must devote a few paragraphs to a consideration of what wages are, and what they imply as to the mutual responsibility of employers and employes.

Under our industrial system labor is looked upon and treated as a commodity to be bought in the market at a price usually fixed by competition and the law of supply and demand. That price is the wage.

Few men would choose to work for a wage if the opportunity were open for them to earn an independent livelihood.

Most men must work for a wage because the means for earning a livelihood are so largely controlled by the comparatively few.

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Since the introduction of machinery in industry this condition has been greatly emphasized and grows increasingly acute.

The tools of wealth production are now generally owned by those who cannot use them, and used by those who cannot own them.

The owners constitute a minority, the users a vast majority. Thus it has become a fact that the masses of the people are dependent for an opportunity to earn a living upon the pleasure and profit of the comparatively few.

They can only produce wealth as they are able to gain access to its source and to the tools by which it can be produced, and they may only retain that portion of it which the owners are willing to grant them, or which, by organization, they can demand effectively.

This analysis of the situation discloses the basis for what the Socialist terms the "class struggle," or the conflict between the owners and the workers for the wealth produced by toil. It is useless to deny the existence of this struggle. Every strike is an evidence of it. Labor unions, on the one hand, and employers' associations, on the other, are the organized forces opposing one

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another. Boards of arbitration, welfare organizations and similar factors that engage in the effort to promote better understanding, prove the existence of the struggle. The mere circumstance that here and there a truce has been effected, and here and there a local industry pursues its way without conflict or disturbance may encourage the hope of ultimate adjustment, but does not disprove the contention that industry today is on a war footing, with a more or less clearly defined class cleavage.

In the nature of things this class struggle cannot continue forever. Even were this possible it would be most undesirable from the standpoint of the social good.

The Socialist predicts its end in the elimination of the owning class, and to hasten this culmination preaches his doctrine of "class consciousness"—or the solidarity of working class interest as opposed to the interests of its employers.

The Progressive predicts its end in the readjustment of relations between workers and owners, the gradual wiping out of the present disparity, and, instead of "class consciousness,"

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preaches "social consciousness." It is the conviction of the present writer that one or other of these two gospels must prevail. By which method the problem will be solved depends largely upon the attitude of the owning class.

The owning class must recognize its social responsibility. It is numerically inferior, but economically superior, and its economic superiority, for the present, gives it the dominant position. But since the minority has obtained, by whatever means, control of those things that are essential to the very existence of the majority, and is exercising that control for its own profits, the minority must be made to acknowledge its social obligation to the majority.

Nor is this obligation discharged by the mere provision of employment. It is not a rare thing to hear the employer boast of his social value because he gives work to so many men and women. This is no credit to him. He would not give the work if he were not making a profit from the workers. The moment conditions become such in his particular industry that it is no longer to his advantage to permit the workers access to his tools and raw materials he will close the doors of

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his factory and turn the men and women he employs out on the street to find a living where and how they may.

This is not because everybody who can use his commodities is amply supplied; not because everybody in the land is fed and clothed and housed in comfort, but simply because he can no longer dispose of his product at a profit on the toil of his workers.

Between running full time at good wages and absolute suspension of activity there are many gradations answering to the owner's interest. He may retain his workers and cut down the hours and the aggregate of wages; he may discharge a portion of his working force; he may lessen the rate of wages; or, in times of unusual opportunity for profit-making, he may employ various methods for speeding production at the least possible increase in cost.

The general law governing wages is a tendency to sink to a bare subsistence level. Enough must be paid the worker to enable him to live and to breed his kind, since it is essential, for the success of the existing system, that a working class be perpetuated.

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This law is modified by that of supply and demand. Where certain sorts of labor are scarce—usually skilled labor—wages will rise as a consequence. But the machine age has tended to lessen the need for skilled labor, and the army of mere workers has grown enormously.

Another modifying influence is that of labor organizations. The awakening of labor to a consciousness of its own need for organized self-defence has resulted in the unions employing the methods of industrial warfare to compell better conditions and higher wages. It is a class effort to control the labor market, much as the trust is a class effort to control the commodity market. That this fact is generally recognized may be judged from the application of the Sherman anti-trust law to labor as well as to capital. From this stand-point both the labor union and the trust are anti-social features of the existing industrial mal-adjustment.

There comes now a third factor in the situation—the quickening of a sense of social obligation, due, on the one hand, to an ethical revival, and, on the other, to alarm at the restlessness of the workers and the general insecurity of society.

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This last factor finds sporadic illustrations in an increasing tendency on the part of employers to make welfare work a feature of their industries. The Progressive movement is its political expression. It deliberately seeks a readjustment on the basis of social responsibility.

We must devote a special word to women and wages. It is an almost invariable rule that a lower scale of wages is paid to women than to men. The general assumption is that this is because women are less efficient than men. I think the assumption is mistaken. In many industries women are preferred to men because of their peculiar fitness, and yet receive wages lower than men would be offered for similar work.

Long custom has regarded man as the natural bread-winner and woman as an economic dependent. This view survives the time when women were home-keepers; when their domestic duties fully occupied them; when they were not forced by necessity to become factory workers and saleswomen. Early marriages prevailed in those days, and the man was expected to bear the full burden of maintenance for wife and children. Thus the standard of his wage was set at family, rather than individual, subsistence.

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And when women began to emerge from the home, following the occupations that had been transferred from the household to the factory, this view of her as an economic dependent upon man set a lower standard for her wage. That standard persists. Unconsciously it has controlled the attitude of the employer toward the woman wage-earner. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that it has been buttressed by the fact that woman, in her sex, possesses a saleable commodity with which she can reinforce her wage. This fact is but another phase of her economic dependence, and only by making her economically independent can the necessity for a sex market as one of the most hideous features of our modern social life be abolished.

Much has been said and written of late upon this disturbing phase of a great problem. There is evidence of a profound stirring of the public conscience and many investigations are on foot that will contribute to our better understanding. In the meantime it may be said with emphasis that there is an intimate relation between economic necessity, due to low wages, and prostitution. The voluntary prostitute is the exception

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among those of the industrial class. Need drives on the one hand and creates the opportunity for greed to exploit on the other.

We must reckon with the fact that vice today is a commercialized institution, a vast, profit-making system. The day of the independent prostitute has passed. Now she is the white slave of the procurer and the madame. Vice maintains its agents to solicit, persuade and entrap its victims; these victims are chiefly found among those who, by reason of low standards of living, lack resistive power or protection. In the measure in which the girl and the woman-worker are made economically independent, in that measure are they removed beyond the easy reach of these human vultures.

Recent statistics show that about 60 per cent of the women workers in the Eastern States get less than \$325 a year, and only ten per cent get more than \$500. The remaining 30 per cent range between these figures.

The average annual wage of industrial workers throughout the country is about \$600 a year. Investigation of conditions in Lawrence, Mass., after the textile strike in 1912, showed that one

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third of the employes earned less than \$7 a week when working full time, and 36 per cent of this number were males.

The Russell Sage Foundation has estimated that an income under \$800 is not sufficient to permit the maintenance of a normal standard for a family consisting of man, wife and three children. An income of \$900 or over, it is estimated, will allow the maintenance of a normal standard, at least so far as actual physical wants are concerned. But whether an income between \$800 and \$900 is sufficient is left an undetermined question. This is the twilight zone of wages.

Thus it will be seen that the average income of the industrial worker—\$600— falls considerably below the level of the minimum. According to the statistics of the 1910 census in the manufacturing industries the average income is only about \$520, and 75 per cent of the workers earn even less.

The "human deficit" that is represented by these figures may be imagined. It means that 75 per cent of the wage earners and those who depend upon them are existing on a level far below normal, under conditions that devitalize and degrade.

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The Progressive party proposes three methods of endeavor to better this deplorable and perilous state of affairs:

Publicity.

Minimum wage standards for women.

Denial of tariff privileges to industries that fail to pay their employees a living wage.

PUBLICITY:—Provisions will be made for the compulsory filing of wage schedules by employers in all industries. All tallies, weights, measures and check systems on labor products will be subject to public inspection. Hours and conditions of toil will be a matter of record. This information will be gathered by the Department of Labor, of the Federal Government, in the case of interstate industry, and by such officials as the law may designate in States where the Progressive programme is adopted. It will constitute a basis for legislation and regulation, and the publicity involved should exercise a powerful influence toward improving conditions. The social conscience is reached and educated through publicity, and few men or institutions can stand exposure to its aroused indignation. Facts that are concealed in the private knowledge of those

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to whose advantage they may contribute derive a tremendous power for reform when they become known to the people generally. To be dynamic information must be specific, and it is by the publication of detailed statements concerning wages, conditions of toil and similar matters bearing on the welfare of the workers that the Progressives believe much may be done to end the exploitation of labor.

This information is of common concern. The people are entitled to it. Society must meet the human deficit, must make good for it, and society has the right to know why the deficit exists and how it may be lessened if not wholly eliminated.

THE MINIMUM WAGE:—The Progressive programme proposes to apply the minimum wage principle to women workers. It may be necessary to extend the application to all wage earners, but for the present it is thought best to begin with that class which suffers most from underpayment, and the economic dependence of which constitutes a peculiar peril to the individual worker and to society as a whole.

The organization of women workers has been successful only in very limited degree. The con-

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stant fluctuation in the ranks of the women who toil, due to the fact that so many marry and retire from the field of labor, or from the trade in which they began their wage earning career, while others drop out to recruit the army of the underworld, makes it exceedingly difficult to establish effective unions. Thus the women are lacking in the ability to protect their own interests which has enabled the men to obtain in many instances better wages and better conditions for work.

Minimum wage laws are not an untried experiment. Many of the arguments urged against them may be answered from the actual experience of other countries where they have been under test for years. This is notably the case in New Zealand and Australia. Great Britain adopted the principle more recently, and is gradually extending it to many of its industries.

The minimum wage principle proposes to fix by law the lowest wage essential to maintain human efficiency.

There are two plans generally recognized by which this principle may be put in operation.

A specific minimum figure may be fixed for all

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industries. This is the plan that was proposed in a bill before the Illinois legislature at the session of 1918, the minimum of \$12 per week being named as the lowest lawful wage to be paid a woman or girl.

The other plan contemplates the creation of wage boards in various industries to be charged with the duty and authority of determining the minimum standard in their particular industries. This is the method that was adopted by Victoria, a province of Australia, as long ago as 1896. The boards consist of equal numbers of employers and employees from the affected trade, with an impartial chairman. They are empowered to determine the lowest wages that may be paid, to fix a rate for time or piece-work or both, and, by implication, to regulate the hours of labor. Provision is made for apprentices, and the boards may fix the number to be allowed and the character of their work.

More recently an act has been passed permitting an appeal to the industrial court, a tribunal created for dealing with disputes arising in industry. This appeal is to be taken only when the wage board is unable to agree upon a wage

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sufficiently high to ensure an adequate income to the workers. The industrial court is empowered to take the necessary steps in order to obtain a living wage for all employees in the affected trade.

The wage boards act only when there is a dispute over wages between employers and employees, and have no authority to intervene on their own initiative. In New Zealand, where labor unions are recognized by law and made responsible bodies, any union may lodge a complaint with the arbitration court, which is final authority on all industrial disputes. This court is frequently called upon to fix a minimum wage, and invariably sets a standard considerably in advance of a bare subsistence figure.

Both in Australia and in New Zealand the minimum wage policy has proven an effective means for stamping out sweat shop conditions, and has contributed to the stability of industry generally. It has overcome the original prejudice of employers, and it is by no means an uncommon thing to find members of the employing class voluntarily inviting the operation of the law.

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This plan of wage boards is approved by the Progressive movement as wiser, more elastic and more satisfactory to all the interests involved than that by which a specific wage is fixed as a minimum for all industries and all localities. Massachusetts has adopted the principle on a voluntary basis. A statute provides for boards to arbitrate wages and fix a minimum, but no provision is made for enforcing the finding.

Critics of the minimum wage raise the objection that it will result in depriving thousands of inefficient workers of employment, since employers cannot afford to pay the higher rate fixed by law to any but those who are able to give service justifying it. In-so-far as this objection is valid it has been met in New Zealand by granting under-rate permits to the inefficient. In five years only 1,288 availed themselves of this right.

The underlying principle of the minimum wage is that any worker who is worth employing at all is worth enough to ensure a living at an efficiency standard. But the inefficiency permit makes it possible for those who are too old to do a normal measure of work to obtain such employment as they have capacity for at small wage.

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Furthermore it stimulates the younger, who are often inefficient from more or less controllable causes, to apply themselves with greater diligence. For such the inefficiency permit is a stigma they recoil from inviting.

It should be borne in mind that inefficiency will grow less as the minimum wage principle becomes generally enforced, since it in itself will remove one of the chief causes. As the standard of living is improved by better wages so the average of efficiency will improve. This objection—probably the most serious that has been offered—will disappear with the generation that grows up under minimum wage conditions.

Another objection that is occasionally made is the danger that the superior workers will suffer from a minimum wage that raises the average standard of wages. It is feared that employers will feel unable to reward sufficiently the worker whose merit is above the average. But this danger is largely counteracted by the competition that exists for the services of those who are unusually capable. In New Zealand and Australia the only difficulty experienced on this score has been in cases where the minimum has been made unreasonably high.

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A further objection is that the minimum wage will lead to the supplanting of women workers by men, and hence will occasion an additional hardship upon the sex that is now so generally underpaid. The obvious answer to this objection is that anything which will increase the opportunities for men to find employment, thus lessening the number of unemployed and decreasing the competition among job-seekers, will be a wholesome factor in the industrial situation. If there are enough idle men to take the places of the women workers, and they are given employment at a living wage, it means the possibility of keeping the young girls at home or in school and of a return to the early marriages that obtained before economic necessity drove so many women into industry. This would be a distinct gain to society and the homes of the people.

It is worth observing, however, that the opponents of a minimum wage standard are the very people who most often declare that no man who really wants to work need be unemployed. If this be true it is difficult to understand where the men are to be found who will supplant the millions of women now engaged in industry.

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And the same observation applies to the objection already considered to the effect that the inefficient would be crowded out to make room for the efficient. Where are the efficient? Are we to understand that there are better workers idle in sufficient number to occupy the vacant positions that would be created by a wholesale dismissal of the so-called inefficient? If this be true what are we to think of the business system that employs inefficiency in preference to efficiency?

Recent discussion of the minimum wage principle, arising out of investigations held by legislative committees and other bodies, has gone far to strengthen the view that the problem is one to be dealt with nationally. The complaint made against State legislation by employers is that it will put the industries of the minimum wage state at a competitive disadvantage with those of states where wages are not standardized by law. This complaint is reasonable. The Progressive movement recognizes the national character of industrial problems and advocates the exercise of Federal power for their solution so far as the constitution will permit. It is prepared to urge

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amendment of the constitution if this be necessary in order to obtain the freedom for a complete readjustment in harmony with the principles it believes should underlie the industrial and social system of the Nation.

REGULATION BY TARIFFS — The following significant paragraph occurs in the Progressive platform under the caption "Tariff":—

"We believe in a protective tariff which shall equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries, both for the farmer and the manufacturer, AND WHICH SHALL MAINTAIN FOR LABOR AN ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING. PRIMARILY THE BENEFIT OF ANY TARIFF SHOULD BE DISCLOSED IN THE ENVELOPE OF THE LABORER. WE DECLARE THAT NO INDUSTRY DESERVES PROTECTION WHICH IS UNFAIR TO LABOR."

It has always been the boast—immediately prior to elections—of the Republican party that its protective tariff was a guarantee of higher wages and steadier employment to the workers. The boast has proved an empty one in many cases. It was notably an empty one in the case of the woolen trust, the most highly favored of all

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industries under the tariff. The Lawrence, Mass., investigation showed that cruelly low wages prevailed, and that the full benefit of the protection bestowed upon this trade was going into the pockets of the employers.

The Progressive platform proposes to make good the boast of the Republican protectionists. It proposes to employ the tariff primarily as a means of protecting wages and compelling a decent living standard. There seems little doubt that this can be done, given the motive to do it. A nonpartisan, scientific tariff commission, such as the Progressive movement contemplates, in possession of all the facts would be in a position to recommend such withdrawal of tariff privileges as would penalize any industry unfair to its workers.

So far in America the chief influence working for a higher standard of living has been that of organized labor. The labor unions have established their own minimum wage laws in many industries. But the unions include only a small proportion of the wage-earners of the country. Many unions are weak, and employers' associations have developed formidable strength in op-

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posing them. For the unorganized workers and for those whose organizations lack the necessary strength to champion them effectively—and in these classes is embraced an over-whelming majority of the toilers—the only hope lies in action through government.

The serious undertaking of the wage problem as a part of the Progressive movement is a big step toward the goal of social readjustment. That goal will never be reached under the absolute wage dependence of our existing system. We must keep in mind a bigger ideal than the living wage, an ideal set forth by Theodore Roosevelt in the following sentence from his "Confession of Faith."

"Ultimately we desire to use the government to aid as far as can safely be done in helping the industrial tool-users to become in part tool-owners, just as our farmers now are."

It is in this direction that economic freedom lies, and only through economic freedom and industrial democracy can the full happiness of all the people be realized.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL WRONGS AND REMEDIES:

CHILD LABOR

“Every child has a right to be well born, well nourished and well protected; to be a child and to have a chance to play. To cheat the child out of its childhood is the greatest wrong that can be committed by society. It were better that its industries should be sunk in the depths of the sea, than that it should build its profits out of the labor of little children.”

These strong, true words are from the pen of Dr. Batten, secretary of the social Service committee of the Northern Baptist convention.

More than 300,000 children, between the ages of ten and fifteen, are employed in the manufacturing and mechanical industries of the United States. Nearly 2,000,000 between the same ages is the total employed in all “gainful occupations,” including agriculture, trade and domestic service.

Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts and Illinois lead all the states in the number of chil-

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dren engaged in factory work. The Southern states have the biggest aggregate of child workers, but it is largely swollen by those children who are employed in the fields. It is obvious then that the problem of child labor is not sectional. North as well as South is concerned. It is an evil national in its scope. The importance of this will be noted later when we come to a discussion of remedial measures.

