

# THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY PLATFORM

The following is the platform adopted by the Progressive party at its national convention held at Chicago August 6, 1912, and Colonel Roosevelt said it was a binding contract with the people to be observed by the Progressives were elected to office. Compare this straight, clean-cut platform without any ifs with the old party promises:

## Declaration of Principles of the Progressive Party.

The conscience of the people in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party, born of the nation's awakened sense of justice.

We of the Progressive party dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain that government of the people, by the people and for the people whose foundations they laid. We have Lincoln that the people are the masters of their constitution to fulfill its purposes and to safeguard it from those who, by perversion of its intent, would convert it into an instrument of injustice. In accordance with the needs of each generation the people must use their sovereign powers to establish and maintain equal opportunity and industrial justice, to secure which this government was founded and without which no republic can endure.

This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Its resources, its business, its institutions and its laws should be utilized, maintained or altered in whatever manner will best promote the general interest. It is time to set the public welfare in the first place.

## The Old Parties.

Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people. From these great tasks both of the old parties have turned aside. Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare they have become the tools of corruption, interests which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government, knowing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people. To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of the statesmanship of the day.

The deliberate betrayal of its trust by the Republican party, the fatal incapacity of the Democratic party to deal with the new issues of the new time have compelled the people to form a new instrument of government through which to give effect to their will in laws and institutions. Unhampered by tradition, uncorrupted by power, undismayed by the magnitude of the task, the new party offers itself as the instrument of the people to sweep away old abuses, to build a new and nobler commonwealth.

## A Government With the People.

This declaration is our covenant with the people and we hereby bind the party and its candidates in state and nation to the pledges made herein.

The National Progressive party committed to the people of the government by a self-controlled democracy, expressing its will through representatives of the people, pledges itself to secure such alterations in the fundamental law of the several states and of the United States as shall insure the representative character of the government. In particular the party desires for direct primaries for the nomination of state and national officers, for nation-wide preferential primaries for candidates for the presidency, for the direct election of United States senators by the people; and we urge on the states the policy of the short ballot with responsibility to the people secured by the initiative, referendum and recall.

## Amendment of Constitution.

The Progressive party believing that a free people should have the power to amend their fundamental law so as to adapt it progressively to the changing needs of the people pledges itself to provide a more easy and expeditious method of amending the federal constitution.

## Nation and State.

Up to the limit of the constitution and later by amendment of the constitution, it found necessary, we advocate bringing under effective national jurisdiction those problems which have expanded beyond reach of the individual states.

It is as grotesque as it is intolerable that the several states should by

unequal laws in matter of common concern become competing commercial agencies, barter the lives of their children, the health of their women and the safety and well being of their working people for the profit of their financial interests.

The extreme insistence on states rights by the Democratic party in the Baltimore platform demonstrates anew its inability to understand the world into which it has survived, or to administer the affairs of a union of states which have in all essential respects become one people.

## Equal Suffrage.

The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy, which denies the rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

**Corrupt Practices.** We pledge our party to legislation that will compel strict limitation of all campaign contributions and expenditures and detailed publicity of both, before as well as after primaries and elections.

**Publicity and Public Service.** We pledge our party to legislation compelling the registration of lobbyists; publicity of committee hearings except on foreign affairs and records of all votes in committee; and forbidding federal appointments from holding office in state or national political organizations or taking part as officers or delegates in political conventions for the nomination of elective state or national officials.

**The Courts.** The Progressive party demands such restriction of 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 the 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 its 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.

**Administration of Justice.** The Progressive party in order to secure to the people a better administration of justice by the courts, pledges itself to work unceasingly for the reform of legal procedure and judicial methods.

We believe that the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed.

**Social and Industrial Justice.** The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlarged measure of social and industrial justice. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in state and nation for:

1.—Effective legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment and other injurious effects incident to modern industry.

2.—The fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the various occupations and the exercise of the public authority on states and nation including the federal control over interstate commerce and the taxing power, to maintain such standards.

