WHAT HAPPENS TO THIRD PARTIES AND THEIR DEMANDS

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the School of Education
Indiana State Teachers College

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in Education

by
Robert F. Watkins
September 1949
The thesis of Robert F. Watkins, Contribution of the Graduate School, Indiana State Teachers College, Number 684, under the title

What Happens to Third Parties and Their Demands

is hereby approved as counting toward the completion of the Master's degree in the amount of 8 hours' credit.

Committee on thesis:

Raymond J. Press
Erwin Boddie
Fred E. Frey

Chairman

Representative of English Department:

L. D. Smith

Date of Acceptance 8/24/1950
TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER                          PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION                  1
II. LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT  7
III. GREENBACK-LABOR AND LABOR REFORM MOVEMENT  16
IV. ANTI-MONOPOLY MOVEMENT       38
V. PROHIBITION REFORM MOVEMENT   41
VI. THE POPULIST MOVEMENT        52
VII. LATER LABOR MOVEMENT        65
VIII. SOCIALIST-LABOR PARTY MOVEMENT  71
IX. MISCELLANEOUS MINOR PARTY MOVEMENTS  78
X. CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY        83
Chart of third party demands     89
BIBLIOGRAPHY                     106
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The layman has failed to appreciate the true value or contributions of minor parties\(^1\) in the United States. To find the real significance of the third parties is the task to be undertaken by this study. The average American's political philosophy has caused him to compare minor parties to major parties on the basis of size only. Thus they miss the real significance of third party movements. In this study, it must be realized that the boundaries of the Republican and Democratic parties' activities coincide with the boundaries of the nation; whereas third parties do not necessarily carry on nation-wide campaigns and do not participate in every election.\(^2\) Nevertheless, third parties, in spite of the "utopian character" of many of their demands and in spite of the humor with which the practical American regards them, have a very good and definite purpose in the processes of democratic government.

One of the broader views of minor or third parties


\(^2\)Loc. cit.
visualizes them\textsuperscript{3} as agents of education and agitation. Such an outlook on minor parties is emphasized by the history of the Prohibition party. Such an opinion concerning third parties develops an attitude which causes third parties to be recognized as an expression of social discontent and as a means of indicating objection to the existing economic regime. It is only necessary to study the platforms of the major parties to realize that they recognize third parties as a means of expressing discontent. The major parties recognize the objection to the existing regime by borrowing or stealing the planks of the various third party movements.\textsuperscript{4} It is also the task of this study to prove that such borrowing or stealing takes place. It is the hope of the major parties that they will draw the adherents of the new political philosophy when they incorporate the third party policies into their platforms.

It is true that every third party aspires to become one of the major parties, and although a few third party movements have had promising beginnings, never has a third party been successful in reaching major party status in the period of this study.\textsuperscript{5} The aspiration on the part of minor parties to gain major party recognition has led them into difficulty. It has caused them to take stands on a great number of contro-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{3}Ibid., pp. 1-2.
\item \textsuperscript{4}Ibid., p. 2.
\item \textsuperscript{5}Ibid., p. 4.
\end{itemize}
versial issues. It has caused them to extend their platform policies to cover ideas that the nucleus of the party did not necessarily believe in. The above procedure has always been followed by all third parties, regardless of the fact that there are grave doubts as to whether more ground was gained or lost by this maneuver of extending their platforms in the hope of drawing a larger following.6

Another practice of third parties that has caused them difficulties and has eventually caused their downfall has been that of fusion with one of the major parties. A great number of the third party leaders visualized fusion as the open door to real political power. History, however, teaches us that more fatalities among third parties can be traced to fusion than to any other cause. According to Haynes:

Either the larger party will swallow the smaller, or the natural antagonism that seems to develop between parties and elements of parties most closely related appears and a fierce quarrel ensues which is nearly always fatal to the smaller body.7

Thus we find that the erstwhile leaders of third party movements have not only failed to gain the political power they had hoped to gain by fusion but also they have been shorn of what power they had possessed originally. The relationship of third parties to the major parties is comparable