In spite of the fact that few of our modern social problems have received more attention than this, and that for years earnest men and women have been talking and writing against this evil, one still finds occasionally, even outside the ranks of those who profit directly by the employment of children, some seemingly intelligent and well-intentioned people who profess to believe that child labor is not an ill; that, indeed, it is often a blessing.

In view of this singular persistence of an extraordinary idea it may be as well to consider some phases of the child labor problem as it affects both the child and society at large—for it does concern society, and that in a most serious manner.

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The period between the ages of ten and fifteen is one of the most vital importance, physically, mentally and morally. It is a period, under normal development, of rapid bodily growth and mental unfoldment. It is the time when sex consciousness is dawning and the sex organs themselves are developing; during these years the child nature is peculiarly susceptible to impressions; habits, inclinations, moral tendencies are acquired that shape the whole life.

The hope of healthful, sane, efficient maturity depends upon the influences that mould the child at this period. The welfare of society depends upon the attainment of such maturity. Thus is the individual good bound up with the social.

The place for the child at such a time is in the home and the school, under the care of those who understand his needs, who sympathize with him, who see in him material for manhood and not opportunity for profit.

But 2,000,000 children of this sensitive age are in "gainful occupations." Of these 300,000 or more are working in the confinement of factories, an almost equal number are in domestic service, and approximately 100,000 are employed in

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trade and transportation. To none of these can childhood mean what it should. Not one of them has a fair chance.

Every student of childhood agrees that play is an essential factor in normal development. The kitten plays, the puppy plays, all young animals play. It is thus that they discover themselves mentally and physically. Only in play can be found the freedom necessary for such discovery, the liberty for the life forces to expand and express themselves. To eliminate the play of childhood is to rob it of a necessary element in its completeness, and to deprive it of an inherent right.

But the factory child cannot play. His waking hours are occupied with exacting and monotonous toil. The very inclination for play is squeezed out of him, and his little child soul is left dry and exhausted by the demands of his task.

At this mouldable period, when all the fluid life forces are taking the shape of whatever environment they may be furnished, he is put to work at some machine. For twelve or fourteen hours a day he repeats over and over again some

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narrowly limited series of motions. Day after day and week after week it is the same tedious, unvarying round. He becomes, like the machine he operates, a mere mechanism. All faculties atrophy except those that are called into exercise by his task, and they soon assume a habit that narrows them into a deadening channel of automatic repetition. The child is practically paralyzed for any other work than that on which he is engaged.

Take into the reckoning, also, the drain upon the vital forces that such long hours of monotonous and exigent toil involve. Life is being extravagantly burned for profit. Nerve strength is being woven by the machine into cheap commodities—commodities that will sell for a few cents, and be called cheap, but that have cost a price too high to estimate in dollars. This child, before one-third of his life has been lived, will be ready for the human waste heap—one of industry's discards, lightly cast aside because he may be so easily replaced.

This is but the physical side of the question. What has been done to the mind of the child? It has been deprived of education. At the un-

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developed age of ten it is suddenly forced into a groove where it must shrink and shrivel. The factory associations are far from wholesome. An infant in years the child becomes the companion of adults, too often callously indifferent to his innocence.

He hears and sees things that deprave and brutalize. He gets a viewpoint that distorts and discolors the whole vista of life. His starved childhood, stupefied by the monotony of his toil, seeks external stimulus that is often harmful. Do you grant a child a soul? Then what chance has it under such conditions? What can God mean to this child? The foreman who reprimands him harshly when he falls behind in his work, or when his tired fingers stumble, may be a deacon in the church. The employer who lives upon the profit of his toil may be a philanthropist. Will the God of the foreman and the employer appeal to the soul of the child?

To this picture there may be exceptions. Child labor may not be always as hopeless, always as degrading. But in-so-far as it substitutes work for play; denies opportunity for education, and takes the child out of the home at an

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age when he is most impressionable, it can only be harmful. It means—it must mean—a heavy discount on his chances, a burdensome handicap in the struggle for existence.

And what does society pay for this exploitation of childhood? It puts the home in the price. In many localities the whole family works in the factories. Mother, father and children toil all day or all night. There is no home life. The dwelling is merely a shelter, a place in which the exhausted frames may cast themselves down to sleep.

What a terrible cost is this! Society cannot afford to lose the home. It is too great a sacrifice to make for hasty dividends. It means the reaping of a tragic harvest, a harvest that is garnered into jails, penitentiaries, asylums and other institutions established by society for its wreckage of dependents and degenerates.

Let Jane Addams tell another phase of the social cost. As head of Hull House she was watching the career of a certain girl. The child had a fair home, and a mother who was a good woman, but a working-woman. The girl was employed during the day, but at night was seen

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frequently on the streets in the company of undesirable associates. An appeal to her mother brought tears and protestations of regret, but the statement that she feared to say anything to the child because she contributed to the maintenance of the family, and might leave home if she were crossed. The girl herself was spoken to. She replied, "My Ma can't say anything to me--- I pay the rent."

But it is not merely the home of the child that is menaced, nor the child's own character. The home of the woman into whom the child may grow, if her toil leaves her sufficient strength to survive the incidental ills of immaturity, must carry the physical and moral mortgage of a crushed and distorted childhood. What fitness can the woman with such a youth history have for bearing young and nurturing them? Physically, nervously and mentally depleted she gives birth to offspring that perpetuate her own deficit of vitality.

Again and again it must be repeated that these human deficits cannot go unpaid. In the long-run a settlement is exacted from society, and the law that enforces a just balance takes no account of persons or classes.

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You, who have bought bargains at the store counter from some pallid girl worker, you were making a temporary profit from her small wage and from the long hours and low wages of hundreds of children in the mills, whose life-fibre is woven into the material that costs but a few cents from your purse.

But do not think that you can escape the reckoning. Out of the poverty of soul and mind and body that is created by this system comes a Nemesis—crime, degeneracy, disease—that may lay its avenging hand upon your home, far removed though it be from the wretched conditions that bred it.

Nor is the industrial system immune from the cost of seeking quick profits through the exploitation of childhood. It too must pay eventually for its waste of human life. Scott Nearing, in his excellent book "Social Adjustment", quotes the treasurer of the Alabama City Cotton Mill as saying: "Every time I visit this mill I am impressed with the fact that it is a great mistake to employ small help in the spinning room. Not only is it wrong from a humanitarian standpoint, but it entails an absolute loss to the mill."

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Children are not reliable help. They are quick and active at first; they cost little; but they are wasteful, subject to accident and apt to make serious mistakes.

But the economic folly of child labor is best seen in the heavy discount it makes upon the future value to industry of the growing generation. S. W. Woodward, in "A Business Man's View of Child Labor," writes, "It may be stated as a safe proposition that for every dollar earned by a child under fourteen years of age, tenfold will be taken from their earning capacity in later years."

Even as we were permitting the waste of our timber resources, until the inauguration of the conservation policy, and discounting the future prosperity of the Nation by our extravagant exploitation of this invaluable possession, so child labor is wasting the human resources upon which the industrial efficiency of tomorrow must depend. If industry is too blind to see this fact, then society, for its own protection, must step in and put an end to a course so stupidly and cruelly destructive.

And here again we have emphasized the Progressive philosophy of the social organism.

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Whether child labor shall be used is not the private affair of the employer, or the mutual affair of the parent and the employer. It is the problem of all society. Parent and employer, even with the child's consent and approval, cannot be allowed to dispose of society's right in the child as an integral part of its organism.

Like most such evils child-labor arises from an economic cause. It is closely related to the low wage problem which we considered in the last chapter. On the one hand we have the family necessity for increasing the income, and on the other the avidity of the employer for a large profit margin over cost of labor. These things conspire to force the child into industry.

In discussing wages it was shown that the average earnings of the working class family, where but one bread-winner is employed, are barely enough to maintain two adults and three children at a starvation level. If the family goes beyond the limit of size, or aspires to any greater measure of security and subsistence, it involves the need that one or more of the children should join the earning ranks.

Scott Nearing, in his book to which I have re-

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ferred, lays much emphasis upon a faulty school system as a contributory cause of child labor, and there is unquestionably justification for his contention in such instances as lack the provocation of economic necessity.

He contends that school, in many cases, loses its attraction for the child at about the age of 13, and that it takes but small inducement or encouragement to persuade him to leave the classroom for the store or factory.

The over-crowding evil is characteristic of city schools. It results in making the problem of discipline for the teacher a bigger one than that of teaching, and destroys all opportunity for individual attention. In a room with forty pupils the average teacher is at a serious disadvantage. The work becomes mass work, in which personal needs and idiosyncracies have to be subordinated to the necessity for order and progress on the part of the whole. The child who is a little backward, who is physically below par, who lacks, not mentality, but quick apprehension, suffers discouragement and welcomes the chance to escape into a life where he fancies he will have greater liberty and larger opportunity.

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And yet this is the child that is in greatest need of help; to whom the prolongation of school life means most in the end.

The increasing tendency to adopt manual training and domestic science as features of common school education will greatly help to correct this weakness by imparting an interest to school work that directly relates it to the life-struggle.

There are two proposals in the Progressive programme that bear upon the solution of the child labor problem. One declares for the abolition of child-labor; the other urges the establishment of vocational schools or continuation classes for industrial education.

Efforts to end child-labor by State legislation have been met with the opposing argument, frequently referred to in previous chapters, that its abolition will put the industries of the State so affected at a serious disadvantage in competing with industries in states where child-labor is permitted. That this, from the employers' standpoint, is a real objection must be admitted, and we have no right to impose a hardship that may be avoided by some other and equally effec-

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tive method of attaining the same end. Child labor legislation should issue from the Federal Government as well as from state governments. The one source of authority must reinforce the other, as in the case of the Mann white slave law and the Webb liquor bill.

Both these measures are based upon the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, and the former has been sustained by the Supreme Court in an opinion that not merely upheld this specific law, but laid down the general principle that Congress has the right to impose such restrictions upon interstate commerce as may be necessary for the public welfare, or to ensure effect to laws in the interests of public morals enacted by state legislatures.

And it was through this channel that former Senator Beveridge proposed, when in the Senate, to reach the evil of child-labor. His bill was designed to forbid interstate commerce in the products of child-labor. Thus the employment of children in factories of any size or importance, or in industries conducted under contract in the homes of the poor, would have been made profitless—the only thing necessary to impell an abandonment of the practise.

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Other forms of juvenile industry, such as domestic service—over the propriety of which there may be room for debate, much depending upon the character of the household and the attitude of the employer—and employment in trade, such as stores, offices, messenger service and similar occupations, would have to be regulated by state law.

That these forms of industry should be regulated is a fact recognized by every student of child welfare. For example statistics show that more prostitutes are recruited from domestic service than from any other field of work. The demoralizing influence of night messenger work on young boys is well understood. It brings them into touch with the underworld in its most vicious and degrading aspects. They are sent to houses of prostitution, and become familiar with the ugliest phases of immorality. In some states the employment of boys for night work of this character has been prohibited.

The effect of prohibiting child-labor would be to force an increase in the wages of the industries affected, inasmuch as it would lead to the withdrawal from the labor market of a cheap and

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plentiful supply, thus lessening the wage-lowering competition for jobs.

The committee on Standards of Living and Labor of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections sets forth as the minimum regulation that society should require, the following:

“The absolute prohibition of factory labor for children under fourteen.

“The limitation of labor to eight hours for children under eighteen.

“The exclusion of the young from night labor and from hazardous and poisonous occupations.”

These restrictions are well within the limit of what is reasonable. We will have to go farther in all probability, but that is a matter for the education of the social conscience and deliberate consideration of all the interests involved.

Much has been done already toward improving conditions in many of the states. There are few that have not passed some regulatory legislation, and a most encouraging tendency toward creating a higher standard is evidenced.

We have already noted the improvement in the educational situation that is gradually coming about by a modernizing of the school curricu-

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lum. If in this programme there is included the provision for continuation schools, so that youths of 14 and over can have opportunity to carry on their studies along lines that will fit them for greater efficiency, the evil of illiteracy as a phase of juvenile labor will be greatly mitigated. The per cent of children who complete their common school education and enter the high schools is astonishingly small, in some centers being as low as 5 per cent. The continuation school, devoted to a vocational curriculum, will meet the need of the large number, who, for various causes, fall short of full equipment for life.

Where such schools exist, and they have been established with the most excellent effect in not a few cities, they are planned so as to be convenient for young people engaged in industry, the classes, usually, being held in the evening.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL WRONGS AND REMEDIES:

INDUSTRIAL ILLS AND HAZARDS

Any thorough plan of social and industrial readjustment must take into consideration certain ill^s and hazards that are characteristic of our modern system, and that are responsible in no small degree for the human deficit which is an automatically increasing burden upon society.

OVERWORK:—Overwork may be defined as a draft upon human energy that leaves a growing deficit for which the ordinarily available means of rest and recuperation is not sufficient to compensate. It is due chiefly to two causes—long hours and speeding.

It is now established as a physiological fact that fatigue is a condition of auto-poisoning induced by over-exertion of the physical functions. It creates in the blood and muscle tissue an element that accumulates when not counteracted by its only antidote—rest, thus producing exhaustion with such impairment of the resistive powers of the body as to make the victim easily susceptible to disease.

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A period of eight hours—one third of the day—has been generally accepted as a normal period of work. Beyond this period each added hour increases the peril of fatigue and tends to a depletion of vitality below the point of recovery. When, as is not infrequently the case, the work period extends to 12 or 14 hours, the menace of fatigue becomes grave indeed. In most industries the working day is from ten to eleven hours.

In some industries, usually described as “seasonal,” the long hours are confined to several months of the year when a “rush” is on. This involves idleness on the part of many of the employes during the dull time, a hardship of industry that must be included in the programme of betterment.

Speeding is the other primary cause of overwork. This very prevalent factory method often disguises itself under the name of efficiency. As a matter of fact it is, in its customary form, the deadly enemy of real efficiency.

Various plans for speeding are employed, all of them intended to intensify the concentration of the worker upon his task, and to quicken his operation to the limit of endurance. Sometimes

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this purpose is accomplished by so multiplying the capacity of the machine for each operative that he will have from two to twenty times as great an area for observation and control as was formerly considered enough for one worker. Scott Nearing instances the fact that girl shirt-waist makers in New York complained that where formerly they each had only one needle to watch, now many of them have from two to twenty needles, moving at a rate double that which marked the earlier machines. When the needles break, the thread catches, or some one of a dozen things goes wrong, the strain is greatly increased, and the knowledge that the workers are being watched by the critical and censorious eyes of a foreman intensifies the nervous pressure.

The improvement in machinery—that is to say the increase in machine capacity requiring closer concentration on the part of the operative—has more than kept pace with whatever shortening of hours marks the last decade in industry. Under the speeding system the vital exhaustion in eight hours may equal that in twelve under the old plan, and may even exceed it.

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Another speeding plan is the use of pace-makers, or experts, who set a standard to which the others are constantly urged to attain. In some cases a bonus is offered for all work over a specified amount. In spite of the compensation the result of this method is physically harmful.

When this over-strain is combined with unsanitary conditions of factory premises, foul air, poor ventilation and bodily discomfort, the situation is greatly aggravated.

Prof. Irving Fisher, of New Haven, Conn., says "The economic waste from fatigue is probably much greater than the waste from serious illness." Tuberculosis and neurastheneia are often traceable to fatigue. It is provocative of an excessive use of alcohol and narcotics, and some students think it is a contributory cause to immorality through its tendency to reduce the power of self control and to increase the desire for the artificial stimulus of excitement.

The danger of accidents is unquestionably increased by fatigue. An investigation in France in a single industry, and including in its scope 6695 workingmen, showed that the tendency to accident increased by 400 per cent from 7 o'clock

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in the morning to 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Out of 521 accidents tabulated, only 25 occurred between 7 and 8 in the morning, whereas 118 occurred between 5 and 6 in the afternoon. It is significant that the number of accidents increased up to noon, during the hour preceding which 68 occurred, but that after the noon rest, between the hours of 1 and 2, they dropped to 18, quickly rising again as the day advanced.

Finally the deprivation of leisure due to over-work militates against the intelligence of the working class, and thus creates the danger of blind mass movements for relief that are too frequently destructive and reactionary rather than constructive and progressive.

The remedy for this evil lies in a shortening of hours of labor and a proper adjustment of work in order that intensity may be kept within the limits of true human efficiency. The Progressive programme proposes prohibition of night work and an eight hour day for all women and young persons in industry, and one full day's rest for all wage workers. It further proposes that in continuous twenty-four hour industries three eight hour shifts be made obligatory by law,

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irrespective of the sex of the workers. Eventually the eight hour principle will be made universal. There is no sound reason, under a sanely adjusted industrial system why any man or woman should toil for wages longer than eight hours a day.

HAZARDS OF INDUSTRY:—There are certain hazards of industry against which the average wage earner takes no precaution. Many of these risks are not to be foreseen in individual cases, and for the general risk the means are not at hand to make provision. Many of them are beyond the control of the workers, and must be accepted as incidental to the struggle for existence.

These hazards may be summarized as follows:—Industrial accidents, sickness, unemployment and old age.

For the consequences of all there is a method of social mitigation and remedy. For two, at least, much can be done by way of prevention. Industrial accidents and sickness are avoidable hazards under a system where social responsibility is recognized and enforced. The peril of unemployment may be largely lessened. For

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old age, of course, there is no preventive. It must be provided for as an inevitable climax to the normal working life.

Before discussing briefly the Progressive programme for dealing with these problems it will be well to give some idea of their scope and importance. I am largely indebted to a work by Henry Rogers Seager, Professor of Political Economy in Columbia University, for the facts and figures employed.

The proportion of industrial accidents to the thousand wage-earners in this country is probably greater than in any other country in the world with a claim to be considered civilized. It is estimated that our railroads kill nearly three times and injure five times as many per thousand as the railroads of Great Britain; we kill two and one half times as many and injure five times as many as Germany; we kill more than three times as many and injure nine times as many as Austria-Hungary. Exclusive of accidents reported by switching and terminal companies, the railroads of the United States killed 2,610 employes and injured 75,006 in 1909. The comparison in the mining industry is only slightly less

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unfavorable. In 1910 mining fatalities in the United States were 2838 and persons injured 7830. We have little reason to believe that conditions are much better in the factories; but here, owing to the lack of any provision for registration, we are without statistics. In this failure to keep track of our industrial dead and wounded we are far behind other nations. It is assuredly a disgrace to us that we hold human life so cheap as to make no provision for counting the cost of our industrial system in terms of men and women slain, disabled and spent. Our neglect is largely responsible for our failure to better conditions that are so cruelly extravagant. The Progressive programme, by requiring a strict accounting for human life, even if it did no more, would accomplish much toward reform.

