

dwindled to a permanent side party which exists now only as a dilapidated skeleton.



In 1896 there might have been a new party of magnitude, a "bolt" from the Democratic Party, if those Democrats whose attitude was then that of the bolting Republicans now, had not captured their party. Bryan accomplished that year what Roosevelt failed in this year. By this capture they drove plutocratic Democrats over to the Republicans in mass, except for a few who formed a side party for that campaign alone.

In 1900 the Democratic Party was again held by the democratic elements in it, but in 1904 it was recaptured by the plutocrats. Recovered by democratic Democrats in 1908, it was defeated at the election of that year by the Roosevelt-Taft-Hearst coalition, a side party having been organized by Hearst for the purpose. During those twelve eventful years the spirit that makes new parties was struggling inside the Democratic Party with varying success, upon the theory that it is better to gain control of an established party if possible than to try to manufacture a new one, which is usually not possible.

In all that time until the present year, vast numbers of democratic Republicans, party bound, made no vigorous move to control their own party against plutocracy, or to defeat it by supporting the Democratic Party at the polls when its democratic elements dominated it. But the sheep-and-goat separation process, which began in the Democratic Party sixteen years ago, has now begun in the Republican Party.

In consequence, the Democratic Party, still held by its progressives, though "by the skin of their teeth," and with a genuinely progressive Presidential candidate in Governor Wilson, is confronted on the one hand with a Republican "bolt" under Roosevelt, appealing to progressives of all parties, and on the other hand, under the leadership of Taft, by the same political lodging-house for plutocracy which the Republican Party has been these twenty years past.

What will the outcome be? Read "The Lady and the Tiger." What is it likely to be? Reflect upon the history of new parties in American politics.



He who wanders widest lifts
No more of beauty's jealous veils
Than he who from his doorway sees
The miracle of flowers and trees.

—Whittier.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, August 13, 1912.

The Roosevelt Party.

Continuing its sessions on the 7th the Roosevelt convention at Chicago adopted a platform, nominated candidates, and adjourned, having been in session on the 5th, 6th and 7th. The official name is "The Progressive Party," the word "National" preceding the word "Progressive," as proposed by the platform when reported, having been struck out in the convention. [See current volume, page 751.]



The platform declares for—

the "principle of government by a self-controlled democracy, expressing its will through representatives;" direct primaries for nominating State and national officers; nation-wide preferential primaries for Presidential nominations; direct election of United States Senators; the short ballot; the Initiative, Referendum and Recall; "a more easy and expeditious method of amending the Federal Constitution;" national jurisdiction over "those problems which have expanded beyond the reach of the individual States;" "equal suffrage to men and women alike;" limitation of campaign funds and detailed publicity both before and after primaries and elections; registration of lobbyists; publicity of committee hearings except on foreign affairs, and recording of all votes in committee; exclusion of Federal appointees from political activities; referendum on court decisions nullifying State legislation; reforms in legal procedure and methods, with particular reference to injunctions; "an enlarged measure of social and industrial justice," including legislation regarding industrial health and accidents, child labor, wage standards, women's labor, hours and days of labor, convict labor, industrial education, and industrial research; "the organization of the workers, men and women, as a means of protecting their interests and of promoting their progress;" a Labor seat in the President's cabinet; "the development of agricultural credit and co-operation," and agricultural education; information about and correction of high costs of living; consolidated Federal health service without discrimination as to conflicting curative schools; national regulation of inter-State corporations through a permanent Federal commission; reform of the patent laws; physical valuation of railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission and abolition of the Commerce Court; currency reform and opposition to the Aldrich bill; extension of foreign commerce by subsidies; conservation of natural resources; extension of good roads and rural postal delivery; opening