3.—The prohibition of child labor.

4.—Minimum wage standards, for working women, to provide a "living wage" in all industrial occupations.

5.—The general prohibition of night work for women and the establishment of an eight-hour day for women and young people.

6.—One day rest in seven for all wage workers.

7.—The eight-hour day in continuous twenty-four-hour industries.

8.—The abolition of the convict contract labor system, substituting a system of prison production for governmental consumption only; and the application of prisoners earnings

to the support of their dependent families.

**Department of Labor.** We pledge our party to establish a department of labor with a seat in the cabinet and with wide jurisdiction over matters affecting the conditions of labor and living.

**Country Life.** The development and prosperity of country life are as important to the people who live in the cities as they are to the farmers. Increase of the prosperity on the farm will favorably affect the cost of living, and promote the interests of all who dwell in the country and all who depend upon its products for clothing, shelter and food.

We pledge our party to foster the development of agricultural credit and co-operation, the teaching of agriculture in schools, agricultural college extension, the use of mechanical power on the farm, and to re-establish the Country Life Commission, thus directly promoting the welfare of the farmers, and bringing the benefits of better farming, better business and better living within their reach.

**High Cost of Living.** The high cost of living is due partly to world-wide and partly to local causes; partly to natural and partly to artificial causes. The measures proposed in this platform on various subjects such as the tariff, the trusts and conservation, will of necessity result in a reduction of prices. There will remain other elements such as the tendency to leave the country for the city, waste, extravagance, system of taxation, poor methods of raising crops and bad business methods in marketing crops.

To remedy these conditions requires the fullest information and based on this information, effective government supervision and control to remove all the artificial causes. We pledge ourselves to such full and immediate inquiry and to immediate action to deal with every need such inquiry discloses.

**Health.** We favor the union of all the existing agencies of the federal government dealing with the public health into a single national health service without discrimination against or for any one set of therapeutic methods, school of medicine, or school of healing, with such additional powers as may be necessary to enable it to perform efficiently such duties in the protection of the public from preventable disease as are now undertaken by the federal authorities; including the execution of existing laws regarding pure food, quarantine and cognate subjects; the promotion of appropriate action for the improvement of vital statistics and the extension of the registration area of such statistics; and cooperation with the health activities of the various states and cities of the nation.

**Business.** We believe that true popular government, justice and prosperity go hand in hand, and so believing it is our purpose to secure that large measure of prosperity which is the fruit of legitimate and honest business, fortified by equal justice and by sound progressive laws.

We demand that the test of true prosperity shall be the benefits conferred thereby on all citizens, not confined to individuals or classes and that the test of corporate efficiency shall be the ability better to provide for the public, that those who profit by the control of the business affairs, shall justify that profit and that control by sharing with the public the fruits thereof.

We therefore demand a strong national regulation of interstate corporations. The corporation is an essential part of modern business, in some degree, is both inevitable and necessary for national and international business efficiency. But the existing concentration of vast wealth under a corporate system unguarded and uncontrolled by the nation, has placed in the hands of a few men, enormous, secret, irresponsible power over the daily life of the citizen—a power unsufferable in a free government and certain of abuse.

This power has been abused in monopoly of national resources in stock watering, in unfair competition and in unfair privileges and finally, in sinister influences on the public influences of state and nation. We do not fear commercial power, but we insist that it shall be operated with publicity, supervision and regulation of the most efficient sort, which will preserve its good while eradicating and preventing its evils.

To that end, we urge the establishment of a strong federal administrative commission of high standing, which shall maintain permanent active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in interstate commerce, or such of them as are of public importance, doing for them what the government now does for the national banks, and what is now done for the railroads by the interstate commerce commission. Such a commission must have the complete publicity of those corporate transactions which are of public interest, must attack unfair competition, false capitalization and by continuous trained watchfulness, guard and keep open equally, all the highways of American commerce. Thus the business man will have certain knowledge of the law, and will be able to conduct his business easily in conformity therewith; the investor will find security for his capital; dividends will be rendered more certain, and the savings of the people will be drawn naturally and safely into the channels of trade.