Reckoning on the fact that deaths from accident to railroad and mining employes average over 5,000 a year, a total of 80,000 fatalities for all industries is probably not far astray. This is the estimate made by Prof. Seager. The number of non-fatal accidents can only be guessed. Statisticians vary widely in their figures. F. L. Hoffman, an acknowledged authority, puts the

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total at 2,000,000, while Prof. R. P. Falkner thinks 500,000 amply big enough to cover the field. The truth may lie between the two. In any event it is sufficiently shameful to provoke our indignation and to promote our earnest endeavor for betterment. Arthur B. Reeve is quoted by Scott Nearing as saying "It is not unwarrantable to assert that we send to the hospital or the graveyard one worker every minute of the year."

Prof. Irving Fisher estimates that the amount of annual sickness in the United States is equivalent to 8,000,000 people sick all the year round. He thinks about one-third of this number are in the working period of life. Much of this sickness is due to the unsanitary conditions of homes and places of employment, occupational diseases and similar preventable causes. The annual number of deaths in the United States ranges between one and a half and two million. It is assumed that from 600,000 to 750,000 are preventable or postponable. Out of ninety tabulated causes of death seven account for more than half the preventable shortening of life, and these seven are charged with cutting eight years off the average duration of life in the United States.

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In considering the problem of unemployment we are again confronted by a deplorable lack of information. Scott Nearing, after a study of all available statistics, advances the belief that "In a normal year one man in every two will be unemployed, and that the unemployment will average 60 days, or one-fifth of the working time. In a normal year the average wage earner under \$750 has one chance in two of losing one-fifth of the working time." Again he says "unemployment is *always* a factor in modern industry," and Prof. Seager says, "The statement 'any capable man who really wants work can always find it' is still sometimes heard. No doubt at one time in this country it was substantially true. To continue to believe it now, however, is to betray one's ignorance of the industrial conditions that surround us."

The individual causes of unemployment are mainly sickness, accident and inefficiency; but we have seen that these are all social as well as individual, being the result of conditions over which the individual has little or no control. The industrial causes are business depression, labor troubles, seasonal trades, lack of stock and transportation facilities, and casual trades.

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It is obvious that the prevention of unemployment involves a long and thorough work of readjustment. The shortening of the hours of labor will contribute toward solving the problem, since the shorter the working hours the greater the number of workers required to maintain the output. Raising the standard of living by paying better wages will lessen the amount of sickness and inefficiency. Accidents may be greatly reduced in total by insistence upon the responsibility of employers and the provision for safety appliances, together with a mitigation of the overwork evil. Industrial causes are to be reached only through such changes in our system as will give greater stability to industry, promote friendlier relations between workers and employers and correct the tendency to seasonal concentration in certain trades.

The first step toward remedying these conditions is information and publicity. Provision for this is an important feature of the Progressive programme. "Full reports upon industrial accidents and diseases, and the opening to public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures and check systems on labor products," is part of the platform demand.

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In the meantime, while readjustment is being affected, it is necessary to make provision against the consequences of accidents, sickness, unemployment and old age. In their present uncared for liberty to work social ravage they are a tremendous menace to the common welfare, an enormous economic waste. Upon this phase of the problem the Progressive programme says:

"We pledge ourselves to work for standards of compensation for death by industrial accidents and injury and trade diseases which will transfer the burden of lost earnings from the families of working people to the industry, and thus to the community; the protection of home life against the hazards of sickness, irregular employment and old age through the adoption of social insurance adapted to American use."

Here are two lines of remedial legislation:—
Workmen's compensation and industrial insurance.

No new experiment is suggested. These ideas are commonplaces in many European countries and in Australia and New Zealand. We are behind the vanguard of civilization in such matters.

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Employers' liability laws in the United States have been far from satisfactory, unjust to labor and economically extravagant. In many instances they have been so limited in application by the old common law rules of "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence" and "fellow servant" that they have had little or no value for the employe. Theodore Roosevelt has fully discussed this phase of the issue in articles contributed to various publications. The tendency of the awakened social conscience is to abandon these unfair restrictions upon the wage-earner's right to compensation.

It seems peculiarly unjust to insist that a man who is forced by need to accept any job that is open to him assumes all the risks attendant upon his work, and thus frees the employer from responsibility for his welfare. But that position has been taken by the courts time and time again, and many a crippled worker has been turned helplessly adrift, and many a widow left without compensation for the death of her husband. Of course society has had to bear the burden of this dependence in order that industry may go free. Nor is the burden well borne in a

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great majority of instances. Charity is not the right nor the wise solution for such a problem.

Equally unjust is the rule that holds an employer free from blame where it can be shown that the injury was occasioned through the fault of some other employe than the one hurt. The workman does not choose his fellow workmen. He is not free to hire and to dismiss. He must accept the risk of toiling with men who may be careless or inexperienced, or go jobless and hungry.

Contributory negligence has on the face of it a larger reasonableness, and yet it has been often employed so as to work the greatest injustice and hardship. Contributory negligence may be the result of overwork or physical inefficiency caused by low wages.

The more enlightened view regards accidents and occupational diseases as incidental to industry—risks assumed by the employer as surely as the risk of a mechanical break-down or a fire. It views the consequences of them as a social problem to be met by social responsibility.

Out of existing laws are bred the claim fixer and the ambulance chaser, parasites of the worst

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type, feeding upon the misfortunes of the workers and the embarrassments of the employers. The average employers' liability law is a prolific source of law suits, in which the plaintiff is at serious disadvantage through lack of means where-with to conduct his suit for damages. In the majority of instances he is compelled to employ a lawyer on the basis of a contingent fee, and the bar is not lacking in lawyers who exploit such clients to the furthest limit.

We need a system of compensation that will standardize the value of life and limb in industry and secure the automatic payment of a just award in case of injury or death. By such a system we would deprive the parasites of occupation and free the courts from countless damage suits. We would give the worker a chance that is now impossible.

During the last thirty years over a score of European countries have wholly abandoned the theory that the workman should bear the burden of industrial accidents, and laws have been passed providing for compensation through various agencies. Germany's plan is compulsory insurance. Austria follows the same method.

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Norway requires employers to insure their employes in a state insurance department. England has a law that is generally conceded to be of peculiar excellence. It prescribes specifically the employer's obligation to compensate his workers, and the amount of compensation he must pay, scaled according to the nature of the injury and the degree of dependence of those involved when the accident results fatally. It does not dictate the method by which the employer must meet the obligation. If he so chooses he may insure against it, in which event recovery may be had from the insurance company up to the limit of its contractual obligation in case the employer fails in business. A provision in the English law, making the employes preferred creditors up to \$500, is a measure of protection in case the employer becomes insolvent without having insured.

Constitutional difficulties have been experienced in the enactment of compensation measures in this country, and some amendments to the fundamental law of the states may be necessary before satisfactory legislation can be put upon the statute books.

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The problem of unemployment is more complex and difficult of solution. It will yield ultimately only to a complete readjustment that removes or greatly mitigates its chief causes. The tramp and the vagrant are social pariahs abnormal to a healthy condition of society, but not to be changed into desirable citizens by any mere surface reform.

State and municipal labor exchanges, similar to those in Germany, may prove of value in bettering conditions. They would make it easier for the sincere job-seeker to find work, and would assist employers to obtain the quality of labor they needed by enumeration and classification of the unemployed.

Industrial and farm colonies for the habitual vagrant, to which he may be committed by law, are another factor in solving the problem.

Insurance against unemployment, proposed by the Progressive programme, is unquestionably a fair and salutary policy, but there are difficulties in the way of its successful operation. Here the tramp figures as an undeserving applicant for its benefits. It is hard to limit it to the involuntarily idle. Labor unions in Great

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Britain and Europe have made a success of the plan, owing to their control of a well-organized membership. England has adopted a policy of unemployment insurance which is still in the experimental stage.

But some better system than our present policy of relief is assuredly necessary. Relief work is so obviously charity that it tends to destroy self-respect and to demoralize the recipients. It may be necessary from purely humanitarian impulses, in order to save from the immediate danger of starving or perishing from cold and exposure, to dole out the bread and coffee and groceries, the cast-off clothing and the financial pittance; but we have done nothing to help to a permanently higher living standard, which ought to be the aim of all such effort.

The problem of dependent old age has received much attention in Europe, where it is more acute than in this country. It is, however, increasing in seriousness with us, and must be given consideration.

Within the scope of this book it is impossible to review the various plans that have been adopted to meet this need. Germany handles it

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by compulsory insurance to which both employers and employes contribute. Denmark, England, New Zealand and Australia have established old age pension systems on a national scale. The Australian plan may be described as more or less typical.

The applicant must be at least 65 years of age; must have lived in the country for 25 years continuously prior to the date of application; must be of good character, temperate and reputable for the five years preceding application; must not have deserted husband, wife or children, and must be in need of assistance. This last requirement is defined as having not more than \$260 income and not owning more than \$1500 worth of property. The maximum pension is \$180 a year, and this is scaled down in proportion to the applicant's income from other sources so as to make the total not more than \$260.

Victor Berger, the Socialist Representative from Milwaukee, introduced an old age pensions bill in the last Congress, on lines similar to the Australian law.

This whole field of remedial legislation for industrial ills is one that makes demand upon the

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best thought and most earnest effort of the Progressives. The movement has called to its help the wisest experts on social questions in the country, and a deliberate effort is being made to reach conclusions upon which sound legislation may be drafted suited to American conditions. A special committee was sent to Europe in order to study the laws that have been adopted there. Never in the history of the country has any political movement commanded the cooperation of such an army of scientific and sympathetic students as is now engaged in working out a programme of human welfare and industrial justice for the workers of the United States.

CHAPTER XI

CONSERVING RURAL LIFE

The farm is the source from which flow the revitalizing life currents of the Nation. It is a platitude that the best in the professional and industrial life of the country springs from contact with the soil. If this well of health, energy and vision should become dry we would be in a decade on the verge of national degeneracy. What is done for the farm is done for the good of all. The whole organic structure of our civilization is affected, both socially and economically, in things moral and in things material, by those conditions that obtain in the rural communities.

The Progressive movement views the welfare of the farmer in this broad relation. It fits his problem into a big, coherent plan that recognizes the intimate connection of all the varied factors in our national life.

Industrial revolution is transforming the world of agriculture as it has transformed the manufacturing world. Many can recall the time when all the work of the farm was done by man-

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ual labor assisted by horses and mules. Before that oxen were used. I have seen men reaping a field of wheat with an old hand cradle—a slow, toilsome and back-breaking process. I have seen the threshing floor and the flail. These were in remote regions, isolated from the world where invention has relegated such ancient tools to the museums.

The first step toward modernization came when men began to breed horses and mules scientifically, and developed strains that were specially adapted to the work of the farm. It was then that the rule of thumb, the purely intuitive dependence upon the lore of the fields, and the credulous faith in the changes of the moon began to retreat slowly before an advancing wave of exact knowledge. The next step was the application of mechanical ingenuity to farming. The reaper and binder, the threshing machine and other marvellous devices for the multiplying of human capacity appeared in the fields. The third step was the introduction of power—the traction engine drove the horse and mules from their long accustomed work. The work of transformation proceeds apace.

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Of course all this has meant a far-reaching change in the economic conditions of the farm. It has reduced the demand for unskilled labor, thus throwing back upon the cities men who were wont to find employment in the fields. It has made it possible for one man to do the work of ten. It has shortened the time necessary for the processes of agriculture by days. It has created a condition of competition in which the farmer of small capital is at a serious disadvantage, owing to his inability to possess the improved machinery that the man of larger means can employ.

Coincidentally with the development of farm machinery the life of the rural communities has been tremendously influenced by educational work. As yet this is really in its infancy, but the magnificent promise of it is manifest in what has been accomplished. The Federal Department of Agriculture, the state departments, experimental farms, agricultural colleges and the public schools have done much to infuse the business of farming with the scientific spirit. Farmers have learned invaluable lessons concerning the nature of soil and its adaptability to various kinds of crops; the importance of drainage for

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the conserving and distribution of moisture; the necessity of fertilization and the comparative worth of different fertilizers; the rotation of crops; intensified cultivation; the curing and preparation of farm products for market, and a score of other things vitally connected with profitable agriculture.

In recent years land reclamation has been a significant feature of the rural movement. Irrigation and the preservation of the soil through conserving the forests have assumed increasing importance as factors in the problem. All these things have been combined to maintain agricultural production at a standard adequate to the needs of population.

And yet in spite of what has been done, the tendency to a concentration of population in cities is unchecked. The drift from the fields to the urban centers is a serious phase of the national life. In another decade, if there is not a recession of the tide, the aggregate urban population will exceed the rural. In 1900 the people in the cities constituted 40.5 per cent of the total; in 1910 they constituted 46.3 per cent. The total increase in the acreage of farm land during

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the same decade was only 4.2 per cent, in spite of all that had been done to make the handling of large acreage easy, and in spite of all reclamation projects. Parallel with this showing of slow increase in area of cultivated territory is an extraordinary increase in the value of farm lands. The average value per acre in 1900 was \$15.57. In 1910 it had jumped to \$32.49, a gain of 108.7 per cent. Thus the "back to the farm" agitation is met by the fact that a return costs twice as much today as it did ten years ago.

Another significant indication of the changing conditions in farm life is found in the increase of tenant farmers in the last ten years. In 1900 there were 2,024,964 reported; in 1910 the number had grown to 2,349,284, or an increase of slightly more than 16 per cent. In 1910 the number of farm owners who had mortgages on their farms was 1,811,864, or almost exactly one-third of all farm owners.

The actual number of farms, apart from any consideration of acreage, increased in the decade by only 10.5 per cent, while the population of the United States for the same period showed an increase of 21 per cent, or exactly double.

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From these figures it will be seen that agriculture is not keeping pace with the Nation's development, and this is a serious fact with important bearing upon the welfare of the Nation.

What are the causes? Where must we look for a remedy? How can we conserve rural life as the sweet and wholesome source of what is best and strongest in the life of the country?

It was in order to gather information that would enable an intelligent answer to be made to these questions that Theodore Roosevelt, during his presidential term, created the Country Life Commission. It was one of those big, far-seeing policies that marked this man as among the great constructive statesmen of his time.

Excellent work was done by that commission, and its reports are authoritative sources of fact and suggestion. But Mr. Taft, in a moment of economy, abolished it. If the Progressive programme were given national enactment it would restore this commission, and give the interests of the farmer once more a paramount place in the politics of the Nation.

Undoubtedly one of the chief disintegrating influences in the rural community is the lack of

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organization of the farm life as a business and as a social institution. We have seen the tremendous significance of the word cooperation in other phases of national life. It stands for the reorganizing principle that means greater efficiency, larger opportunity, more evenly distributed prosperity and a better chance for happiness for everybody. Cooperation must be translated into the needs of the farming community.

Another influence that militates against the farm is the specious appeal of the city to its youth.

The lure of the city is largely the lure of life. The youth of the rural districts conceive the city as a center of magic and a field of boundless opportunity. Its glamor fascinates them, and at a distance conceals the hideous perils and the possible suffering that await their unaccustomed entrance within its web of complex interests and demands. Against this lure must be opposed such a bettering of rural conditions, such an improvement of opportunities for an enriched life as will counteract and outweigh the deceptive urban promise.

The Progressive programme proposes the pro-

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motion of rural cooperation as the method by which farm life may be reorganized on a basis of greater profit and larger educational and social opportunity.

In this programme the activity of the farmer himself is absolutely essential. Not a little has been done on his initiative to make a beginning, but it has had small encouragement as yet through governmental agencies, and we are still far from approximating the complete recognition of the importance of agricultural interests that has been reached in other countries. Granges, equity societies and other organizations have exercised a powerful influence in preparing the way for more thorough cooperative work.

There are four main lines for cooperation in the rural community upon which much may be accomplished to better conditions of living. They are production, marketing, purchase and neighborhood improvement.

Cooperation in production involves the joint ownership, by farmers of small capital, of the modern machinery for farm work. Where one farmer may find the possession of a traction engine and other costly implements beyond his

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means, by combination with others he can obtain the use of these advantageous accessories. In like manner farmers may unite to establish cheese factories and canning factories for their own products, keeping in their own hands the opportunity for profit so frequently passed on to others.

Cooperation in marketing contemplates a mutual arrangement for the gathering, storing and disposal of their produce under the most profitable circumstances. It compells the buyer to deal with the producers collectively, instead of as individuals, and thus eliminates the possibility of pitting one farmer against another in the attempt to force a low price. It opens the way for large shipments and the getting of a better rate from the common carrier.

Cooperation in purchasing merely reverses the situation, and gives the farmer the advantage of collective buying in large quantities.

Cooperative factories, warehouses, grain elevators and stores are features of this combination of interests that have proved of immense value in many instances. This kind of mutual effort is not new nor even uncommon, but its possibilities

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as yet are only touched. Much remains to be done in the teaching of the farmer the business principles that make such cooperation successful, and in facilitating its practise. The existence of trusts and combinations in control of practically everything the farmer produces has made necessary the adoption of similar tactics for his own defence. The legal problem is involved in the readjustment of agriculture to meet the new conditions, and the regulation of cooperation in this field will be as necessary as in that of commerce and industry. It is important that in its infancy a programme should be defined for the development of the cooperative phase. Once the farmers as a class become imbued with the principle of combination its growth is likely to be rapid, and the same perils will attend its unregulated development as have marked the uncontrolled evolution of big business.

In Denmark, where cooperation among farmers has reached a very high state of development, especially in dairying, the Government plays an important role in its encouragement. It has fostered the organization of cooperative societies. In order to exercise a sort of supervi-

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ory care the Royal Danish Society exists as a Government institution. It supplies an inspector for every society that has not less than 1,000 cows. He visits each farmer every 18 days, and inspects the condition of his dairy, offering such advice and suggestions as may be deemed necessary, and making report to the Royal Society. An extraordinary standard of efficiency is thus maintained.