---

6 Loc. cit.

7 Loc. cit.
to the relationship of an agitator to any group of individuals. The real worth of third parties should be measured in their ability to stir the waters and prevent stagnation in the older party organization.\(^8\) If third parties are satisfied to remain missionaries, they can find much comfort in the record of achievement built by third parties in American history.\(^9\)

It is the purpose of this thesis to prove that the major parties have either eliminated third parties or held them in check by the process of fusion and by the process of either adopting and incorporating into their platforms or into legislative programs the ideas and the policies of the third parties. It is further the purpose of this study to prove that the minor parties not only play an important part in the writing of the future platforms of the major parties, but that they also play an important part indirectly in formulating future legislative programs. The above points shall be proved by a careful analysis of the demands of all major third party movements in the period from 1865 to 1900. It is to be expected that several of the proposals of the various platforms will be repetitions. Thus it shall be the

\(^8\)Ibid., pp. 4-5.

aim of this study to give any one proposal one complete
discussion, and then merely to mention that the other parties
endorse the view of the first party.

An analysis of the various third party programs will
also show us what major domestic problems have confronted the
nation during the period from 1865 to 1900.
### CHART SHOWING AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

**FROM 1865 TO 1900**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1874</th>
<th>1876</th>
<th>1878</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1882</th>
<th>1884</th>
<th>1886</th>
<th>1888</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1892</th>
<th>1894</th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1898</th>
<th>1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republican Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Republican Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Reform Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenback Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Populist Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Monopoly Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Labor Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Labor Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist-Labor Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Democrat Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal Rights Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Life line of major parties**

**Life line of minor parties**

**Party in power**

---

3. Haynes, op. cit., p. 11.
CHAPTER II

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

The first third party movement to gain prominence after the Civil War was the Liberal Republican movement, which had its origin in the state of Missouri about the year 1865. 1 The causes for the development of the Liberal Republican party can be traced to the opposition of certain groups in the North to the radical or Congressional plan of reconstruction and in later years to the opposition of a great number of reform groups to President Grant. 2 The political doctrine of the Liberal Republican party contained four main principles all of which found their way into the platforms of one or both of the major parties, and all of these principles were also enacted into law. The first of the four outstanding demands of the Liberal Republicans dealt with General Amnesty, the removing of all restrictions on the southern states. 3 The General Amnesty policy was carried out almost entirely by Congress and the President. Congress in 1872 passed an Amnesty Act which removed political and office holding restrictions on all but seven hundred

1Haynes, op. cit., p. 9.


3Haynes, op. cit., p. 11.
fifty former Confederates. During the preceding year the "Iron Clad Oath" had been repealed. That oath had excluded all former Confederates soldiers from participation in government.4 The final phase of the Amnesty movement was carried out in 1877 when President Hayes withdrew all federal troops from the states formerly in rebellion and returned the state governments of the South to the people.5

The second principle of the Liberal Republican platform called for a general reform in the Nation's Civil Service.6 A history of this issue will reveal that even though both parties carried planks calling for a reform in Civil Service (Republicans in 1872 and Democrats in 1876),7 President Hayes was unsuccessful in numerous attempts to have a reform bill enacted by Congress. However, the reform demand was finally answered by the Pendleton Act of 1883 and by subsequent legislation which increased the list of Civil Service employees. The Pendleton Act authorized the President to appoint three civil service commissioners, not more than two of whom should belong to the same political


5Loc. cit.


7Ibid., pp. 150, 166.
party, whose duty it should be to provide "open competitive examination for testing the fitness of applicants for the public service now classified, or to be classified." Only the lowest offices were at first classified, but the law provided that the President might extend the classified list at will to include other executive appointees. Practically every President since the passage of the Pendleton Act has used this power to protect his appointees. The incumbent at time of classification is allowed to remain in office without examination, but as soon as he dies or resigns the position is subject to competitive examination. Perhaps the method used to extend the classified list of Civil Service positions was not in line with the spirit of the Liberal Republican demand. Nevertheless, the reform called for was accomplished by a gradual process.  