Under such a system of constructive legislation, legitimate business freed from confusion, uncertainty and fruitless litigation, will develop normally in response to the energy and enterprise of the American business man.

**Patents.** We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a patent law which will make it impossible for patents to be suppressed or used against the public welfare, in the interests of injurious monopolies.

**Interstate Commerce.** We pledge our party to secure to the interstate commerce commission the power to value the physical property of railroads. In order that the power of the commission to protect

the people may not be impaired or destroyed, we demand the abolition of the commerce court.

**Currency.** We believe there exists a need for prompt legislation for the improvement of our national currency system. We believe the present method of issuing notes through private agencies is harmful and unsatisfactory. The issue of currency should be a government function and the system should have as basic principles soundness and elasticity. The control should be lodged with the government and should be protected from domination or manipulation by Wall street or any special interest.

We are opposed to the so-called Aldrich currency bill because its provisions would place our currency and credit system in private hands, not subject to public control.

**Commercial Development.** The time has come when the federal government should co-operate with manufacturers and producers in extending our foreign commerce. To this end we demand adequate appropriations by congress and the appointment of diplomats and consular officers solely with a view to their special fitness and worth, and not in consideration of political expediency.

It is imperative to the welfare of our people that we enlarge and extend our foreign commerce. We are pre-eminently fitted to do this because, as a people, we have developed high skill in the art of manufacturing; our business men are strong executives, strong organizers. In every way possible our federal government should co-operate in this important matter.

Any one who has had opportunity to study and observe first hand Germany's course in this respect must realize that their policy of co-operation between government and business has in comparatively few years made them a leading competitor for the commerce of the world. It should be remembered that they are doing this on a national scale and with large units of business, while the Democrats would have us believe that we should do it with small units of business, which would be controlled not by the national government but by forty-nine conflicting state sovereignties. Such a policy is utterly out of keeping with the progress of the times and gives our great commercial rivals in Europe—hungry for international markets—golden opportunities of which they are rapidly taking advantage.

The natural resources of the nation must be promptly developed and generously used to supply the people; but we cannot safely allow them to be wasted, exploited, monopolized or controlled against the general good. We heartily favor the policy of conservation and we pledge our party to hinder the national forests without hindering their legitimate use for the benefit of all the people. Agricultural lands in the national forests are and should remain open to the genuine settler. Conservation will not retard legitimate development. The honest settler must receive his patent promptly without hindrance, rules or delay.

We believe that the remaining forests, coal and oil lands, water power and other natural resources still in state or national control (except agricultural lands) are more likely to be wisely conserved and utilized for the general welfare if held in the public hands. In order that consumers and producers, managers and workmen may have the benefit of the toll to private monopolies of power and raw material, we demand that such resources shall be retained by the state or nation and opened to immediate use under laws which will encourage development and make to the people a moderate return for benefits conferred.

In particular we pledge our party to require reasonable compensation to the public for water power rights hereafter granted by the public. We pledge legislation to lease the public grazing lands under equitable provisions now pending which will increase the production of food for the people and thoroughly safeguard the rights of the natural homemaker. Natural resources whose conservation is necessary for the national welfare should be owned or controlled by the nation.

**Good Roads.** We recognize the vital importance of good roads and we pledge our party to foster their extension in every proper way and we favor the early construction of national highways. We also favor the extension of the rural free delivery service.

**Alaska.** The coal and other natural resources of Alaska should be opened to development at once. They are owned by the people of the United States and are safe from monopoly, waste or destruction only while so owned. We demand that they shall

be sold not given away except under the Homestead law, but held in government ownership until liberal terms requiring immediate development.