Cooperation in neighborhood improvement opens a wide range for effort. It implies the wider use of the existing facilities for social betterment, and the extension of such service as is afforded by the schools, the libraries, the telephone, roads, trolley lines and other features of modern life.

To take the best of what is in the city to the country is part of the work to be done. To bring literature and art and music within reach of those who live by tilling the soil; to make the theatre contribute its share of pleasure, and all the time to educate, educate, educate, so that the glittering temptations of the city will lose their charms for minds that are instructed and occupied with better things—this is all essential to the work of readjustment.

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Here, as elsewhere, the home is the strategic center. The farmer must be encouraged to make his home attractive to his sons and daughters. Not all the money should be devoted to the purchase of labor-saving machinery for the field; some should go to making the work of the kitchen and the laundry easier. Even more important than a piano or an organ for the parlor, are conveniences for the housewife—the kitchen cabinet, the stove with an oven that does not require the cook to get down on her knees every time she bakes, the vacuum cleaner and the washing machine. I have known farmer's wives who read of all these things in the advertising pages of the magazines, and grew old and rheumatic sighing for them, while their husbands had all the latest contrivances in field and barn. This should not be. Make the home-work easier; make the home life more attractive. This is the beginning of rural conservation.

Hand-in-hand with this goes the improvement of the rural school. Today the ideal is the consolidated school. It is the evolution of the little "deestrick" schoolhouse. Several district schools, so often small and poorly equipped, ugly and un-

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comfortable, are united into one commodious, well-equipped school centrally located. Usually a site is chosen where several roads intersect. By this plan all the advantages of proper grading may be obtained, better teachers can be employed, and the combined strength of several districts is able to maintain one well furnished plant at a degree of efficiency impossible when the available means is distributed over three or four.

I have in mind such a school, admirably conceived. It has light and airy class-rooms, an ample play-ground, and a large space reserved for an experimental truck-garden. In an adjoining building provision is made for manual training and domestic science. The upper floor of the school is one large room suitable for neighborhood meetings. Such an institution will exercise an untold influence for good in the community. It will enlist the interest and sympathy of the parents, and make the life of the farm attractive to the children.

The introduction of domestic science and manual training in the rural schools ought to be accomplished as speedily as possible. The chief thing our educational system needs is a direct re-

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lation to the actual problems and tasks of life. The girls of our farm homes should be taught those things that will develop an intelligent interest in the art and science of the home; the boys should learn to be the carpenters, the mechanics and the architects of the farm. The doing of things, and the power that comes from knowledge of how to do them—that is what puts interest and zest into life for youth as well as age. The boy who can construct a creditable, well-planned and well built hen house, or make his own incubator, or repair a pump, or do a dozen things around a farm, will find farm life worth while, and will be much more likely to stick to it than the boy who has merely a smattering of academic knowledge and no ready means of putting it to use.

The teaching of scientific agriculture is a most important factor. A splendid impetus has been given this work recently by the organization of boys' corn clubs, and of tomato clubs for the girls. Boys are learning to double and treble the acre productivity in corn and other crops, and girls are learning how to grow and to can tomatoes and other garden products. Nor does

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the value of this work end with the instruction of the younger generation. The remarkable success of boys and girls has quickened the interest of the adult farmers, and many who clung conservatively to traditional methods, turning an indifferent ear to the advice of experts, are now revising their system of cultivation and adopting the better plan of science. It is another illustration of the old Scriptural saying, "a little child shall lead them."

It is significant that business men in the city have been interested through this juvenile work in the problems and possibilities of the farm as never before. They are being taught the intimate relation between the rural community and the city, and another link is being forged in the cooperative chain, the chain of better understanding and mutual confidence, that will bind society into a helpfully progressive whole.

One of the most practical questions that demands consideration in the work of improving the farmer's lot is that of facilitating rural credit. It is manifest that the great work of building up the agricultural interests, some of the possibilities of which we have been discussing, de-

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pend upon the ability of the individual farmer to finance his own projects. It must be made easier for the thrifty, industrious man of limited capital to obtain such financial help as he may need in order to promote the development of his farm in its profitable possibilities.

We have referred to the assistance given by the Government of Denmark to its farming community. Denmark has, for many years, been the farmer's banker in the matter of loans. It encourages small holdings on the part of agricultural workers. Every man or unmarried woman who is an agricultural worker is entitled, on certain conditions, to receive a loan from the State for the purchase of a small holding. This holding must not exceed in value \$2,144, and the loan may amount to nine-tenths of the value. The State takes a mortgage on the holding, including buildings, implements, live stock etc., and charges 3 per cent interest per annum. The loan is exempt from installments for the first five years, after which the payment of interest and installments is made half yearly. This principle is further extended to Government support of credit societies which are organized for

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the purpose of purchasing large agricultural properties that may be parcelled out to small owners. The societies are organized under Government supervision. Through them and with the aid of the Government the man who is purchasing a small holding can borrow up to the full value of the property, thus leaving him free to use whatever resources he may possess for buying live stock and implements.

Obviously this system in many of its features is not adapted to American use, but it affords an interesting illustration of how the Government may promote the interests of agriculture and encourage the taking up and cultivation of land by men who would otherwise be forced to join the class of wage-earning dependents.

Mr. B. F. Yoakum, prominent in railroad circles and a writer on economic and industrial questions, has suggested a plan that he believes could be adopted with great advantage in this country. He takes for his model the Credit Foncier of France. Briefly he proposes an institution of semi-governmental character, having on its board of directors the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Treasury and two

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other representatives of the Government, and organized as a stock company with \$50,000,000 capital, \$5,000,000 to be sold at not less than par, and additional amounts not exceeding \$5,000,000 to be issued in any one year, as approved by the directors. Provision could be made for branch organizations in the different states. The objects of the company would be to loan money on mortgages, not exceeding 50 per cent of the ascertained value, in amounts to be paid in easy installments or on long terms; to purchase and sell land mortgages, bonds or land debentures, with authority to loan produce growers' cooperative associations where properly organized and incorporated under the laws of the state giving protection to lenders.

Unquestionably this or some similar plan will be evolved. The question is one which the small army of experts identified with the Progressive movement will give earnest attention.

The ideas suggested in this chapter indicate the lines upon which a political party, seized with a sense of its social responsibility and making service the aim of its existence, may accomplish much to reestablish agriculture upon a firm basis,

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and to foster the life of the rural community so as to check the urban drift and to increase the attractiveness of the farm as a career for intelligent youth and an opportunity for the making of beautiful and happy homes.

No programme of social readjustment can ignore the problem of the farm as a factor of fundamental importance.

CHAPTER XII

THE "TRUSTS" AND "BIG" BUSINESS

The problem that confronts us in this chapter is responsible for more confused thinking and bewildering discussion than any other that has arisen out of present day conditions.

That business in its modern form demands a restatement of governmental relationship has been made clear, I think, in earlier chapters. We have seen that it is one of the critical points requiring a readjustment of the social organism in order to promote the healthful growth of the Nation and the welfare of all the people.

The Republican party advanced as its programme the use of the Sherman law, together with auxilliary legislation of a kind to clarify its intent, for the purpose of preventing monopoly. The Sherman law was given fair test under the administration of President Taft as an instrument of this policy. The test produced a continual clamor of prosecution and a series of entertaining legal pyrotechnics. Certain trusts were "dissolved"—notably the Standard Oil and

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Tobacco trusts—whereupon their securities mounted in value; their undisturbed owners added millions of unearned wealth overnight, and the people found themselves footing the bill in higher prices for the commodities these industries produced.

It is exceedingly doubtful if the ostensible object of the so-called dissolutions—the restoration of competition—was measurably achieved. It is certainly true that the wage-earner and the consumer have not profited to the extent of a dollar by the Republican crusade.

The Democratic party, more strongly impressed than even the Republicans with the desirability of competition, proposes to eliminate the idea of "reasonable restraint" from the Sherman law, and to precipitate itself in implacable warfare against all business combination. The outcome of such propaganda must be worse than that pursued by the Republicans. It will result in a disastrous disturbance of business to no good end, and its impossibilism will become more manifest with every step.

Neither of the old parties has gotten the broader view, the more enlightened conception

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of business that may be termed the social view. Each is trying to deal with the problem as if it were a separate and distinct phase of the Nation's life, an abnormal excrescence to be treated by local applications.

But the Progressive movement approaches the problem from a deeper understanding of its nature; it has gone back of symptoms to consider causes. It does not stop short at a high and unjust tariff and say, with President Wilson, "Here is the source of all our ills." It recognizes the tariff, in its Republican guise, as a tool of special privilege, but not a cause of the trust and monopoly.

The Progressive view-point regards business as a function of the social organism; so-called big business and the trusts are the outcome of economic and industrial evolution, a normal development of the common life of the country. We are all interested in the welfare of business. We can serve no desirable end by seeking to check its growth as long as that growth is controlled by laws that comprehend the general good. The trust is not the work of individual genius, nor yet any group of supermen in indus-

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try or finance. It is the outgrowth of our industrial life, in which all have had a share—the wage-earner, the consumer and the capitalist.

Therefore it is under obligation to all, and must justify its existence by sharing with the public the fruits of its success. Accordingly the Progressives seek neither to protect big business as a stronghold of privilege, nor yet to destroy it as an efficient form of industry and commerce.

Their aim is to conserve all its possibilities for social usefulness as an effective factor in a greater and more justly distributed national prosperity.

Frankly recognizing the economic conditions that make for big business, and the social value of industry organized upon a large scale for production and distribution, the Progressive movement proposes a programme that will give little business an opportunity to grow bigger and impell big business to be honest; and by honesty is meant more than a mere technical obedience to the law of business as it stands; more than scrupulously fair dealing with competitors—it includes an acknowledgement of obligation to the people as they are represented by the workers and consumers.

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This point of view is sane and in harmony with the philosophy that underlies the Progressive movement. To detach big business from the social organism; to look upon it as an extraordinary phenomenon, the product of unusual financial genius possessed by a few men of superior mentality is not only unsound and unphilosophic—it is dangerous. It encourages the belief of these men that they are entitled to privileges which others are denied, and that they are above the law which governs the mass of men. It leads the mass to look upon big business as separated from their interests, a social and economic monstrosity feeding and fattening upon the people, and so provokes a spirit of unreasoning antagonism, easily convertible into anarchy.

The Progressive movement draws a clear distinction between the incidental evils of our industrial system and the nature of the system itself. Because the growth of the trust has been accompanied by much that is oppressive; because men have hastened normal and orderly processes of economic evolution by arbitrary and often unscrupulous methods, those who cannot see beneath these ills mistake them for an inher-

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ent and inseparable feature of the modern phase of business, and insist upon a return to conditions that prevailed fifty or more years ago as the only remedy.

It is as if men who have been impressed with the horrors of accidents resulting from the use of railroads, trolley cars and automobiles should urge the abandonment of all these modern methods of transit and a return to the days of the ox-cart. The madness of such a proposal is sufficiently obvious to need no comment; but it is not a whit more mad than the proposal to abandon all that has been wrought out in the application of the cooperative idea to business by a return to the era of cut-throat competition.

Suppose such a return as the Democratic party proposes were possible—and I do not believe it is—what would be the result? Competition is a stage of progression; in its very nature it cannot be permanent. It means struggle, rivalry, conflict of interest and effort. Where there is conflict there is eventually the elimination of the weak and the survival of the fit. Thus the reappearance of combination, of the trust, is predestined. They are the inevitable, the inescap-

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able products of competition. Is there anything to be gained in traveling around in a circle in an effort to catch our own tail?

"Our purpose is not to destroy, but to restore," says President Wilson. This policy applied to industry means reaction. The Progressive purpose is not to restore nor to destroy, but to conserve, to develop and to readjust. It is looking forward, not backward. It is not groping in the beginnings of the Nineteenth century to find a remedy for the ills of the Twentieth. It is not satisfied with restoring lost liberties and opportunities. It is seeking to create new liberties and larger opportunities. It proposes to take the material that has come to it in this wonderful century and make the most of it, with the knowledge and experience that are the inheritance and acquirement of the living generation.

Coming from the general to the particular, from the principle to its application, the Progressive movement approaches this task with a definite programme, the central feature of which is the proposal for a Federal administrative commission with jurisdiction over industrial concerns engaged in interstate commerce. The

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commission is to exercise authority similar to that enjoyed by the Interstate Commerce Commission in its regulation of the railroads, or to that employed by the Government in its supervision of national banks.

It is to be the agency through which the Government may instruct and discipline business in the new sense of social responsibility. One of the first ends sought will be the correction of those ills incidental to modern industry. The platform of the Progressive party describes them in general terms as "monopoly of national resources, stock watering, unfair competition and unfair privileges, and sinister influences on the public agencies of state and Nation."

These are the abnormalities of modern business fostered by a feverish greed for gain, but not beyond the reach of wise and courageous treatment. They have been developed by the very spirit of that competitive system which the Democrats propose to restore. "All is fair in love and war—and business," is the revised version of the old saying. In a system where men are battling, not merely for supremacy, but for survival, they will not parley long over ethics.

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Competition is the struggle of a savage individualism. It utterly deadens the social conscience and obscures the social viewpoint. It is only when the struggle has proceeded far enough to eliminate many of those engaged in it, and to substitute groups for individuals, and classes for groups, that the social conscience receives a quickening and regains its vision.

The consolidating of the employing, or capitalist, interests of the country has been paralleled naturally by a consolidating of the labor interests. We have seen as a consequence an arrayal of classes. The Socialist party is the expression of the working class movement; the Republican party has been the expression of the capitalist class, and the Democratic party, in large degree, the expression of the middle-class—the class from which the many are being constantly pushed back and down into the working class, and from which every now and then a few escape into the independent capitalist group.

We have reached the parting of the ways politically and economically. The hour has come when the Nation must choose whether it will follow the road of class strife, or accept the media-

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tion of the Progressive party as the exponent, not of class consciousness, but of social consciousness.

If the philosophy and programme of the Progressive movement are rejected I can see no escape from an ultimate drawing of the issue directly between the workers and the owners, between labor and capital. The Democratic policy of a return to competition may delay the crisis, but it cannot avert it. It will merely confuse the situation, causing vast disturbance and serious loss.

The choice is between revolution on a class conscious basis and readjustment on a socially conscious basis.

The Socialist advocates the former, the Progressives the latter. Both recognize the existence of injustice and both protest against it; but the Progressive movement recognizes also a legitimate function for the capitalist and proposes to mediate in the interests of mutual service for the good of all, whereas the Socialist would wipe out the capitalist on the theory that he is a useless factor in society.

The alert and intelligent member of the capi-

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talist group is aware of the fact that he and his class are under surveillance today; that they are distrusted by many of the people, and that the situation demands, not an arrogant defiance of this critical attitude, but an earnest effort to justify their place in the social organism.

The opportunity to do this is offered by the Progressive movement. The commission it proposes is the means through which it will help to bring about a peaceful readjustment and a better understanding.

It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the evils that are generally admitted to be incidental features of our latter day business development. We may confine ourselves to a consideration of the methods by which the Progressives propose to apply the underlying principles of their philosophy to the elimination of these evils.

The Progressive platform, while recognizing that "the concentration of modern business, in some degree, is both inevitable and necessary for national and international business efficiency," declares that "the existing concentration of vast wealth under a corporate system unguarded and uncontrolled by the nation has put in the hands

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of a few men enormous, secret, irresponsible power over the daily life of the citizen—a power insufferable in a free government and certain of abuse.”

Now here we must distinguish things that differ. It is not necessarily the concentration, nor the corporate system, nor the power that is feared; but the existence of these things “unguarded and uncontrolled”—their secret irresponsibility.

“We do not fear commercial power,” says the platform, “but we insist that it shall be exercised openly, under publicity, supervision and regulation of the most efficient sort, which will preserve its good while eradicating and preventing its evils.”

This is the distinctive feature of the Progressive movement’s attitude toward big business and all business. It does not propose to set an arbitrary limit to growth; it does not propose to make size an offence; but it does propose to prevent growth by oppression, to deprive unscrupulous business of its club and gun and its other weapons of warfare against competitors, and wholesomely to discipline it in a sense of social responsibility.

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Publicity, supervision and regulation are the three remedies to be applied.

Of the merit of the first there can be no question; of the need for the second little doubt can exist in any mind; as to the character and extent of the third there is room for debate, and the final determination must be the result of careful experiment, a step or so at a time, as has been the case in the Government's dealing with the railroads.

The principle of publicity has already been given recognition, in some cases voluntarily, in more as the result of legislation. The corporation tax law, enacted by Congress, involves submission to Government scrutiny of much of the inside facts concerning the operations of interstate business enterprises. Under the Sherman law a sort of supervision and regulation are exercised, but they are of a type and method that result in the maximum of confusion and disturbance with the minimum of good.

The commission proposed by the Progressives would save resort to courts, tedious trials, appeals and rehearings, with all the business uncertainty that obtains while the process continues.

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Its form of regulation would be sympathetic rather than antagonistic. Men would not be stamped as law-breakers until they had refused to comply with the recommendations of the commission for the amendment of their business methods. It is an injustice to assume that all men who have employed means for acquiring wealth and fostering enterprises that are now regarded as anti-social are actuated by a malevolent desire to evade and break laws, or to oppress their fellows.

The Progressive movement assumes the innate decency of men. It assumes that business men would prefer to conduct their affairs in a manner that would win for them the confidence of the masses of the people, than in a fashion to invite their suspicion and enmity. It assumes that the spirit of fair-play is dormant in the hearts of all, and will awaken to a new and stronger demonstration of its beauty under conditions designed to stimulate it and to make it easier of operation.

Nor is the Progressive movement mistaken in this confidence. Thousands of business men will welcome the kind of supervision and regulation that affords guidance for them in the conduct of

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their affairs, pointing the way to compliance with the law and to social cooperation, rather than waiting until wrong has been done, and then hauling the offenders into court. They will welcome such regulation because it will put them all upon an even footing and so eliminate the provocation to that kind of competition which is both demoralizing and destructive. They will welcome it because it will allay public alarm, quiet public suspicion and give to business a placid sea upon which to bring its ventures into port.

Such regulation exists in many states for public utility corporations, and those engaged in this type of enterprise are not only reconciled to being under state control, but actually pleased with the stability it has given to their business and the better feeling it has promoted between themselves and the people whom they serve.

What is true of the utilities commission in the state may prove equally true of an industrial commission in the Nation.