Another outstanding principle of the Liberal Republican movement dealt with the problem of the tariff. The Liberal Republicans favored a tariff for revenue only. The question of tariffs has been a favorite bone of contention between the two major parties for years. Usually the Republican party has adopted a stand in favor of protection and

---


9McKee, op. cit., p. 146.
high tariffs while in general the Democrats have favored low tariffs for revenue only. The importance of the tariff question has hinged on the economic welfare of the nation. The demand for a tariff for revenue only came about as a result of the high tariff of the Civil War and the continued tendency for tariff rates to rise. However, the immediate result of this demand was the passage in 1872 of a ten percent reduction in tariff rates on a few carefully chosen manufactured articles. Hicks states "At that time many non-protective duties, such as those on tea, coffee, spices, and various raw materials were lowered or abolished." The tariff rate has fluctuated up and down depending upon the party in power and the need of the government for money. However, for the purpose of this study, the Liberal Republican demand will be considered as answered. Continued demands for a reform of the tariff laws resulted in the passage of the Mongrel Bill of 1883. The Mongrel Bill was passed after considerable debate and bickering in both houses of Congress. At the time of the passage of the Mongrel Bill, the juggling of its provisions had been so extensive that very few people actually knew what was in the bill. Senator Sherman made


11Hicks, op. cit., p. 46.

the statement that the tariff law of 1883 laid the foundation for future tariff complications. The turmoil created over the passage of the Mongrel Bill is characteristic of the situation that develops whenever the tariff question arises.13

The last of the Liberal Republican party's four main principles called for a return to specie payment.14 An examination of the major party platforms during the period of the Seventies reveals no direct mention of the return to specie payment. However, President Hayes and a number of the Republican party leaders were strong adherents to the philosophy of hard money. The Resumption Act of 1875 authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare for resumption on January 1, 1879, by building up a gold reserve.15 Backed by the provisions of the Resumption Act, the Secretary of the Treasury was able to accumulate a gold reserve of $100,000,000. Before the arrival of the date that resumption was to take place, the clamor for hard money died down and the West instituted a demand for cheap money. Because of the opposition of the West only a small per cent of the greenbacks were ever called in.16

---

13Ibid., pp. 125-129.
14McKee, op. cit., p. 147.
15Loc. cit.
16Hicks, op. cit., pp. 147-148.
A careful analysis of the four main principles of the Liberal Republican party will prove that they all received some legislative attention and consideration by one or both of the major parties.

In addition to their four main principles the Liberal Republican platform also had planks expressing satisfaction and agreement with the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. They pledged themselves to follow a course of action designed to maintain the union.\textsuperscript{17}

The Liberal Republicans were also opposed to the further grants of land to railroads and corporations.\textsuperscript{18} Both of the major parties were sooner or later to adopt a similar plank in their platforms. The Republicans first carried such a plank in their platform of 1872 while the Democrats included it in their platform of 1876.\textsuperscript{19} Actually the practice of issuing large land grants to railroads was terminated by Congress in 1871. However, by fraudulent means the railroads and other large corporations were still obtaining large and unearned grants of land. The railroads still held large tracts of land which they had acquired with the promise of fulfilling certain requirements. In many cases the land was held by the railroad without any effort

\textsuperscript{17}\textsuperscript{17} McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 146.
\textsuperscript{18}\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 147.
\textsuperscript{19}\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., pp. 152, 165.
on the part of the railroads to fulfill their obligations. It was the above practices which caused third parties to advocate reform in the government land policy. Little was accomplished in the way of eliminating these frauds until the administration of Grover Cleveland. Under the guidance of L. Q. C. Lamar, the Secretary of Interior, Henry L. Muldrow, Assistant Secretary of Interior, and William Andrew Jackson Sparks, Land Commissioner, thousands of fraudulent claims were investigated and many unearned grants were reclaimed. Cleveland also issued an order stating that it was unlawful to enclose government lands for pasture.

The Liberal Republicans in 1872 took a stand on repudiation that was essentially the same as the stand previously taken by the Republicans in 1868, 1872, and 1876. The Democratic party failed to take up the question of repudiation in their platforms.