Thus the benefit of cheap fuel will accrue to the government of the United States and to the people of Alaska and the Pacific coast, the settlement of extensive agricultural lands will be hastened; the extermination of the salmon will be prevented; and the just and wise development of Alaskan resources will take the place of private extortion or monopoly. We demand also that extortion or monopoly in transportation shall be prevented by the prompt acquisition, construction or improvement by the government of such railroads, harbor or other facilities for transportation as the welfare of the people demand.

We promise the people of the territory of Alaska the same measure of local self-government that was given to other American territories, and that federal officials appointed there shall be qualified by previous bona fide residence in the territory.

**Waterways.** The rivers of the United States are the natural arteries of this continent. We demand that they shall be opened to traffic as an indispensable part of a great nation-wide system of transportation in which the Panama canal will be the central line, thus enabling the whole interior of the United States to share with the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard in the benefit derived from the canal. It is the national obligation to develop our rivers, and especially the Mississippi and its tributaries, without delay, under a comprehensive general plan covering each river system from its source to its mouth, designed to secure its highest usefulness for navigation, irrigation, domestic supply and prevention of floods.

We pledge our party to the immediate preparation of such a plan which should be made and carried out in close and friendly co-operation between the nation, the states, and the cities affected. Under such a plan, the destructive floods of the Mississippi and other streams which result in a great annual loss to the nation would be controlled by forest conservation and water storage at the headwaters, and by levees below, land sufficient to support millions of people would be reclaimed from the deserts and the swamps, water power enough to transform the industrial standards of the southern states would be developed, adequate water terminals would be provided, transportation by river would revive and the railroads would be compelled to co-operate as freely with the boat lines as with each other. The equipment, organization and experience acquired in constructing the Panama canal soon will be available for the lakes-to-the-gulf deepwaterway and other portions of this great work and should be utilized by the nation in co-operation with the various states, at the lowest cost to the people.

The Panama canal, built and paid for by the American people must be used for their benefit. We demand that the canal shall be so operated as to break the transportation monopoly now held and misused by the transcontinental railroads. Ships owned or controlled by transcontinental railroads must not be allowed to use the canal, and American ships shall pay no tolls. The Progressive party shall favor legislation having for its aim the development of friendship and commerce between the United States and Latin American nations.

**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 pay envelope of the laborer. We declare that no industry deserving protection which is unfair to labor or which is operating in violation of federal law. We believe that the presumption is always in favor of the consuming public.

We demand tariff revision because the present tariff is unjust to the people of the United States. Fair dealing toward the people requires an immediate downward revision of these schedules wherein duties are shown to be unjust or excessive.

We pledge ourselves to the establishment of a non-partisan scientific tariff commission reporting both to the president and to the congress, which shall report first the cost of production, efficiency of labor, capitalization, industrial organization and efficiency, and the general competitive position in the country and abroad of industries seeking protection from congress; second, as to the revenue producing power of the tariff and its relation to the resources of government; and third, as to the effect of the tariff on the prices, operations of middlemen and on the purchasing power of the consumer.

We believe that this commission should have plenary powers to elicit information and to prescribe a uniform system of accounting for the great protected industries. The work of the commission should not prevent the immediate adoption of acts reducing the schedules generally recognized as excessive.

We condemn the Payne-Aldrich bill as unjust to the people. The Republican organization is in the hands of those who have broken, and cannot again be trusted to keep the promise of necessary downward revision.

The Democratic party is committed to the destruction of the protective system through a tariff for revenue only a policy which would inevitably produce widespread industrial and commercial disaster. We demand the immediate repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act.

**Inheritance and Income Tax.** We believe in a graduated inheritance tax as a national means of equalizing the obligation of holders of property to government and we hereby pledge our party to enact such a federal law, as will tax large inheritance, returning to the states an equitable percentage of all amounts collected. We favor the ratification of the pending amendments to the constitution giving the government power to levy an income tax.

**Peace and National Defense.** The Progressive party deprecates the survival in our civilization of the barbaric system of warfare among nations, with its enormous waste of resources even in time of peace and the consequent impoverishment of the life of the toiling masses. We pledge the party to use its best endeavors to substitute judicial and other peaceful means of settling international differences.