It is the realization of this that has won for the Progressive movement the active support of men prominently connected with big business enterprises. Men of clear vision have seen the utter

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impossibility of a prolonged continuance of existing conditions. A revolutionary crisis impends if some safe and rational and just solution of the pressing economic and industrial problems of the day is not found. It is useless to deny that a spirit of class antagonism has been aroused in recent years. No man of honest intelligence will dispute the fact that injustice exists, that suffering and want are hideously common, that the increasing disparity in the lot of those who are uppermost and those who are lowermost is throwing the social organism out of gear and out of balance, with disaster threatening if an equilibrium is not restored. Self-interest, apart from any higher motive, demands some better system. But enlightened self-interest is merely another name for intelligent altruism. It is the realization of the fundamental truth that the welfare of the individual depends upon the welfare of the whole society of individuals, or, as Theodore Roosevelt sometimes puts it "This can never be a very good country for any of us to live in until it is a good country for all of us to live in."

CHAPTER XIII

THE JUDICIARY AND THE PEOPLE

When Theodore Roosevelt declared his belief in what has been termed "the recall of judicial decisions" there was an immediate storm of criticism and disapproval. This was regarded in conservative quarters as the radical policy of a dangerous demagogue. It was predicted that he had dealt the death blow to his career, and had stamped the movement, of which he became later the most conspicuous exponent, as a dangerous and revolutionary propaganda which the sober sense of the American people would reject.

Since then there has been a remarkable turning of public sentiment toward the support of his position. Not a few states have gone further than he proposed, and have adopted the recall of judges as a principle of their political machinery. Col. Roosevelt and other Progressive leaders are not opposed to this more radical measure, but they have offered the recall of decisions as a substitute in the belief that it will prove effective

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in many instances where the personal recall might fail or work injustice.

During the special session of Congress, called by President Wilson for enacting tariff legislation, we were given the interesting and unexpected spectacle of a Democratic Senator, himself a lawyer of unusual ability and once vice-presidential nominee of his party, declaring in the Senate that certain conditions obtaining in this country were justification for the recall policy advocated by the Progressive movement. Senator Kern, who expressed this view, does not approve the recall of judicial decisions or the recall of judges, but he recognizes that there is provocation on the part of the people for their demand that the courts be made more amenable to popular control, or rather to the control of the enlightened social conscience.

Unquestionably much of the earlier opposition to the recall of judicial decisions was due to misunderstanding of the exact nature of the proposal, and a failure to realize the need that gave it origin.

As a basis for further explanation and discussion it will be well to give here the exact language

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of the Progressive national platform dealing with this reform. It is as follows:

“The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy. To secure this end it pledges itself to provide:

“1. That when an act, passed under the police power of the state is held unconstitutional under the state constitution by the courts, the people, after an ample interval for deliberation, shall have an opportunity to vote on the question whether they desire an act to become law notwithstanding such decision.

“2. That every decision of the highest Appellate Court of a state declaring an act of the Legislature unconstitutional on the ground of the violation of the Federal constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation.”

In these proposals two points are met:—First, the question of constitutionality of legislation under the state constitution; second, the question of

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constitutionality of state legislation under the Federal constitution. It will be noted that the principle of recall, or of popular submission, is sought only for decisions based upon the interpretation of state constitutions. The Supreme Court of the United States is not to be subjected to this form of review.

Further it will be noted that the recall is asked only for decisions affecting legislation, "Passed under the police power of the state."

It will be necessary to define what is meant by "the police power" in order to make clear to the lay mind the exact limitations of the reform proposed.

By far the larger part of the provisions of the state and Federal constitutions are specific provisions, of such definite and explicit character that their meaning is ascertainable without any great difficulty and without much margin for debate or question. They give express form to the will of the people at the time the constitution was adopted, and, if not amended, must be considered to represent the popular intent as they now stand. In precise terms they empower or forbid the doing of certain things by some de-

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partment of government, or by some group of the people.

It is not proposed that the authority of the court to interpret or apply these specific provisions of the constitution shall be subject to any popular review or reversal.

There is a provision, however, in the Federal constitution and in practically all the state constitutions that lacks this definiteness of language and precise quality of meaning and application. It is open to various interpretation, as actual experience proves, and its interpretation is almost wholly based upon the nature of facts and circumstances extraneous to the law itself. It will derive its interpretation from the view-point of the court, affected by the sentiment of the time influenced by precedent and other considerations that are not to be found in the explicit letter of the law. This provision is known generally as that of "due process," and is thus set forth in Article V of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States:—

"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

The Fourteenth Amendment gives the Fed-

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eral authority a sovereign right to the enforcement of this guaranty in the following language:—

“No state shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law.”

Most of the state constitutions have embodied this provision in their language.

Now the fact is that this provision has been subject to a variety of interpretations, frequently conflicting. Thus state courts have held certain legislation to be unconstitutional under its restrictions that the Supreme Court has held to be constitutional; again legislation of precisely similar character has been held constitutional in one state and unconstitutional in another, in both cases the decision turning upon the judicial understanding of this particular provision.

Hence it is obvious that there is in this provision a latitude not shared by others that are more specific, and that its interpretation is not a matter of the precise meaning of language, but rather of judicial view-point.

The “police power” of the state is largely affected by the use made of “due process.”

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Generally "due process" is understood, in its relation to life and liberty, to mean procedure that is in accord with fundamental ideas of fairness and regularity, such as due notice, opportunity to be heard and orderly course of action. In relation to property it is assumed to imply that property shall not be taken by any legislative act which violates fundamental ideas of morality and justice.

But fundamental conceptions of fairness, morality and justice have no absolute or permanent form. They broaden with the enlightenment of conscience and adjust themselves to the changed social and economic conditions of the time. Thus, in 1872, the Supreme Court rendered a decision in the so-called "Slaughter-House Cases" involving the regulative power of the State of Louisiana as affected by the "due process" provision, in which it declared that the police power of a state was,

"the general and rational principle that every person ought to so use his property as not to injure his neighbors, and that private interests must be made subservient to the general interests of the community."

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In *Hurtado v. California* (110 United States Reports, page 516) Mr. Justice Mathews thus expressed himself on the point of "due process."

"There is nothing in Magna Charta, rightly considered as a broad charter of public right and law, which ought to exclude the best ideas of all systems and of every age; and as it was the characteristic principle of the common law to draw its inspiration from every fount of justice, we are not to assume that the sources of its supply have been exhausted. On the contrary, we should expect that the new and various experiences of our own situations and system will mould and shape it into new and not less useful forms."

It is for this view that the Progressive movement contends, and it is this view that has largely controlled the attitude of the Supreme Court in its interpretation of the "due process" requirement. There have been exceptions. Occasionally the personnel of the Court has had a preponderance of men with the narrower vision, and decisions have been given that did not harmonize with the general trend of the Court's opinion. Federal judges in circuit and district courts and state judges are more inclined to the less liberal

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interpretation, and this fact has occasioned much of the popular dissatisfaction amounting to indignant resentment and clamor for reform.

The frequent reversal of lower courts in the Federal jurisdiction, where they have undertaken to interfere with the will of the people expressed through legislation, has served to emphasize the belief that there is need for some means of conserving the popular right to enact enlightened sentiment in statutory law.

This general survey of the situation may be made clearer by illustrating with one or two specific instances. Statutes have been passed in New York state regulating hours of labor in certain industries, or for certain classes of workers. These statutes were carefully modelled after others that had been enacted in other states, and that had been upheld as constitutional by the state courts and by the Supreme Court. Yet the courts of New York have declared these statutes unconstitutional, and the people have been denied the right to legislation designed to protect them in their toil. Nor can an appeal be taken to the Supreme Court in such cases, since no appeal is allowed to the Federal judiciary when

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the Appellate Court of a state has sustained a right asserted under the Federal constitution. Thus a decision adverse to a statute on the grounds that some right granted by the Federal constitution is infringed becomes the settled law of the state, and may be used as a precedent in other states.

The Ives case—officially known as *Ives v. South Buffalo Ry. Co.*, 201 New York Reports, page 271—is an excellent illustration. In this particular case a workingman's compensation act, drawn and revised by members of the New York bar of highest standing and ability, modelled upon similar laws that had stood the test in other states, was held to be unconstitutional by the New York Court of Appeals, without dissenting opinion, on the ground that it was not within the "police power" of the state and that it violated the "due process" provision. The Supreme Court, not long after, in a case of almost exactly similar nature that came up to it through the Connecticut courts, unanimously held the statute to be constitutional.

In the decision of the New York court Judge Werner, who wrote the opinion, said of the "due process" provision:

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"Every man's right to life, liberty and property is to be disposed of in accordance with those ancient and fundamental principles which were in existence when our constitutions were adopted."

Thus it was in following these "ancient" principles that the court reached its decision. It had no place in its thought for any modern viewpoint; it could not recognize the fact that conditions have changed and that the general understanding of what constitutes justice and righteous conduct has evolved to a higher idealism. Even if these things were granted the court held that they were not to be considered as "controlling of our own construction of our own constitution."

It is against this slavish adherence to "ancient" principles that the Progressives protest. They object to being ruled by a dead hand in a living age. They maintain that the constitution should be a vital instrument, possessing the elasticity of ready adjustment to the needs and conscience of the time, and not a straight-jacket fashioned on a model of antique design and laced with strings of precept and precedent belonging to an outgrown era.

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And the so-termed "recall of judicial decision" is aimed at giving to the state constitutions this vitality, this elasticity, this living principle of growth and adjustment. The term is not a wholly fortunate one. It was an adaptation of the phrase "recall of judges" to a less radical process, and has been misleading to some who have given the question only superficial consideration.

Possibly it will be best to point out some of the things that are not contemplated in the "recall of judicial decisions."

First, it in no way affects the United States Supreme Court or its decisions. No one has suggested its application to this body, and, as has been shown, there is small occasion for it. In fact it is rather designed to bring the appellate courts of the states up to the advanced position of the Supreme Court.

Second, it does not apply to any "specific" clause of any constitution. Those clauses that are definite in their permission or prohibition of certain acts, or that prescribe precisely certain conditions and requirements in language that is manifestly self-explanatory, are not contemp-

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lated as in any way subject to the recall principle. It concerns itself only with the "police power" as it is limited by the "due process" provision.

Third, it cannot weaken the protection given by the guaranties of the Federal constitution since behind all state constitutions containing the "due process" proviso is the Federal provision that "No state shall. . . .deprive any person of property without due process of law."

Fourth, it has nothing to do with the recall of judges. It is probable, however, that one result of its adoption would be to remove much of the occasion for the demand for judicial recall.

Fifth, it has no direct bearing on the decision in any specific suit. The referendum to the people would concern a statute rather than a judicial decision. It would determine the prevailing morality, the weight of public conscience as to the statute under question. It could only follow the determination of the highest appellate jurisdiction of the state as to the constitutionality of a statute, and could not be exercised in the case of decisions by lesser courts.

Affirmatively, therefore, it is simply a method

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by which the people may have the right to say that the "due process" clause in their constitution shall not be used to negative a statute deemed by them to be in the interests of the public welfare and in harmony with the enlightened public conscience of the time.

Thus it amounts to a simple plan of amending the constitution by broadening an already established principle to include specific conditions not contemplated at the time the constitution was adopted.

What the people really do is to re-enact a law that their highest state court has declared to be unconstitutional because of its interpretation of the "due process" restriction on the "police power." Or, it might be said, that the people adopt the interpretation of the Supreme Court in preference to the narrower interpretation of their own.

It will be seen that this is not nearly so revolutionary as many have represented the principle to be.

The question may be asked, In what is this plan superior to the existing methods of general constitutional amendment?

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Without making exhaustive answer to this query it may suffice to point out that existing methods of amendment will remain necessary in all cases where there is demand for change in specific clauses of the constitution. Where the language of the constitution no longer expresses the will of the people it is essential that the language should be changed to conform with the new need or the new demand.

But the language of the "due process" clause requires no alteration. No exception is taken by anyone to the fundamental idea of this provision. It is a vitally important requirement, an indispensable safe-guard to the life, liberty and property of the citizen. The objection is to the interpretation placed upon this clause in the case of specific statutes enacted under the police or regulatory power of the state. The so-termed "recall" plan permits of the definition of this provision by the expressed conscience of the people so as to include within its scope the statute that under an older and narrower definition is declared unconstitutional. In other words it gives elasticity to a fundamental principle which no one wants to see abandoned.

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There is always the danger in general amendment of going too far, or of merely providing further material for forensic debate. Many illustrations of this peril could be offered, but we need consider one only. It is proposed to amend the New York state constitution by a somewhat lengthy clause excepting from its "due process" provision laws for the protection of the lives, health, or safety of employes, or for the payment of compensation to workers. Many of the ablest lawyers have collaborated on this amendment, and yet the greatest doubt exists, even in the minds of its authors, as to the possible interpretations that may be placed upon it or to the manner in which at some later time it may be found to conflict with the public interest arising out of new conditions. But, if adopted, there it must stand in the constitution, its verbal preciseness and rigidity, now considered necessary, constituting a possible barrier to further important legislation.

Would it not be a simpler and wiser method to leave the "due process" clause without specific amendment or addition, and to meet the obstacles the courts may raise through its inter-

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pretation by the deliberate voice of the people saying concerning a statute passed by their representatives—"This law is in harmony with what we believe to be the just and humane meaning of 'due process' as required by the constitution"?

For the cases and quotations used in this chapter I am indebted to "Majority Rule and the Judiciary," a most excellent little book dealing with the whole question, of which the author is William L. Ransom, of the New York Bar.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NATION'S BUSINESS

It is not necessary for the purpose of this book to deal in detail with such issues as the tariff, currency, conservation of natural resources, immigration and civil service.

All of these questions have been discussed so fully in the press that to traverse the ground again with thoroughness would be a repetition of much with which the public is familiar. They were not in themselves directly concerned with the birth of the Progressive movement, and their consideration is not essential to the vital features of its programme.

It is true, however, that the movement holds definite opinions, set forth in the platform, which accord with its underlying philosophy, and a chapter may be devoted to noting the position taken in relation to this particular group of issues intimately concerned with the national business.

Fundamentally the Progressive movement recognizes that the commercial situation through-

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out the world has reached a development demanding special attention from the Federal Government. We have come to an era of keen international competition. As we have out-grown the competitive epoch in domestic industries we have found ourselves facing a world-wide fight for foreign markets. The need for extending our operations in order to discover an outlet for our increasing productivity has forced us to look upon other lands with greater interest as possible customers for the commodities we manufacture or the crops we raise.

In this survey we are impressed by the fact that older nations have been before us in laying plans to realize the opportunities of such markets. We are repeatedly told by those who are acquainted with conditions in such countries as as those of South America and the Orient, that Europe has shown a larger appreciation of the need for organized and well adjusted cultivation of their trade than has the United States.

It is important that this country should take the necessary steps to place her industries and her commerce on an equal footing with those of competing nations in obtaining a full and fair

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share of foreign custom. This necessity emphasizes from another stand-point the wisdom of that phase of Progressive policy which recognizes that cooperation and combination at home are essential factors in industrial and commercial success. Any attempt arbitrarily to hinder the legitimate consolidation of strength at home means an inevitable weakening of our efficiency to meet competition abroad. This is by no means the least argument opposed to those who are set upon restoring domestic competition. Their failure to realize that the modern tendency of business is due, in no small degree, to the exigent demands of the world situation is proof of how narrow is the vision they take.

A study of the remarkable achievements of Germany in spreading its commerce throughout the world is convincing to the open mind that the United States, in order to maintain her commercial equality with other nations, must adopt a vigorous policy for the cultivation of this particular department of national activity. Germany has fostered her foreign trade by the most intelligent kind of governmental cooperation, and on the basis of large home units of business.

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To introduce, at this stage, in the United States a policy designed to break up the larger units and to make the regulation of business a matter of state concern, rather than Federal authority, appears to the Progressive view-point a most fatuous and disaster-promising programme.

We have the genius for organization and executive direction highly developed; we have built up an industrial mechanism that is superior to any in the world; we have a class of workers that cannot be excelled. We need only the right adjustment of this system of production to the world problem, with wise governmental cooperation, in order to assure for us a preeminent place among the nations in the matter of commerce.

The reconstruction of our consular service with efficiency as the end in view is one of the first steps demanded by the situation. Congress should further provide, by appropriation, for such bureaus as will contribute to the fostering of our foreign commerce. Our State Department must make it a matter of concern to see that the business interests of the Nation have equal facilities in the necessary details of easily transacting business with other countries. Provision

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must be made for convenient banking, and all that this involves, and every encouragement, apart from class legislation of an offensive and oppressive type, must be given to the exporter.

This broad view of the modern need forms a background for the tariff policy advocated by the Progressive programme.

It is clearly recognized by the Progressives that protection has been employed by the Republican party as a bullwark for special privilege. The making of tariffs has been controlled by a group of men concerned only with retaining for themselves peculiarly profitable opportunities. It has been a class process, anti-social in its nature and opposed in its operation to the common welfare. But this does not mean that the protective principle is, in itself, wrong, or incapable of such use as to be of great advantage to the people at large.

The Progressives have not abandoned protection; they have not accepted the Democratic doctrine of freed trade, or tariff for revenue, or whatever other label may be affixed to it, any more than they have accepted the Democratic doctrine of a return to competition.

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On the contrary, they hold the same attitude toward protection that they hold toward the trusts—they propose to divorce it from the incidental evils that have arisen out of its manipulation by partisan and selfish interests.

Their conception of a tariff is one that will equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries, and maintain for American workers an adequate standard of living. This is opposed to the Democratic conception which seeks a tariff that will force competition between American industries without consideration for its effect upon our foreign trade, or upon the workers employed in our factories.

As we noted in the chapter on wages, the Progressives would use the tariff primarily to obtain justice for the wage-earner. Protection is much like a gun—its value depends upon whom it is used to protect. In the hands of a burglar it is a vicious weapon; in the hands of the household-er, guarding his goods and his family, it is a wise and useful defence. It is true, no doubt, that in the past protection has been held in the hands of privilege, and turned against the workers and the

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people. The Progressives propose to put it in the hands of the people, and to employ it as a means of safe-guarding the common welfare and prosperity.