Another Liberal Republican plank of interest, although one about which little has been done, was the party's demand for legislation or a constitutional amendment limiting the tenure of the President to one four-year term. However,


21Loc. cit.


23McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
The Liberal Republican platform also carried an expression of gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who fought to preserve the union.\(^\text{25}\) Such an expression was customary of all parties in the period following the Civil War.

Other than the normal reasons for the failure of third parties to gain major party status, the failure of the Liberal Republicans to achieve their goal can be attributed to their failure to take advantage of the opportune moment. Haynes states that it was the belief of several prominent men that the Liberal Republicans would have had a chance to carry the election of 1872 had they nominated candidates more in sympathy with the reform movement.\(^\text{26}\)

The decease of the Liberal Republican party can be attributed to fusion with the Democrats.\(^\text{27}\) The Democrats had adopted the platform and candidates of the Liberal Republicans in 1872. Thus the first steps toward union was taken by the Democrats. In 1874 and 1876, the coalition

\(^{24}\)Stanwood, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. II, p. 263.


\(^{26}\)Haynes, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 17.

\(^{27}\)\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 18-19.
expressing opposition to the Republican administration presented candidates and a platform to the public under the heading of the Democratic party.28

CHAPTER III

LABOR REFORMERS AND GREENBACK-LABOR MOVEMENT

The Labor Reformers or National Labor Union party had its origin in the greenback controversy. The first greenback agitation appeared as early as 1867. The greenback theory was the American counterpart of the radicalism found in Europe during the latter part of the nineteenth century.¹ It is stated that Greenbackism passed through two stages in America, the National Labor Union party from 1867-1872 and the Greenback Labor party after 1873. The radicalism expressed by the general labor movement was American only in law and politics. The originator of the greenback theory in America was Edward Kellogg, a New York merchant. Kellogg's doctrine of greenbackism was contained in his book entitled, Labor and Other Capital. Kellogg's book was contemporary with Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto.²

Greenbackism in America was a doctrine favoring government by the wage earners and farmers. Its object was to take from bankers and other middlemen their control over government and credit, and thereby have credit and capital provided through the aid of the government to

¹Haynes, op. cit., p. 92.
²Loc. cit.
producers of material products. This was to be accomplished by the issuance of paper currency and government bonds.\(^3\)

The first political voice of the Greenback doctrine, the National Labor Reform party, was organized in about 1870. It presented its first platform and presidential candidate to the voting public in the campaign of 1872.\(^4\) The platform of the Labor Reformers called for the issuance of paper money and government bonds directly to the people, thus eliminating the necessity of banks.\(^5\) The latter demand of the Labor Reformers has never been realized. Nevertheless, the question of money and the government's regulation of its distribution will be more fully described in the forthcoming discussion of the Populist party. The Democrats presented in their 1876 platform a statement calling for a reform in the government's monetary system, in order to establish a sound currency and bring about a fair distribution of such currency.\(^6\)

The second demand of the Labor-Reform party in 1872 stated that "the national debt should be paid in good faith . . . . ."\(^7\) It is quite evident that the present two hundred fifty billion dollar debt is ample proof that this

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 93.
\(^4\)Loc. cit.
\(^6\)Ibid., p. 375.
demand is not now being complied with, but, nevertheless, the stand of the Labor Reformers was heartily accepted by the Republicans and has appeared in practically every one of their campaign platforms since 1868. The Democrats adopted a similar plank in 1876.\(^8\)

Another demand of the Labor Reformers was for elimination of the custom of exempting government bonds from taxation.\(^9\) Along with that theory of taxation, the Reformers further advocated that all taxes should be adjusted to bear equally on all classes of people. Nothing was ever done to abolish permanently the custom of exempting bonds from taxation, and as for the matter of taxing equally on all classes, the income tax is a very definite trend in that direction.