We favor an international agreement for the limitation of naval forces. Pending such an agreement, and as the best means of preserving peace, we pledge ourselves to maintain for the present the policy of building two battleships a year.

**Treaty Rights.** We pledge our party to protect the rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our government which discriminates between American citizens because of the race, place, race or religion, or that does not recognize the absolute right of expatriation.

**The Immigrant.** Through the establishment of industrial standards we propose to secure to the able-bodied immigrants and to his able native fellow workers a larger share of American opportunity.

We denounce the fatal policy of indifference and neglect which has left our enormous immigration population to beset the prey of chance and caprice. We favor governmental action to encourage the distribution of immigrants away from the congested cities, to supervise rigidly all private agencies dealing with them and to promote their assimilation, education and advancement.

**Pensions.** We pledge our service to a wise and just policy of pensioning American soldiers, and the widows and children of the federal government, and we withdraw our nominations from states in granting pensions to the ex-confederate soldiers and sailors and their widows and children.

**Civil Service.** We condemn the violation of the civil service law by the president, including the correction and assessment of subordinate employees and the refusal to punish such violations after a finding of guilty by his own commission, his distribution of patronage among subservient congressmen while withholding it from those who refuse support of administration members, his withdrawal of nominations from the senate until political support for himself was secured, and his appointments to office to reward those who voted for his renomination. To eradicate those abuses we demand not only the enforcement of the civil service act in letter and spirit, but also legislation which will bring under the competitive system postmasters, collectors, marshals, and all other non-political officers, as well as the enactment of a civil service law, and we also insist upon continuous service during good behavior and efficiency.

**Business Organization.** We pledge our party to readjustment of the business methods of the national government and a proper coordination of the federal bureaus which will increase the economy and efficiency of the government service, prevent duplications and secure better results to the taxpayers for every dollar expended.

**Supervision of Investment.** The people of the United States are swindled out of many millions of dollars every year through worthless investments. The plain people, the wage earners and the men and women with small savings, have no way of knowing the merit of concerns sending out highly colored prospectuses offering stock for sale, prospectuses which make big returns seem certain and fortunes easily within grasp.

We hold it to be the duty of the government to protect its people from this kind of piracy. We therefore demand wise, careful, thoughtful legislation that will give us such governmental supervision over this matter as will furnish to the people of the United States this much-needed protection, and we pledge ourselves thereto.

**Conclusion.** On these principles and on the recognized stability of uniting the progressive forces of the nation into an organization which shall unequivocally represent the progressive spirit and policy, we appeal for the support of all American citizens without regard to previous political affiliations.

Read the Classified Ads.

## NEW CODE WILL HELP THE FANS

(By Walter H. Eckersall, Famous quarterback of Chicago University's Western champions of 1905-06, known as the leading drop-kicker of modern football and picked by many as the greatest quarterback of all time, writes his opinions of the new code.)

Constant changing of the football rules annually since the abolition of mass has detracted interest from the game. Football is complicated and unless a person knows some of the fundamentals of the great college pastime contests will not be as interesting as they are to those who understand the different rules. The coaches, players and officials have had but enough times keeping in touch with the many changes and the possibilities afforded by the alterations. It is little wonder, then, that the average football fan cannot keep in close touch with the game.

It is my honest opinion that the rules committee at its meeting in New York last winter did a great deal to simplify the code which will allow spectators at the big games to understand more fully what is going on and what each team is trying to do. The present alterations will equalize more than ever since the inauguration of the forward pass and the ten-yard rule the offense and defense. The new rules also will not place field goal kicking at the premium it has been since the ten-yard rule was substituted for the five-yard clause.

**Will Be More Line Plunging.** In allowing four downs to make ten yards the committee made a wise move. As a result more attempts will be made to rush the ball, with the consequent outcome that there will be more spectacular playing, and the element of luck, such as has been connected with forward passing, will not be such an important factor. There is sure to be more plunging by the backs of the tackles.