In order to achieve this end they advocate their distinctive policy—a non-partisan commission of experts, commissioned by Congress to make thorough study of all the facts relating to industry at home and abroad. This study would include comparative costs of material, manufacture, labor, transportation and a comparison of working and living standards. It would be the aim of the commission to fix with accuracy the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad, with these factors in view, and to recommend such measure of protection as would ensure the possibility of American production on an equal competitive basis with that of foreign countries after provision had been made for the adequate care of the American workers.

In other words the Progressive programme would remove by means of a sanely devised protective tariff all excuse for the underpayment of workers in home industries. The tariff would not be treated as a sacred fetich, but as a useful

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instrument for social and industrial purposes. It would be eliminated from the sphere of partisan politics, and made a matter of exact knowledge, a phase of the Nation's business in the interests of the whole Nation. Secrecy would be ended in the framing of schedules. The people would be in possession of the facts. There would be no further opportunity for log-rolling, and the old plan of rule-of-thumb experimentation would be abolished.

Sentiment in favor of this view is unquestionably increasing. The people are wearying of the old ways. They are eager that some bigger issue than the tariff should furnish the national dividing line in politics. The Progressive movement has provided the bigger issues—popular government and human welfare. Sooner or later its programme will be accepted gladly as the better one.

Obviously the question of currency reform is one that cannot be dealt with at length within the limitations set by this book. It is at best so intricate and so technical as to be difficult to deal with in popular fashion. Certain basic considerations may be stated.

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The demand for currency reform originates largely with the banking and speculative class. Business is interested in it chiefly because of having experienced at certain times the embarrassments arising from a sudden tightening of money and a limiting of available currency. Indirectly this condition affects labor and all the people.

Soundness and elasticity are two requisites demanded by the Progressive programme. By soundness is meant a currency having such a basis as will maintain its value under varying industrial and commercial conditions. This is measurably achieved by the gold standard, established in this country and no longer open to serious question. Elasticity involves a currency that may be expanded to meet emergencies, or that will enlarge as the development of the country and its increasing activities require.

The means of obtaining this elasticity, without lessening the sound foundation of the currency is a question for expert study and solution. We cannot here go into it. But back of these requisites is the important consideration that the control of the Nation's currency and credit must be free from private interests and spe-

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cial privilege. Many believe that a greater menace than the inelasticity of our currency system has been the control exercised by big financial groups, and that this remains a danger against which the people must be protected.

The Aldrich currency measure was based upon the ostensible idea of giving to our banking system a stronger footing and our currency a greater elasticity. It failed to meet the approval of the country because it was suspected of playing into the hands of the financial group to whom control of currency and credit means immense power and unlimited opportunity for profit. The peril of currency legislation lies in the tendency, begotten of general ignorance on such matters, to accept the advice of those who are as a class interested in the handling of the Nation's money. Thus it is subjected to a biased judgment. The banking class, not unnaturally, regards its own interests as of superior importance to those of others, and its prejudiced advice in these matters results in obtaining for it a preponderance of consideration.

The Progressive philosophy demands that the banking class be regarded as merely one func-

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tion in the social organism, deserving justice—but no more, in its relation to the whole people. It looks with disapproval upon the present policy of issuing notes through private agencies, and would make this purely a governmental function. In preparing currency legislation it would bring to the issue the best thought of those who have devoted years to economic study as well as the help of men engaged in the actual business of banking. The people can afford better to trust the impartial, broad treatment of this problem by the Progressives, than the treatment which will be accorded it by any political party accustomed to the old, class-consideration of such questions.

The conservation of natural resources is an issue needing little elaboration, beyond emphasizing the vital importance of the Progressive view-point as compared with that of the Democrats. In advocating strongly Federal control of the Nation's natural wealth, in its mines, its forests and its water-power sites, the Progressives do not support a policy of stagnation. It is not their wish to hinder the earliest development of these resources, but merely to prevent their de-

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velopment under such conditions as will deprive the people of their rights in them, and minister to the aggrandizement of great private interests. They insist upon maintaining the agricultural lands in the national forests open to the genuine settler, and in making the grazing lands, similarly situated, available for the stock-raiser and the actual homesteader under fair leasing terms.

The mineral wealth, in coal and oil lands, the Progressives would retain in the control of the State or Nation, opening them up for immediate use under laws encouraging development but preventing monopoly, and securing a moderate return to the people. They lay stress upon the importance that no water power rights should be granted by the government without adequate compensation to the people.

Any policy adopted or propounded by the Democrats is vitiated by their states' rights doctrine, which bars the way to effective Federal action. It is significant that there is a well-defined movement of capital toward the appropriation of natural resources, especially water-power rights, coincidently with a revived agitation for state control. Unless there is some better co-

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operation between state and Federal governments in the protection of these interests of the people, the laissez faire attitude of the Democrats is apt to promote one of the most dangerous of all monopolies—that of natural resources.

From the Progressive view-point it is absurd to consider the coal-fields of Pennsylvania, for example, as purely a Pennsylvanian possession. Millions of people beyond the borders of Pennsylvania are dependent upon these mines. The same thing is true of the oil-wells of Texas, or other states. These mineral resources, although having their location within certain political boundaries, are wealth essential to the national welfare. No sane and just appraisalment of their social value can be satisfied to let their control become a matter of private monopoly through the neglect or corrupt culpability of the state legislature under whose immediate jurisdiction an accident has placed them.

Unfortunately this policy has obtained in the past, and much of what rightly belongs to the people has passed beyond their regulation. Workers and consumers alike pay tribute, and extravagant tribute, to monopolists, whose un-

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checked ownership of the things absolutely essential to human life constitutes a well-nigh intolerable condition.

All students of social problems recognize the importance of immigration as a factor. The foreign element in our population is one that affords subject for serious thought, and adds to the complexities in the task of readjusting our community life upon a more wholesome basis. Immigration has been poorly regulated. We have built at Ellis Island a costly sieve, through the meshes of which we seek to strain the constant stream of life from Europe that flows to our shores. Into the wisdom or unwisdom of the conditions we impose or the manner in which they are enforced, it is not necessary here to enter.

The point requiring emphasis is the inadequacy of this elimination plan—the fact that it meets only one phase of the problem. After the stream has been strained, that portion of it which comes through the sieve is permitted to find its way without direction. As a result we have a strong tendency to urban concentration and to the consequent creating of foreign colon-

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ies in our big cities. These centralized and concentrated bodies of aliens greatly hinder the necessary work of assimilation. They become both a social and an industrial menace, not because they are necessarily of a lower average potentiality for good citizenship and useful employment than the native, but because their grouped condition encourages a conservative adherence to old world customs, ideas and standards of living, and makes them easily exploitable industrially and politically.

The Progressive movement would yield nothing of that traditional policy which has made this country a haven of refuge for the oppressed of Europe and other lands. But it protests against glorying in a tradition that behaves with utter indifference to the welfare of the immigrant once he has landed on our shore. Thus far private agencies have been left the task of ministering to his peculiar needs, and private agencies have been allowed, without control or supervision, to exploit and dominate him.

Progressives urge a well-considered national and state policy that will seek to direct the immigrant tide, after it has passed the wardens at our

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gates, into such channels as will make for its own and the Nation's greatest good.

The Dominion of Canada has set us an excellent example by its intelligent handling of this problem, and under its Department of the Interior has accomplished much to control the quality of immigration and to obtain its disposal advantageously. The agricultural opportunities of its West have been made available for the newcomers, and concentration in the cities has been largely avoided.

We must help the immigrant to find a good location; we must do more than we have been doing to provide him with facilities for education adapted to his special needs, and not confined to the children, but available to the adults. Only thus can we promote that wholesome assimilation of the foreign element upon which the future peace and prosperity of the country so greatly depend.

In concluding this chapter it may be well to note several other matters upon which the Progressive movement, in its national platform, stands committed.

It favors the extension of the civil service to

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all non-political offices, and the placing on a competitive basis of postmasters, collectors, marshals and similar Federal appointees. It is strongly opposed to the injection of party politics into this phase of government business, and insists that men appointed under competition on a merit basis shall hold office during life, efficiency and good behavior. It advocates a well-considered and fair retirement law for the civil-service employe who has passed the years of efficient service with a clean record.

The income tax amendment to the constitution is approved by the Progressives, and a graduated inheritance tax is also urged.

While deploring the survival of the war spirit and the continued growth of armaments, the Progressives support the two-battleship policy as the wisest programme to be pursued until such time as the nations of the world unite to dismantle their navies and lay aside their destructive weapons. They favor every sane proposal looking toward the establishment of peace, but are opposed to the negotiation of any treaty that discriminates between American citizens on the ground of birthplace, race or religion, or that

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fails to recognize the absolute right of expatriation.

This comprises a summary of the Progressive outlook upon the big questions of national business at home and abroad.

CHAPTER XV

THE PROGRESSIVE PROGRAMME IN THE STATE

In many features the programme of the Progressive movement in its relation to state government follows the lines already described in the chapters on popular rule and human welfare.

It is not necessary to discuss again such questions as direct primaries, the initiative, referendum and recall, woman suffrage and the various measures intended for the betterment of those engaged in industry. What has been said of these things applies to the legislative policy of the party in its state activities, and, in such legislatures as have had their quota of Progressives, bills have been introduced, and, in an encouraging number of instances, have been enacted, providing for many of the features in the welfare planks of the national platform.

There are peculiar problems, some of which are not directly associated with the principles of the movement, that face the Progressive party in the several states. Some of these concern its rights and privileges as a political organization.

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It finds itself hampered by primary and election laws that were drafted when there were but two prominent parties in the political arena, and which lack the elasticity necessary to adjust themselves to the new conditions. These are difficulties that vary greatly in detail, and will be met and solved in time. In the earlier activities of the movement they form a serious handicap to its success in the field of electoral combat.

But some of these problems are deeper and more perplexing. They lie in the state constitutions that prevent the enactment of legislation to fulfill the programme of the party. In many states the process of constitutional amendment is slow and tedious. For example it is not infrequently required that a resolution providing for the amendment of the constitution must be approved at two successive sessions of the Legislature before being submitted to the people; further it is often the case that the number of such amending resolutions that may be approved at any one session of the legislature is limited. Illinois, for instance, may not provide for the submission of more than two amendments at one time.

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This makes progress slow where the fundamental law of the state is of old construction and does not contemplate the modern ideas of legislation that are proposed by the movement.

It was the contention of Theodore Roosevelt in his famous address before the Ohio constitutional convention that the process of amending state constitutions should be made easier. Unquestionably this view is finding many adherents. The people realize that it is impossible to embody in the basic law of a state those principles that will make it adaptable to conditions as yet unforeseen. Stability in government is one thing, and rigidity quite another. Stability depends vastly more upon a satisfied electorate, upon a people prosperous and contented, than upon an inflexible and unadjustable constitution. Rigidity provokes discontent. Political, social and industrial evolution need regulation, not restraint, and when the enlightened intelligence and conscience of a community finds itself embarrassed by the restrictions imposed by men of another generation, it becomes restive.

These problems have been solved in some states by making the initiative apply to constitutional

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amending as well as to statutory legislation, and, where Progressive policies prevail this solution will be applied. Under such conditions the constitution, instead of being the dead hand of men of other days, becomes a living, growing organism, almost automatically adjusting itself to the life and conscience and understanding of the time.

Aside from its efforts to promote popular government and human welfare the Progressive movement finds in the state a necessity for keen vigilance in matters affecting the public domain, the natural resources and the utilities. Upon these interests there is being directed a well-defined programme of exploitation by private capital. The revival of the states right doctrine, encouraged by a national Democratic victory, is alluring those who see in the forests, mines and water power of the individual states an opportunity for profit.

The strong tendency toward Federal regulation of interstate commerce and industry has provoked capital to look for less restricted opportunities under the laxer supervision of state administrations. At this point the Progressive move-

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ment must be on guard. It must protest vigorously and unceasingly against all efforts at obtaining a private monopoly of those resources that are essential to the welfare of the whole community, and that may be necessary to the happiness of those in adjoining or more distant commonwealths.

We have seen in the deplorable conditions disclosed in the Cabin and Paint creek districts of West Virginia the peril of permitting private interests to obtain unregulated control of vast and richly endowed territory. The mine owners of these coal valleys had established a feudal despotism against which their dependent workers were compelled to revolt. Untold misery and suffering was occasioned, and the state was put to tremendous cost by the imperative necessity for taking military jurisdiction over the affected territory. The social and industrial loss is not to be estimated. This is but one phase of the danger that lies in the laissez faire policy characteristic of the older parties in dealing with such questions.

In this same work of public protection is included another feature of the Progressive pro-

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gramme that has not been dealt with in earlier chapters. This is the enacting of legislation to safe-guard the people from the irresponsible stock-promoter. Kansas was the first state to invade this field of service by the passing of what is known as the "blue-sky" law. It provides for a state official to whom all propositions for stock promotion and company organization must be submitted before license is granted to engage in these enterprises. Evidence must be forthcoming that the projects for which the money of Kansas citizens is to be solicited are in good faith and of substantial character. The familiar company prospectus that relates in glowing terms how vast fortunes have been made by others in certain fields of endeavor and proposes to point the way to similar fortune for the confiding public, but fails to afford any definite information as to the actual nature, assets and serious intent of the proposal, has disappeared in Kansas. There are no more of the artistic mining stock certificates that used to be hawked about by gentlemen with engaging manner and persuasive eloquence. The J. Rufus Wallingford profession shuns Kansas with a

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deeper loathing than the man who thirsts for alcohol. To all the gold-brick tribe it has become an arid state indeed.

As a result millions of dollars are being saved the state—millions that once found their way into the pockets of these polite thieves, to be diverted from productive investments. Kansas is enriching itself by a simple plan for protecting its citizens. The national Progressive platform approves legislation of this character.

The Progressives propose to apply the short ballot principle to state government. The same arguments can be urged with equal strength and wisdom for this use of it as in the case of municipal affairs.

The voters in most of the states are hampered in the intelligent exercise of the franchise by the multiplicity of elective offices and the practical impossibility of judging the fitness of the men offering as nominees of the various parties. As a consequence the election turns upon the character of the man named for Governor, and the bosses and machines pursue the plan of choosing a popular or inoffensive leader for the ticket under whose respectable auspices they run the ser-

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viceable representatives of the invisible government.

Let the average citizen attempt to recall the names of the men for whom he voted to fill offices subordinate to that of Governor at the last state election and he will discover that his interest did not include them. In all probability he cannot name one of the minor officials who was elected, although he will be able to name the Governor and his chief opponents in the race. This illustrates the perfunctory nature of such voting. It is not a true expression of democracy, and far from serving any good purpose in the furtherance of honest and efficient government, it plays into the hands of the politicians and the secret interests.

In New Jersey the only elective state official is the Governor. The adoption of this system has not lessened the power of the people nor militated against democracy. It has, instead, given a value to the ballot, by the concentration of attention upon the one significant office, that it cannot have when attention is diffused over many offices and more candidates.

The theory of party government is sufficiently

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maintained by the popular election of the Governor, who represents the party policy, and who, in association with the legislative body, can give effect to its programme. But there is no necessity why the office of Secretary of State should be a distinctively party office. The duties of State Treasurer are not such as to demand that they be performed by a Republican, a Democrat or a Progressive. In these and other offices the important thing is fitness and character, and these may be assured more certainly by concentrating the choice of the people upon a capable, responsible Chief Executive, to whom authority is given to choose his subordinates.

This, indeed, is the policy we now follow in our national administration. Who would advocate a change to a system similar to that obtaining in most of the states? Would not the necessity of electing not only the President and Vice-President, but the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of Commerce, the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Labor—in short the full national cabinet result in defeating the very ends of popular rule and true democracy?

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We do not fear to entrust the appointing of these responsible officials to the President, and the plan makes the national administration more certainly representative of the people than we could hope to realize by the election of the President's colleagues.

What has proved so successful and so satisfactory in the national administration would prove of equal worth in state government.

Further the short ballot method contributes to better coordination of state departments and fuller harmony of policy. The man chosen by the people and clothed with authority to select his subordinates cannot evade responsibility for the mistakes or failure of his administration. He cannot say to the electorate "You gave me colleagues who are not dependable and who will not work with me." He can make or mar his own regime, and must answer to the people for the consequences of his policy.

The long ballot is the politicians' ballot; the short ballot is the people's ballot.

The Progressives of New York State have drafted a short ballot measure by which all elective state offices would be abolished with the

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exception of Governor and Lieutenant Governor. They are also urging a state constitutional convention in order that the short ballot reform may be further strengthened by a readjustment of offices upon a more responsible and efficient basis.

The recent proposal for a modified form of commission government in states deserves consideration.

It was suggested by Gov. Hodges, of Kansas, in a message to the legislature. The proposal is to abolish the bi-cameral system, and create a legislative body of greatly reduced size, perhaps fifteen or twenty members at most. The idea grows out of the general dissatisfaction with the work of state legislatures and the desire to simplify both the task of the voters in selecting their representatives and the actual business of legislation. It is yet in an embryonic stage of development, but it is an interesting indication of the drift toward more compact forms of government. There is nothing in the principles of the Progressive movement that clashes with the plan, and it has manifest advantages in its promise of serious and deliberate consideration for

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all measures introduced. Gov. Hodges would have his small legislative body in continual session, adjourning only when there was no business to be considered, but ready always to convene when matters concerning the state's welfare required action. Thus there would be none of the indecent haste that now marks the customary biennial sessions of state legislatures, many of which limit their period of deliberation to sixty or ninety days. In these assemblies, amid a multiplicity of bills, it is impossible for more than a few men to be familiar with the actual terms of the measures proposed, or to appreciate the arguments for and against them. The majority vote as the party dictates, or under other influences no more intelligent, such as the trading of support or the pressure exercised by lobbyists. A legislative body of fifteen or twenty men, with no occasion for haste, could consider carefully every bill submitted, and act upon each with mature judgment.

An interesting variation from the usual course of procedure is that furnished by the California legislature. The regular session, under a law recently adopted by referendum, is divided into

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two parts, the earlier of which is devoted to the introduction and reference of bills. A recess of one month is then taken in which the members return to their constituencies; publicity is given to the pending legislation; it is discussed at public meetings and in the press, and after this opportunity for ventilation of opinion and the sounding of popular sentiment, the legislature reassembles to act upon the measures. The members come back to their tasks, having had time to study the bills before them and to learn the views of the people. This plan is operating with wholesome results in California, and ought to be productive of better legislation.