The fourth principle of the Labor Reformer's political doctrine was a proposal in favor of the restriction of land sales to actual settlers. Individuals and corporations who acquired land for the purpose of speculation were to be denied further grants of land. It was the belief of the Labor Reformers that land should be granted free to landless settlers in plots not to exceed one hundred sixty acres.\(^10\)

The land policy just described was put into effect originally

---


\(^9\)Ibid., p. 155.

under the Homestead Act of 1862. The purpose to be served by the land policy of the Labor Reformers was the prevention of waste in the use of American land and resources. In addition to the action taken by Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt's administration accomplished much in the way of conservation. During his administration, the number of acres in forest reserves was increased from 46,000,000 to 194,000,000. The forest reserves were to be made available to cattlemen and sheepmen for pasturing, for which a nominal fee was charged. It must be remembered that the Homestead Act provided for the policy advocated by the Labor Reformers; but as in the case of many government laws, it was never fully enforced. The result of this neglect was that cattlemen, lumbermen, railroad men, and land speculators acquired large holdings of land dishonestly. Such a condition was responsible for the land policy of the Labor Reformers. Roosevelt's policy of conservation was further carried out by the Newlands Act of 1902. The act provided a method for reclaiming of the arid land. Both major parties favored.

---

12 Ibid., p. 514.
13 Ibid., pp. 514-515.
14 Ibid., p. 517.
a reform in the land policy. The Republicans favored in 1872 a land policy essentially the same as the one advocated by the Labor Reformers. The Democrats in 1876 favored a similar policy.

The fifth plank of Labor Reformers stated that the tariff should be for revenue only, and they further called for the admittance into this country, free of tariff, of those items not produced in the United States. The question of revenue tariff has already been discussed in the preceding chapter.

In the Reformer's platform of 1872 can be found the first evidence of a desire to restrict immigration. The platform called specifically for a restriction of the importation of Chinese for servile purposes. The party leaders made the claim that the Chinese were imported by capitalists for the purposes of providing themselves with cheap labor. This particular demand found favor with both of the major parties. The Democrats came out in their 1876 platform with a plank of a similar nature. The Republicans stated in their 1876 platform that a study be made of the

15McKee, op. cit., p. 151.
16Ibid., pp. 165-166, 171.
18McKee, op. cit., pp. 165.
effect of Chinese immigration on American labor.\textsuperscript{19} However, it was not until 1880 that the Republicans advocated applying any restriction on immigration.\textsuperscript{20} Legislative action designed to answer the above demand was forthcoming in the form of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The Act was passed after an agreement was reached with the Chinese government regarding immigration. The provisions of the Exclusion Act stated that Chinese laborers could not enter the United States for a period of ten years. The Chinese Exclusion Act was renewed in 1892 for an indefinite period. Later as a result of the influx of Japanese labor, an agreement was reached with the Japanese government whereby it agreed not to issue passports to its laborers.\textsuperscript{21} The above "Gentlemen's Agreement" was in effect until 1924 when Congress extended the exclusion policy to cover the Japanese. A Congressional Act of 1907 empowered the President to exclude laborers who, having passports to Canada, Hawaii, or Mexico, attempted to enter the United States.\textsuperscript{22}

The Labor Reformer's platform of 1872 further called for an eight-hour day for all mechanics and day laborers.

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 172.
\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., p. 189.
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., pp. 585, 627.
employed by or in behalf of any governmental agency, be it town, state, or federal. The Republican party accepted this policy and made it a plank in their 1884 platform.\footnote{23} However, it wasn't until 1916 that Congress actually established the eight-hour law for federal employees. A more thorough discussion of legislation regarding working hours will be presented in the chapter on the Socialist-Labor party.

The eighth plank of the Labor-Reform platform called for the elimination of contract labor in our prisons and other reformatory institutions. The first time that any mention was made of the system of contract labor by any of the major parties was in 1884.\footnote{24} The Democrats condemned the Republican party for submitting the workers of America to the competition of contract prison labor and imported contract labor. Legislative action in line with the demand to eliminate contract labor consisted of a law passed in 1885 which forbade any person, company, or association to import aliens under contract. This law was further strengthened in 1887 and 1903.\footnote{25} Labor has yet to be completely freed from the competition of prison labor. However, the tendency for the use of prison labor in direct competition with free labor has declined.