**Split Interference Rules and Other Formations of the Deceptive Character Will Be Used to Gain the Distance.** As the man with the ball cannot be pushed or pulled and as the entire defensive eleven can tackle him and rush him back, the extra down will go a long way toward equalizing the offense and defense.

When the forward pass was used in 1906 and 1907, the first two years of its existence its success was due more to the lack of proper styles of defense to meet it successfully than it was to the deceptive methods which were used to bring about its successful completion. As a result, the coaches began to spend more time building up a defense to stop the play than they did to perfect the offense for the play. As the defense became stronger the big teams were afraid to take chances with the play. As a result the crucial contests between evenly matched teams developed into punting duels and each depended upon the element of luck which might result from muffed punts or fumbles.

**Should Have Larger Score.** As a team should have some reward for carrying the ball to within striking distance of its opponent's goal, the committee has decided to allow forward passes to be completed behind the goal line. The result of this ruling easily can be seen. The defense is sure to be weakened, because the opposing eleven must play at least two men back of the goal to intercept any pass.

It is a well known fact that as a team approaches an opponent's goal lines the secondary defense gradually is pulled up to reinforce the forward line. Consequently the offensive team has two lines of defense to penetrate, which is extremely hard when the fact is taken into consideration that the man with the ball cannot be either pushed or pulled. This is a mighty good rule and should result in more scores being made by legitimate football.

We hold it to be the duty of the government to protect its people from this kind of piracy. We therefore demand wise, careful, thoughtful legislation that will give us such governmental supervision over this matter as will furnish to the people of the United States this much-needed protection, and we pledge ourselves thereto.

**Conclusion.** On these principles and on the recognized stability of uniting the progressive forces of the nation into an organization which shall unequivocally represent the progressive spirit and policy, we appeal for the support of all American citizens without regard to previous political affiliations.

Read the Classified Ads.

## NEW BATTLESHIP ARKANSAS IS THOUGHT TO BE FASTEST VESSEL OF HER CLASS



Philadelphia, Sept. 14.—The dreadnought Arkansas, which is believed will prove to be the fastest battleship in the world, has been turned over to Commandant Grant of the League Island navy yard by the New York shipyard company. The Arkansas proceeded from the shipbuilding yard to the navy yard under her own steam. She is in condition to go to sea immediately if necessary, although there are finishing touches yet to be put on. When ordered into service the Arkansas will be commanded by Captain R. C. Smith, who arrived from Washington, Commanding Officer. William A. Moffat has been appointed executive officer. More than 1,100 officers and men will be required to man the sea fighter.

## ATTORNEY BURTON W. GIBSON SAYS HE WELCOMES INQUIRY INTO DEATH OF MRS. SZABO, HIS FORMER CLIENT

New York, Sept. 14.—Burton W. Gibson, who has an office at 55 Liberty street and whose home is in Rutherford, N. J., declares that he welcomes the inquiry into the death of Mrs. Ruzelna Menschik Szabo, who was drowned in Greenwold lake while towing with him July 16 last. "I am very glad they are going to exhumate the body of Mrs. Szabo," Gibson said. "I do not mind the district attorney of Orange and New York counties for making an investigation into her death since public opinion seems to demand it. Were I in their places I should do the same thing. There were three or four witnesses to the death of Mrs. Szabo, and if those persons tell the same stories now that they told right after witnessing it, I will be placed in the proper light."

## Senator Heyburn Is Seriously Ill

Washington, Sept. 14.—Senator William H. Heyburn of Idaho is seriously ill in his apartments here. His ailment has been diagnosed an angina pectoris. A few weeks before the adjournment of the last session of congress colleagues of Senator Heyburn were advised that his health was bad and the nature of his ailment was made known to them. Twice the senator was forced to give up his work in the senate and go away to recuperate.



SENATOR HEYBURN