In another chapter will be discussed the plan of the Progressive movement for state organization in order to facilitate the program of legislation approved by the party platform. It is a unique phase of political activity, and, apart altogether from its party value has an immense potential usefulness for the common cause of popular government, social justice and industrial welfare.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PROGRESSIVE PROGRAMME IN THE CITY

While it is true that as yet the Progressive movement has not developed fully its programme in relation to municipal affairs, there are certain assured and basic principles that may be applied in an effort to set forth the general lines upon which it will proceed.

We take it as axiomatic that Progressives believe in the elimination of party politics from the government of cities and counties. This, however, does not mean that under conditions now existing in many municipalities, established by law, the Progressive party should abdicate its political rights and merge its identity with other organizations. There may be circumstances under which this policy is justified, but the local situation must guide. The important thing to be kept in view is the paramount aim to win, by whatever means is most effective, the kind of municipal government in nearest harmony with Progressive ideals.

As its ultimate purpose the movement should

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seek to effect such changes in the laws as will establish the principle of non-partisan administration. This will require in many instances state legislation and the adoption of new characters.

In municipalities, where the law recognizes party government, and where the advantages of the election machinery are given to party organizations, it must be a question for settlement by the Progressives of that particular jurisdiction whether they shall maintain their political independence by the nomination of straight tickets, or foster and promote fusion movements. The laws governing the holding of primaries, the distribution of election officers and the right to representation at the polls must be considered as factors in the problem, and utmost care should be taken to avoid alliances and combinations that may involve any material compromise on the principles of the movement.

But Progressives recognize that partisanship in municipal affairs is wholly without justification and utterly contrary to the best interests of the community.

The administration of a city is largely a mat-

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ter of business. No occasion exists for a division of the citizenship upon arbitrary political lines. The policy of encouraging such divisions is supported by the professional politicians. It makes it possible for them to control the balance of power in elections, since the intelligent and responsible body of the electorate is broken into factions over issues that are of no real concern to the welfare of the city.

Furthermore the election of a partisan administration means that the service of the community must take second place to the service of the party. Appointments are made as a matter of political reward rather than of fitness for office. The municipal government is frequently merely a cog in the state political machine, and is used by the party as an aid for advancing its interests in other fields.

Under the party system the boss finds opportunity for the exercise of his power, and municipal policies are often dictated by some man or group of men who hold no responsibility to the people and are beyond their reach.

These are chief among the reasons why the Progressive movement stands primarily for the

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elimination of partisan politics in city and county affairs. Its aim will be to make possible the common action of all intelligent citizens for the promotion of the community's welfare, without respect to their political differences in state and national politics. Under such conditions genuine municipal issues will come to the front as the topics for consideration, and the eligibility of candidates for office will be viewed from the standpoint of their character, ability and expressed opinions on germane matters, rather than their party affiliations.

A second basic principle recognized by the Progressive movement and approved in the national platform as applicable to city and county government is that of the short ballot.

The short ballot idea grew out of the confusion arising from the multiplicity of elective offices that must be filled at one time under the old and still widely prevalent system of municipal government.

Not infrequently the voter finds himself confronted with the task of selecting men for from sixty to a hundred offices, and with three or four times as many candidates to choose from. Un-

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der such circumstances intelligent voting becomes impossible. The average elector cannot know the qualifications of the men whose names, even, in the majority of instances, are strange to him. There is no possibility of weighing their comparative merits. His vote becomes a mere guess in a political lottery, rather than the expression of his deliberate and well-considered judgment. He is induced to vote the straight ticket of his party, or the ticket that is headed by a man whose character and ability may commend him, and to take chances on the rest of the candidates. Thus the party bosses and machines are enabled to load the ballot with subservient material, and to negative the value of the one or two good men—named for effect—by the preponderance of mediocrities, puppets and tools.

It is a mistaken conception of democracy and representative government that imposes impossible tasks upon citizenship. The value of representation lies in its quality and responsiveness to the popular will. Where the function of the electorate is made a mere adjunct to the programme of a political boss or a party machine, a

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lawful method of authorizing the selections made by these agencies, instead of the intelligent expression of citizenship, it is not an instrument of democracy; it is rather the instrument of a political autocracy or plutocracy. The men so named, when sanctioned as a matter of form by the voters, owe their obedience, not to the people, but to the party leader or group of leaders who were chiefly responsible for their nomination.

This evil is of course in part remedied by the direct primary, which gives to the voters the right to nominate their own tickets; but in a direct primary the long ballot is almost as perilous as in the election. It militates equally against the intelligent choice of nominees as against the subsequent intelligent choice of officials.

In municipal affairs the short ballot, by eliminating the party emblem, and reducing the number of elective offices to those most important, serves to concentrate attention upon candidates in their relation to actual civic issues and gives opportunity to the voter to acquaint himself with their qualifications and to select the men best fitted to represent him. A short ballot primary

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in commission governed cities may present not more than a dozen or twenty names from which ten are chosen for the final election. Of these five survive after the final polling, and they become the responsible administrative and legislative body, having appointive power for all minor offices.

While commission government, owing to its general adoption in recent years and the demonstration that has been given of its success under actual test, is the most conspicuous example of the application of the short ballot principle to municipal affairs, it is not the only form of administration under which it may be used.

Modifications of the commission plan are to be found in which provision is made for a small legislative body distinct from the executive body. A plan of this kind has been proposed in Indiana, and many of the commercial bodies have given it hearty approval. It is advocated as a compromise between the old-fashioned bi-cameral municipal system, with its multiplicity of elective offices, and the commission plan, and is a survival of the prejudice against combining in one body the legislative and administrative functions.

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For our purpose, however, it will be sufficient to deal in some detail with the reasons why the commission plan is considered as the best present form of municipal government.

We have considered the advantages that are to be derived from the elimination of partisan politics and the reduction in the number of elective offices. It remains to consider what benefits inhere in the actual operation of the commission system.

In the first place it is directly representative of all the people. There is no responsibility to bosses, and no demoralizing rivalries of petty ward politics. Chosen by the electorate at large, on municipal issues and for fitness, the commissioners enter upon their duties with a sense of freedom from embarrassing obligations and alliances. They have only one thing to consider—what must be done for the good of the whole community.

In the second place it concentrates and defines responsibility and authority. Each member of the commission has assigned to him specific departments of city work to be subject to his administration. Appropriations and ordinances

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governing these departments are passed by the commission as a whole, but the executive work is apportioned definitely among them. One may be responsible for streets, sewers and similar affairs; another for public buildings and property generally; another for public safety; another for public service, such as water and light; another for parks, while a fifth, elected as Mayor, will have general supervision. The division varies in different cities according to local conditions and opinion.

But under this system the citizen knows who the responsible man is for anything that goes wrong or needs attention. He knows where to bestow praise and blame. He need not concern himself for subordinates. He can reach the executive head, who is unable to avoid responsibility for his department.

It is sometimes charged that the system gives too much responsibility to a few men. But this criticism is manifestly unreasonable. Under the old plan responsibility is ostensibly centered in one man, the mayor, who enjoys the veto power and is the appointive officer in most instances; but actually authority and power are vested in a

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political boss or machine, utterly without public responsibility and beyond popular control.

The combination of the legislative and executive functions in one body is, in the opinion of many, an advantage rather than an objection. Prejudice against this policy has little real argument to sustain it. Where the legislative function is reposed in a council and the executive in various boards and officials room is left for an immense waste of energy.

Obviously if the executive is fit and intelligent it is better able to judge the needs of the work with which it is intimately associated than any legislative council composed of men who are devoting only a portion of their time to the city's business and who are often of small qualification for passing opinion upon its needs. In such a body party and personal politics may operate to hold up necessary ordinances, or to defeat them and thus to handicap seriously the work of efficient executives. But the supposed danger of this combination of executive and legislative functions is wholly obviated by the use of the initiative and referendum, which gives to the people the right of making and vetoing ordinau-

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ces. Popular control is the best check upon the abuse of power.

Further commission cities, with few exceptions, have adopted the recall principle, thus making it possible to discharge from service any elective official who is remiss in duty. In some cases the recall has been made applicable to appointive offices as well.

Los Angeles county, California, has adopted the short ballot and the commission plan for county government. There is no reason why this plan should not become general, following the example of many cities. The problems of county government are much akin to those of the city, and the same weaknesses are to be found in the old plan with its partisan division of voters and its burdens upon electoral intelligence.

We may summarize the Progressive policy in relation to the machinery of municipal government as contemplating the following basic principles:—

Non-partisan primaries and elections.

Short ballot.

Simplified system of administration.

The initiative, referendum and recall.

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But the Progressive vision goes further than machinery. It seeks the reconstruction of our civic mechanism only in order that it may give larger liberty to the spirit of democracy and speedier realization of the dream city, the city of homes and health and happiness, of beauty and culture and brotherhood.

Therefore it urges that city government be made a science instead of a haphazard, planless rule of the unfit and the ill-equipped. It proposes to introduce the expert as a constant factor instead of an emergency relief. It would standardize methods and materials; systematize accounting; put the budget upon a basis of forehanded economy and detailed preparation; make the reporting of city work a matter of accurate and regular business, and, over all, cast the protecting, stimulating light of publicity, so that the people would be aware of what was passing behind the walls of their municipal buildings, and intelligent in the exercise of their influence and the expression of their criticism or appreciation.

It is of vital importance that the citizens be kept in close touch with the programme and methods of their administration. It is only thus

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that interest can be maintained, and the electoral machinery made to serve its purpose. There are too many ways of covering up in the old system of city government; too many committees and boards in which matters can be lost to sight; too many channels for postponement and delay and avoidance. Progressive policies would take down the screens, destroy the hiding places and make observation easy.

But the task of modernizing the business of the city on an efficiency basis is but the beginning of the task. No small part of the programme that the Progressive spirit suggests is the socializing of municipal government. The city must be considered as a home as well as a business. The health, the morals and the happiness of the people are a chief concern.

A city survey and a city plan are fundamental factors for progressive city government. Not the kind of survey that is now made for engineering or assessment purposes, but a social survey that will disclose with some exactness the characteristics of the city's life. On such a map we have clearly indicated the wholesale and retail business sections, the prosperous residential

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neighborhoods, the districts where the workers live, the slums, the foreign quarter and the red-light district. The churches, the schools, the saloons, the vice resorts, the dance-halls, theatres, parks and other public places will be shown. The relation of these districts and institutions to one another and to their respective communities can be studied.

Such a survey will be a revelation and an education. It will give a new view of the municipal problem to those who contemplate it. It will disclose needs and opportunities unguessed. Out of it will grow an intelligent social spirit and a city plan.

A city plan means a well-considered programme for improvement and development, a programme that can be continued from year to year under successive administrations. It means the growth of the city into beauty and healthfulness. It affords a focalizing point for all municipal organizations, commercial clubs, neighborhood societies and similar groups of citizens. Instead of working at cross purposes, or with independent and unrelated aims, each contributes its own share to the perfect whole.

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And it is through these methods that the social spirit finds expression. Problems of housing, playgrounds, libraries, boulevards, parks, amusements and the like become vital issues with the people. Citizen pride is stimulated, and men compete for the honor of community service in work and gifts. The schools are utilized for neighborhood clubs and gatherings. University extension and culture in art and music follow in the train of the awakened civic ambition.

The social spirit can even take hold upon the police force—that despair of the big American city—and convert it from a mere agency to prevent and detect crime into a body of men trained to serve the comfort and happiness of the people. The police problem will never be solved until we cease to associate the police primarily with the criminal element. To break that association it will be necessary to constitute a city government that does not encourage crime by permitting the conditions that breed it. The disappearance of the slum, the restriction and regulation of the saloon, the suppression of vice in its commercialized form—results that can only be achieved when the conscience of the people is

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quicken—will set the police free from a mesh of demoralizing influences to become the social servants of the city.

An administration, infused with the Progressive spirit, will direct its effort toward the task of bettering the living conditions of the people. It will not be afraid to launch on such ventures as municipal markets, coal yards and relief depots; it will encourage public ownership of utilities; it will care for the physical well-being of its school children; will provide parks and play-grounds in abundance; it will furnish music and dance halls. Some day the city may take up the task of affording wholesome amusement. The civic theatre has been a dream, but so once was the civic library.

There is no greater opportunity for democracy than that offered by the city, and the principles of the Progressive movement are the promise of its realization.

CHAPTER XVII

THE NEW FORCES

No phase of the Progressive movement is of greater significance or has larger encouragement than the manner in which it has brought to the cause of a better politics hitherto unused elements of the Nation's citizenship. The appeal of the Progressive philosophy and programme has touched the minds and hearts of men and women who at one time held aloof from political organization and effort, feeling that existing parties afforded no satisfactory opportunity for the exercise of their gifts or the expression of their convictions.

New forces have been released by the magic of a new political ideal. The conception of human service has inspired the unselfish cooperation of many of the finest spirits and ablest intellects in the land. In this result there is splendid promise for the future. The association of these men and women with the movement is an assurance that it cannot degenerate into a mere scramble for offices, a mere demagogic assault upon the

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seats of the mighty prompted by ambition and the lust for power.

The great national gatherings of Progressives were marked by a new impulse and atmosphere. The press commented upon the strange fact that the spirit of a religious revival rather than of a political convention seemed to pervade these assemblies. Prayer was more than a polite and perfunctory concession to sentiment; hymns were sung with fervor and devotion, and the bearing of the delegates was impressively earnest. There was the thought of consecration to a great task in the speeches that were made. Crusade seemed a better word than campaign as descriptive of the new activities. Although the throngs at these assemblies represented every creed one could discover only a sense of brotherhood, a deep, unifying conviction of common obligation and opportunity that merged all minor differences of faith.

And after all this recrudescence of the religious spirit in American political life is not so much to be wondered at as to be gratefully and gladly acknowledged. It is the natural outcome of the movement that sprang from the common

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life of the people and expressed their deepest convictions and their highest aspirations. It has been true always that when men become seized with a sense of the value of human life, with a realization of their common interest in human welfare and with the zeal of service for their fellows the religious fountains of the soul are prompted to fresh and vigorous outpourings. It is as if God entered into the fellowship of men whenever their thoughts turn to the real work of upbuilding the race.

This ground of service is the common ground upon which the divine and human meet. The heart of man never beats more truly in accord with the heart of God than when he turns his hand in sympathy and help to his weaker brother. It was the fact that the Progressive movement represented a revival of concern for men and women and little children, a purpose to bring larger life and liberty to the poor and the oppressed, that touched the religious emotion and struck a sweeter, stronger, more passionate chord of music in the Nation's politics than had been heard since the days when the emancipation of the negro race set the freedom-loving people of the land to the singing of battle-hymns.

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I recall one session of the Progressive party convention in Chicago when the vast audience that thronged the Coliseum repeated in reverent solemnity the Lord's prayer. Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, Evangelical and Unitarian joined in that prayer with one accord. "Thy Kingdom come." reverberated through the great hall with a new and profound significance. When the "amen" had been said and the thousands took their seats a political leader turned to me with a strange quaver in his voice as he said, "That is the most progressive prayer I ever heard."

It was a progressive prayer with a new dynamic behind it, and one felt that religion had entered politics for a splendid and mighty purpose. Not the religion of creeds and dogmas, but the religion of the universal fatherhood and the common brotherhood, the religion that recognized responsibility to God as finding its supreme expression in service for men.

And this is one of the new forces that has been directed into the channel of a cleaner, higher politics by the Progressive movement. I believe it is to prove a permanent force, one that

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will make for righteousness and that will help to keep the movement true to the great principles that gave it birth. It is a force that should be conserved and given opportunity for expression. It should be encouraged and earnestly cultivated. The churches, as such, by the very nature of their organization and work, cannot provide an opportunity for the exercise of the religious spirit in the sphere of politics. The Progressive movement, broadly humanitarian, representing a splendid idealism in the field of practical achievement offers a fitting medium through which the fervor, the enthusiasm, the devotion of true religion can utter itself in terms of social justice, civic righteousness and unselfish service.

We have already considered at some length the relation of women to the Progressive movement and its espousal of the equal suffrage cause, but there is proper place in this chapter for a further word upon the full comradeship of woman as one of the new forces enlisted in this modern crusade. Henceforth American politics is to be human politics; hitherto it has been male politics. It may be said truly that men have not

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been indifferent to the claims and interests of women. The mother influence has shaped and guided them; it has reached out from the circle of the home and laid restraining hands upon the sons of mothers at the polls and in the halls of legislation. They have not always been responsive; in some things they have failed woefully. But let credit be given them where credit is due.

If they have failed they are ready to confess failure and to make amends by admitting to full comradeship the women to whose inspiration they owe most of what is worthiest in their record. And women are answering generously and loyally the invitation to share in the burden and heat of the battle. They are bringing to the movement a splendid impulse and a wise guidance. Their close contact, their intimate presence in its activities are constant reminders to the men that this is a cause as holy as the home itself. In such an association woman elicits what is best in manhood.

But, possibly, the most valuable contribution they have made to the movement is to establish within it a sense of the inseparable relationship between politics and the home. There has been

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great need for the embodying of this conception in our political life. We have been too prone to regard the state as a thing apart from the common life and common interests of the people, an extraneous and independent organism to be maintained by a professional class known as politicians and manipulated largely in their behalf.

We will lose nothing by catching a vision of the state as the larger expression of the common life, and of the business of the state as the house-keeping or home-making of the Nation. In this vision we see how logically the health, the happiness, the morals and the general welfare of the people fit as concerns of politics.

For years there has been in this country a great and continually growing group of men and women whose lives were devoted to the study of problems affecting the welfare of their fellows and to the attempt to solve these problems. Various called sociologists, reformers, philanthropists or charity workers, they have represented an invaluable force in our national life. Often they have been scouted and scorned, belittled as dreamers and impractical idealists, re-

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garded as troublesome meddlers by the self-centered and rebuffed by those who needed most their help.

They have labored loyally and unselfishly, under great discouragements and many handicaps. They have been voices crying in a wilderness, proclaiming the gospel of service to an age and a world that gave little heed. Through private agencies and through public they have steadily pushed forward in the cause of humanity. Here and there they have obtained some political recognition, some grudging concession from parties wedded to lower and more sordid ideals. Doubtless they have been mistaken in certain of their plans, too extreme at times in their propaganda; but we owe them a debt we can never repay for having kept burning upon the altar of our national life the sacred fire of love for mankind.