\footnote{23}McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 212. 
\footnote{24}Ibid., p. 207. 
\footnote{25}Beard, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 584.
One of the outstanding planks of the Labor-Reform platform stated that the government should use its powers to control and regulate railroad and telegraph companies, to see that excessive rates were not charged. Growing pressure from the Greenbackers and farmer organizations caused both of the major parties to adopt a policy favoring regulation of railroads and other monopolistic business organizations. The Republicans recognized the demand for regulation in 1884 by adding a plank stating that there should be no discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

Legislative measures designed to regulate and control railroads and transportation rates were first enacted by state legislatures. These legislative acts, passed as a result of the pressure exerted by the various local Granges, were eventually declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The test case was a dispute involving the Wabash Railroad and the State of Illinois. The court held that only Congress had the power to regulate interstate commerce. An earlier case, Munn vs. Illinois, the court had upheld the right of a state to regulate railroads. Thus it remained

26 McKee, op. cit., p. 156.
28 Hicks, op. cit., pp. 94, 171-172.
for Congress to provide relief from the excessive transportation rates. After the completion of an investigation of the railroad problem by the Hepburn Committee, Congress complied with the request by passing the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. This act outlawed some of the more objectionable practices of railroads. Practices such as the giving of rebates, special rates, and drawbacks were declared illegal. The practice of discriminating between persons, places, and commodities was forbidden. The Interstate Commerce Act further prohibited pooling operations and the practice of charging more for shorter hauls than for longer ones over the same road and traveling in the same direction. The Interstate Commerce Act set up a five-man commission that had the task of enforcing the provisions of the act. Although the Commerce Act was a step in the desired direction and also served as the basis for further legislation, the act as originally written was inadequate to correct the existing evils. Penalties for each violation of the act were fixed, but very few of the penalties were ever applied in the early-days of the Interstate Commerce Act.\(^\text{29}\) However, during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt an attempt was made to strengthen the power of the Commerce Commission. This attempt resulted in the Elkins Act of 1903 which was designed to check

\(^{29}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 172-173.}\)
the practice of secret rebates to favored corporations. The latter act made the receiver as well as the giver of the rebate guilty of a violation of the Interstate Commerce Act. The Elkins Act further shifted the responsibility of proving the justice of rates from the commission to the railroads. The power of the Interstate Commerce Commission received a tremendous boost by the passage of the Hepburn Act of 1906. The Hepburn Act gave the commission the power to fix rates; and it also gave the commission power to regulate express companies, pipe lines, sleeping car companies, bridges, and ferries. It prohibited railroads from carrying, except for their own use, products which they produced themselves; and it empowered the committee to prescribe a uniform system of bookkeeping for all railroads. The power of the commission was further extended in 1935 when all highway carriers were placed under their control. The movement to regulate railroads received further aid when the Department of Commerce and Labor, within which was incorporated a Bureau of Corporations, was established.

The Labor Reform party repeated the demand of the Liberal Republicans for a constitutional amendment limiting
the President to one four-year term. The Democrats in 1912 favored limiting the President to one four-year term.

The Labor Reform party also repeated the demands of the Liberal Republicans for civil service reform and general amnesty. It also called for the subordination of the military to civil authorities. This demand can be traced to concentration of power during the Civil War. Since this is one of the keystones of the government, surely this demand can be considered as having been answered. The last plank in the 1872 platform of the Labor Reformers dealt with the patent and copyright laws. Congress complied by creating the patent office in 1897. Neither major party made any direct reference to the problems of copyrights and patents in any of their platforms during the period of this study.

The Labor-Greenback movement passed through the second stage of its history as the Greenback party, but because this party was built upon several independent elements, the Greenback party presented their views to the public in the form of the Independent party platform of 1876. Most of the Independent's platform in 1876 dealt with money. The

34 McKee, op. cit., p. 156.
36 Loc. cit.
Independent party platform contained economic and fiscal planks as follows: It called for a repeal of the Resumption Act of 1875. As heretofore stated the provisions of the Resumption Act were never fully carried out. There were two reasons for this. One was the increasing demand of the West for cheap money and the other was the fact that paper money had reached par at the time resumption was to take place. Paper money being much more convenient and easier to handle, the cry for hard money ceased.