of Alaskan resources, not through sale or gift but "upon liberal terms requiring immediate development;" Territorial self-government for Alaska; development of rivers, especially the Mississippi; American ships engaged in coastwise trade to pay no tolls for use of the Panama Canal; "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;" immediate downward revision of those tariff "schedules wherein duties are shown to be unjust or excessive;" a "non-partisan scientific tariff commission" to report "as to the costs of production, efficiency of labor, capitalization, industrial organization and efficiency, and the general competitive position in this country and abroad of industries seeking protection from Congress," as well as to revenue-producing power and the effect on prices and purchasing power; against the Payne-Aldrich bill; immediate repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act; a national inheritance tax; the national income tax; international arbitration in place of war; international agreement for limiting naval forces, and meantime two battleships a year "as the best means of preserving peace;" protection of "the rights of American citizenship at home and abroad;" larger opportunities for "the able bodied immigrant" and "his native fellow workers" through "the establishment of industrial standards;" supervision of immigration; Federal pensions for soldiers and sailors; pensions by the Southern States for ex-Confederates and their widows and children; a zone system of parcels post; enforcement of the civil service law in letter and spirit; coordination of Federal bureaus; protection of the people by the government from deceptive investment schemes.

The foregoing resume comprises every specific demand of the platform, as it was printed in the Chicago Daily Tribune (the principal newspaper representative of the Roosevelt party) in its issue of the 8th.

Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for President by William A. Prendergast of New York, the nomination being seconded by Judge Lindsey of Colorado, Jane Addams of Illinois, Horatio King of New York, Gen. McDowell of Tennessee, Henry Allen of Kansas, P. V. Collins of Minnesota, Alexander T. Hamilton of Georgia, T. P. Lloyd of Florida, John J. Sullivan of Ohio, Robert S. Fisher of Oklahoma, ex-Gov. Garvin of Rhode Island and Governor Carey of Wyoming. Hiram W. Johnson (Governor of California) was nominated for Vice President by John M. Parker of Louisiana, the nomination being seconded by Judge Lindsey of Colorado, C. S. Wheeler of California, James R. Garfield of Ohio, Bainbridge Colby of New York, Fred Landis of Indiana, Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, Governor Vessey of South Dakota, William Flinn of Pennsylvania, John R. Gleed (a Negro) of New York, and Raymond Robins of Illinois. Both nominations were adopted by accla-

mation and both candidates accepted immediately after Governor Johnson's nomination.



Senator Dixon is chairman of the national committee, and as members at large are four women—one of them from a State in which women have the voting right. They are Jane Addams of Illinois, Frances Kellor of New York, Mrs. Charles Blaney of California, and Jean Gordon of Louisiana.



Woodrow Wilson's Acceptance.

Woodrow Wilson was formally notified on the 7th of his nomination by the Democratic party for President of the United States, the address in behalf of the party being made by Senator James as chairman of the national convention. Governor Wilson read his speech of acceptance from manuscript. In the course of it he said:

There are two great things to do. One is to set up the rule of justice and of right in such matters as the tariff, the regulation of the trusts and the prevention of monopoly, the adaptation of our banking and currency laws to the varied uses to which our people must put them, the treatment of those who do the daily labor in our factories and mines and throughout all our great industrial and commercial undertakings, and the political life of the people of the Philippines, for whom we hold governmental power in trust, for their service, not our own. The other, is the great task of protecting our people and our resources and of keeping open to the whole people the doors of opportunity. . . . Tariff duties have not been a means of setting up an equitable system of protection. They have been, on the contrary, a method of fostering special privilege. . . . The changes we make should be made only at such a rate and in such a way as will least interfere with the normal and healthful course of commerce and manufacture. But we shall not on that account act with timidity, as if we did not know our own minds, for we are certain of our ground and of our object. There should be an immediate revision, and it should be downward, unhesitatingly and steadily downward . . . until special favors of every sort shall have been absolutely withdrawn and every part of our laws of taxation shall have been transformed from a system of governmental patronage into a system of just and reasonable charges which shall fall where they will create the least burden. . . . Big business is not dangerous because it is big, but because its bigness is an unwholesome inflation created by privileges and exemptions which it ought not to enjoy. . . . There are vast confederacies (as I may perhaps call them for the sake of convenience) of banks, railways, express companies, insurance companies, manufacturing corporations, mining corporations, power and development companies and all the rest of the circle, bound together by the fact that the ownership of their stock and the members of their boards of directors are controlled and determined by comparatively small and closely inter-related groups of persons who, by their