In the Progressive movement these men and women, among the purest and best of our citizens, have, for the first time, found a political instrument in sympathy with their aspirations. It has turned to them a hearing ear and an understanding heart. It has welcomed them to its

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councils. It has given definite expression to the best of their collective thought and wisdom in its programme.

The Progressive movement has taken up the cause they championed and has made the Nation ring with its challenge.

To these men and women the movement means the realization of their cherished dreams. Hopes bred of human love are brought within the region of the practical. They see the politics of the country infused with their spirit.

To have linked this force in vital relationship with the government of the country is not least of the Progressive achievements. The hearty enlistment of these men and women in the cause; their active participation in political life is the converting to the use of American citizenship of a hitherto unrealized asset, the value of which cannot be over-estimated.

Among such thoughtful workers as these are many who come from the colleges and the universities, and not a few who are teachers in these institutions. Their knowledge is of greatest use. They have specialized in the study of subjects that directly concern the welfare of the people.

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The Progressive movement is using this knowledge as it has never before been employed in politics.

The libraries and the laboratories in the colleges are being rediscovered as assets of value to the common good. Academic learning, the gibe of the professional politician, is being harnessed to the service of the state.

It is impossible to predict the important and revolutionary consequences that may follow the entrance of these influences as factors operating directly in the political life of the country. It is true that they have always exercised an indirect impulse upon our affairs; but it has come through so many media that it has lost much of its original force and color by the time it has reached the sphere of legislation and government.

Congress has been, in the past, and is today largely a body of lawyers; men of special class training and having a biased view in their approach to public questions. In this it has fallen short of realizing the ideal as representative of real democracy. There has been little encouragement to men of other pursuits to enter

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political life. Men of serious mind and studious disposition; men whose vision has been broader than the average legal outlook, have recoiled from the type of politics that has marked our public life; they have disliked its methods; they have found its atmosphere uncongenial, its partisan restrictions and its expedient compromises distasteful and burdensome to self-respect.

But the Progressive movement opens the way for such men to cooperate in the field of political achievement and reform with consistency and satisfaction. As it grows in strength it will bring more of them out of the class-room and the study into the active sphere of aggressive service for the people. And they will rejoice at the opportunity. There is nothing more distressing to knowledge than the condition that prevents its free exercise for the good of others.

Political conventions and conferences of the older parties have been controlled by the professional politicians, the representatives of special privilege, the class of men to whom politics meant profit. They have largely dictated nominations and shaped platforms. But in the Progressive assemblies the conspicuous men have

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been the unselfish students of social questions and the devoted workers in the field of human betterment.

It is further true of the Progressive movement that for the first time the voice of the great working class of the Nation is given a free and attentive hearing. A radical element of this class has found opportunity for expression in the Socialist party, but there are literally millions of workers who do not accept the Socialist doctrine and programme to whom the Progressive movement affords a welcome and holds a promise such as they have never had before.

In their dealings with the old political organizations the workers have had to be content with more or less casual consideration. They have been granted the crumbs from the banquet tables spread in the interests of privilege. The policy has been to make them some concession, going no further than the pressure of the labor movement compelled as a matter of political expediency.

But in the Progressive movement they find an eagerness to accept them as full comrades and advisers. Their problems have been taken up in serious and sympathetic purpose; they have been

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made paramount, and given, for the first time, an importance worthy of them.

And, on the other hand, the Progressive movement has afforded opportunity for those employers of labor and men of wealth whose keener insight and more sensitive conscience have developed in them a social spirit. These men have abandoned the old idea that labor is to be treated as a subordinate and inferior class of the community, a class to be ruled, to be kept within limitations and to be made the object of a condescending interest in its welfare. They have accepted the new and better doctrine that labor must be given right and freedom to serve its own cause and the cause of all the people in a cooperative programme, where the claim of each several function of the social organism is recognized at its just value.

The conception is no longer one of doing something for the toilers, but of joining hands with the toilers to accomplish much for the common good.

Thus the Progressive movement is stimulating and fostering a new and truer spirit of democracy. It is becoming the melting pot for many

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hitherto unrelated and even antagonistic elements. It is welding into a unity of aim and action all the factors in the social whole.

If its programme prevail we shall be in reality an undivided Nation; the conflict of racial, sectional and class interests will be at an end. Progress and prosperity will not be measured by the amazing success of a few, fed and maintained at the cost of the many, but by the advance of all and the sharing of all in larger and more equal proportions.

In the Progressive propaganda is the promise of a better understanding and understanding is the solvent for many of our social ills. Ignorance of the other man's condition and the other man's viewpoint is the occasion for much oppression and injustice, for much blind bitterness and resentment.

As we come to know each other better and to appreciate more fully the problems that each in his own niche must face we will be less ready to judge and to condemn. We will see not only the criminal folly of violence, but the greater criminal folly of the anti-social policy that provokes it. We will realize that jails and penitentiaries are badges of shame upon our civilization for the

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presence of which we are all of us responsible. We will be less enamored with our charities, our institutions for the poor and the defective. These, too, will appear to us as mere expedients to mitigate our failure, excuses for an avoidance of the more radical task of establishing justice.

We will sing with less sense of righteousness "Rescue the Perishing," and begin to ask ourselves, with searching honesty, why there should be any perishing to rescue. Instead of confining much of our effort to snatching brands from the burning we will devote ourselves more zealously to extinguishing the flames and preventing their spread.

Whatever may be the political future of the Progressive party, the Progressive movement must survive and must increase in power and in following. It represents the new crusade and the new comradeship; it makes human life and human happiness the supreme issues. For this reason it commands the best that is in religion, in education, in science, in the souls and brains of the race. It is the promise and portent of Democracy, full-flowered and full-fruited, to be realized in politics, in industry and in the homes of the people.

CHAPTER XVIII

PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATION

In many features of its organization the Progressive party is unique. Those interested in its creation realized the importance of avoiding the mistakes that had proved fatal to the Republican party and that were a cause of weakness to the Democrats. Further they felt the necessity of guarding against those perils that have threatened popular control in political organizations, and those tendencies that have fostered the building up of machines.

It was recognized that the new party had a work to do differing in character from that of the older parties, since its programme invaded territory hitherto but lightly touched. Provision had to be made for educational propaganda of a most thorough kind. The success of the party depends upon the appeal it can make to the intelligence and conscience of the people. Lacking history and traditions from which to derive inspiration and on which to base persuasive rhetoric, it is of essential importance that it should

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reach the convictions of the voters rather than their sentiment and emotions. This is a harder task, but, in its accomplishment, more thorough, more permanent and vastly more potent for the substantial progress of the Nation.

Hence there have evolved two great arms of the movement in its organized political expression—that which concerns the nomination and election of candidates for office, and all that pertains to this work; and that which concerns education, propaganda, the making of platforms and the drafting of legislation. The former division is represented by the National Committee, the latter by the Progressive Service, under the National Committee's auspices.

Let us consider first the National Committee. This committee is composed of one member from each state, the District of Columbia, Alaska and Hawaii. These committeemen were chosen for the first National Committee at the national convention in 1912 by the delegations from the several states, the district, territory and islands. Hereafter they will be chosen in the manner prescribed by the laws of the United States, or by the laws of the several states from which they

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come. In the event that there is no law governing the method of choice then the state conventions shall prescribe the manner in which members of the committee are to be selected, each state being free to follow its own method.

The National Committee constitutes the governing body of the party at such times as the national convention is not in session. The members from the District of Columbia, Alaska and Hawaii sit merely as conferees, and have no vote in the committee proceedings.

An important point in the rules of the party is the provision that the National Committee at each national convention shall be one deriving its authority directly from the members of the party immediately prior to the holding of the convention. That is to say the convention of 1916 will not be under the direction of a National Committee elected four years previously, but will be organized by a committee freshly come from the people. This is in marked contrast with the policy pursued in the older parties, under which a moribund committee continues to exercise authority until a new convention is organized. It was the absolute control of the Republican con-

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vention of 1912 by a committee chosen in 1908 that constituted one of the causes provoking the division of the party. These men were four years behind public sentiment; they did not represent the real spirit of the party, but they possessed the power to force their antiquated viewpoint upon its convention.

The National Committee is empowered to appoint an Executive Committee of the party to have active charge of the party work during the interim between conventions. The members of this committee may be or may not be members of the National Committee. It is further empowered to add to its own membership four women as members at large. This is the first time that a political party, excepting the Socialist party, has included women in the membership of its National Committee.

Any member of the Executive Committee may be recalled by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee, and a majority of the National Committee may require consideration by the Executive Committee of any question it submits.

State organizations have the right to provide for the recall of their national committeemen.

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The party rules specifically require that the laws of the United States or of the several states be recognized as controlling in any case where they conflict with the party rules. This applies to the election of delegates to the national convention. The point was raised at the Republican convention over the proposal of the National Committee to ignore the California primary law, and to unseat delegates that had been elected under it and who carried the certificate of the state. While this proposal was followed in one instance only, it was seriously considered as a wholesale method of depriving the Republicans of California of their lawful representation, and the argument was made that the laws of a state could not supercede the rules of a national political organization.

The basis of representation in the national convention is fixed as one delegate and one alternate from each Congressional District for every five thousand votes or major fraction thereof cast at the last preceding presidential election for the Progressive candidate for elector receiving the largest number of votes, provided that no district shall have less than one delegate and one al-

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ternate; one delegate and one alternate for each Congressman at large and each United States Senator; one delegate and one alternate each for the District of Columbia, Alaska and Hawaii.

This rule makes it utterly impossible to control a convention by venal votes, obtained in states where the party has no genuine popular support. There is every probability that this sound provision will be copied by the older parties, but to the Progressives must belong the credit for having initiated it.

In states where primary laws make provision for the election of delegates to national conventions, the certificate of election issued by the authorized state official is to be accepted as *prima facie* evidence of election. In states where there is no such provision made the certificate of election of the highest governing body of the party shall have similar value.

With few modifications the rules of the House of Representatives of the Sixty Second Congress govern the procedure of the national conventions.

The adoption of a platform is made by rule precedent to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

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The chairman of the first National Committee of the Progressive party is former Senator Joseph Dixon, of Montana. The first Executive Committee consists of George W. Perkins, New York, chairman; William Flinn, Pennsylvania; Charles Thompson, Vermont; Jane Addams, Illinois; Meyer Lissner, California; Chauncey Dewey, Illinois; Walter Brown, Ohio; George Priestley, Oklahoma, and Ben Lindsey, Colorado.

Organization of the party in the various states differs according to local conditions and exigencies. In some states, such as Pennsylvania, it has been found necessary to make the organization under another name than that adopted nationally.

The general plan is to build up from the precinct to the county and the Congressional district, with a State Central Committee as the highest governing body within the state.

The principle to which endeavor is made to give effect is the complete democratization of the party, so that the masses of the voters may have full control. The recall has been incorporated in many of the organizations. For example a dis-

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strict committee provides that any member may be recalled by due process on petition of a sufficient number of the members of the party in the electoral division which he represents. This principle may be carried through the organization.

Doubtless experience will lead to a modification of existing plans, and in time a system of organization will be devised that may apply in every state, giving harmony and cohesion to the party.

A practical problem that is still under consideration is the financing of the party. It is recognized as of the utmost importance that the finances should be as democratic as the membership and principles. The peril of large contributions from a few individuals is to be avoided, but there is much to be done in the work of training the membership to this new conception of party obligation before the problem will be solved. A system of dues has been suggested, and ultimately this may be adopted; but for the present the party depends upon the voluntary gifts of its adherents. Obviously it cannot expect and should not seek support from corporations or from sour-

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ces that have proved demoralizing in the older parties.

The Progressive Service, which forms the educational arm of the movement, originated with a suggestion made by Miss Frances A. Kellor, whose deep interest in the social value of the party led her to conceive this plan for making it a permanent source of helpfulness in the cause of social and industrial justice.

It was approved by the National Committee and the Executive Committee, and its organization was begun immediately after the 1912 election.

Miss Frances A. Kellor was appointed Chief, and has associated with her a general committee consisting of Samuel McCune Lindsay, William Draper Lewis, Jane Addams, Gifford Pinchot, George L. Record and Charles S. Bird.

Two important sub-committees have charge of education and legislative reference respectively.

The Education Committee is presided over by Samuel McCune Lindsay, and concerns itself with literature, speakers and lecturers, social centers and public educational problems.

The Legislative Reference Committee is pre-

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sided over by William Draper Lewis, and has for its special work the assembling and preparation of data for the drafting of bills, the drafting of legislative programmes, the fixing of minimum standards in wages, hours and conditions of labor, and such other matters as chiefly concern the work of giving statutory effect to the principles and policies of the party.

In addition to these two committees there are four original departments, to which additions are being made from time to time as occasion demands. These departments are Social and Industrial Justice, of which Jane Addams is director; Conservation, including natural resources, country life, health and productive efficiency, directed by Gifford Pinchot; Popular Government, directed by George L. Record, and Cost of Living and Corporation Control, directed by Charles S. Bird.

The Progressive Service is not a mere paper organization. It has demonstrated a remarkable activity, and has proved of immense value to the movement. Through it the interest of many of the ablest men and women in the country has been retained in the work of the party, and their

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invaluable advice and cooperation have been made available.

Permanent offices are maintained in New York, and a busy staff is constantly at work.

So numerous and urgent were the demands made upon it for assistance in promoting state organization and education that two new departments had to be added to the original four. One of these is devoted to State Service Organization and the other to Conferences.

The conference is a distinct phase of the Progressive movement. It is an open meeting of Progressives assembled from a state or from several states to discuss the problems and policies of their party. These conferences are largely educational. They are concerned with promoting the principles rather than the office opportunities of the party.

One of the difficulties experienced in the carrying on of the Service work has been that of obtaining men and women equipped for its peculiar demands. Only those who are trained in an understanding of social and industrial questions, and who possess the viewpoint of the movement are fitted for its work. Plans have been made to

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encourage the education and training of workers, and this promises to be a most useful phase of the movement. It is the beginning of a corps of efficient political leaders, trained, not in the practical politics of the old parties, but in the principles and programme of the new party; seeking, not office, but the triumph of right and justice and the people.

An interesting example of the manner in which the Service is adopting and adapting every method that gives promise of reaching the people is found in its plan for using the moving picture theatres as Progressive schools. Under a committee composed of leading dramatists, actors and magazine writers, picture plays are being prepared that will illustrate the need for the social and industrial reforms proposed by the party. It is believed these plays will have sufficient dramatic interest to be welcomed by the various concerns engaged in the making of films for the picture theatres of the country.

But one of the most pressing demands upon the Service is the organization of the states upon similar lines of work. The effort is being made to systematize and coordinate all service work.

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The general plan suggested is that each state shall have a Progressive Service Committee, organized under the auspices of the State Central Committee and with bureaus on education and legislation. These main sub-committees, or bureaus, shall name other committees to supervise various departments of the work as suggested by the planks in the national platform.

In each Congressional district it is proposed that there shall be Progressive Service Clubs or Leagues, composed of both men and women. These organizations shall devote themselves to cultivating Progressive sentiment by education and propaganda and by following, with modifications suited to local needs, the general plan of work adopted in the national and state service. When ten such clubs have been formed in a state they may be organized into a state league. None of these organizations is to endorse candidates for nomination before the primary. Their work is not that of promoting candidacies, but of furthering the principles of the movement.

The National Progressive Service contemplates putting organizers in every state, and maintaining a staff of supervisors whose duty it shall

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be to visit the various clubs and encourage, stimulate and advise them in their work.

A publishing department has been established through which it is hoped to create a literature of the movement. In this age no movement that seeks permanence can ignore the printing press as a means of propaganda. It must have its own periodicals, its pamphlets and its books. There is an abundance of scholarship and literary talent enlisted in the Progressive party, and it should prove fecund in the production of interesting and enlightening contributions to the discussion of modern questions.

It will be seen that the Progressive party believes in constant activity and ceaseless campaigning. It has abandoned the old plan of confining political activity and appeal to election years, and to but a few months at a time. With it a new campaign begins as soon as the old one ends. The post-election conference of the party in Chicago, in December 1912, was a departure from all precedent. It marked the change in policy.

By its programme of educational work combined with organization for electoral purposes

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the Progressive party is establishing itself on a foundation that is deep and abiding. Apart wholly from what success it may achieve in obtaining representation in the legislative and administrative bodies of the country, the Progressive party must prove a splendid influence for promoting legislation in the interests of popular government and human welfare. There are evidences that this influence has been felt already. Unquestionably the activity displayed by many state legislatures in discussing and enacting Progressive measures is due to the quickening of the public conscience through the party's propaganda. Even the national administration and Congress manifest a tendency to give larger place to popular issues, and both Democratic and Republican programmes are being modified and fashioned in accord with the new temper of the people to which the Progressive party gave the first organized expression.

The Progressive movement, therefore, is, in truth, broader and more comprehensive than the Progressive party. It is to be found wherever men and women are concerned about the rights of the people and the welfare of those who toil.

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Whether this sentiment, now widely diffused, will eventually crystallize or concentrate in one political organization, of which the new party is logically the nucleus, remains to be demonstrated by the events of the future. It seems probable that it will.

For the present the radical element controls in the affairs of government. The Democratic party is in the hands of progressive leadership. Its policy is being driven into new channels by the sentiment that such men as Roosevelt and Beveridge and Johnson developed and organized. Conservatism is suffering a temporary relapse. That it will remain without effective political expression is not to be supposed. It will presently recover itself, and seek to regain its lost power. The effect of such recovery will be to force a sharper definition of cleavage along the new lines, and the Progressive party, because of its organization, because of its preparatory educational work, will be in the strategic position to bear the brunt of the battle against the conservative resurgence.

Naturally all "forward-looking men," to borrow a phrase from President Wilson, will rally to its standard.

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But, whatever the future may hold for present political organizations, one thing is assured-- a new dynamic has been created in the thought and life of the people, a dynamic that has wedded the throbbing power of heart and brain to the work of establishing that righteousness in business and government which "exalteth the Nation." There can be no going back. A peaceful revolution has been achieved. Henceforth the rights of man must take prior place to the rights of property, and with the reassertion of human welfare and freedom as the aim of government true democracy will come into its own.

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