The Independent platform also carried a request for interest rates of United States bonds not to exceed 3.65 per cent. The Democrats fell in line with the request in their platform of 1884. Republican platforms of the period under study made no mention of the bond issue. The sale of government bonds has become an established policy of the United States and in late years at much lower rate than the 3.65 per cent interest rate requested in the platform of the Independent party.

The Independent party platform also protested the sale of government bonds for the purpose of purchasing silver. At the time of the passage of the Bland-Allison bill in 1878, the Democrats were for the purchase of silver and the

38 McKee, op. cit., p. 174.
39 Ibid., p. 203.
Republicans against. However, in the Greenback platform of 1880, the party branched out to express its views on a great number of other policies. The Greenback platform of 1880 requested that a Bureau of Labor Statistics be created. Both of the major parties in 1884 adopted planks calling for legislation that would protect labor. In 1884, the Republicans also came out with a direct request for the establishment of a Bureau of Labor. The creation of the Bureau was accomplished in 1884. The Bureau also served to answer the demand of the Greenbackers for the protection of Labor by state and national authorities. Further demands for a national authority to protect the rights of labor resulted in the creation of the Department of Labor in 1913. Through its efforts, the American Federation of Labor brought about the creation of a bureau of labor statistics in practically every state.

Another labor demand of the Greenback party called for the elimination of child labor. The idea of eliminating

40Beard, op. cit., p. 457.
42McKee, op. cit., pp. 204, 212.
43Ibid., p. 192.
44Beard, op. cit., p. 585.
child labor was eventually adopted by both of the major parties. The Republicans had a plank in their platform of 1908 calling for a child labor law for the District of Columbia, and they also called for an investigation of child labor elsewhere. 47 In 1916, the Democrats came out for an effective Federal Child Labor law. 48 As for legislative action designed to curb the evils of child labor, the only laws enacted before the turn of the century were enacted by states. However, at the same time, the federal government began to take an interest in the problem of child labor. Theodore Roosevelt made several recommendations to Congress regarding child labor, but Congress failed to enact a law at this time. A movement was begun in 1906 to give Congress authority over child labor by constitutional amendment. Such an amendment was submitted to the states for ratification in 1924, but the states failed to ratify. 49 In the meantime, Congress tried to legislate indirectly. A law passed by Congress in 1916 prohibited to interstate shipment goods produced by child labor. The Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional by a five to four decision. Congress tried again in 1919 to legislate indirectly by establishing a prohibitive tax

48 Ibid., p. 383.
49 Hicks, op. cit., p. 406-407.
of ten per cent on profits derived from goods produced by child labor. The Supreme Court also declared the tax unconstitutional. It was following this reversal by the Supreme Court that Congress tried to get an amendment ratified giving them the authority to regulate child labor. The states being wary of the delegation of further power to the central government, failed to ratify the amendment. President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his National Recovery administration program tried to prevent child labor by a national law. Again, however, the Supreme Court declared such action unconstitutional. Thus the method of regulating child labor has been left to the various state legislatures. The states have accomplished much toward eliminating child labor by their compulsory education laws.

The Greenbackers in 1880 also called for the elimination of the importation of Chinese labor. The above plank has already been discussed in connection with the Liberal Republican party. They also repeated the demand of the Independent platform for the issuance of paper money and the request to regulate railroads. In addition to the latter demand, the Greenbackers also stated that something should be done about

50 Ibid., p. 455.

the development of large trusts. The first mention of any pledge to legislate against large trusts or combinations on the part of the major parties can be found in 1888, when the Republicans carried an anti-trust plank in their platform; the Democrats fell in line with the request four years later. The early attempts to regulate business met with about the same success as the early attempts to regulate railroads. A Congressional investigation of big business conducted in 1885 intensified the demand for something to be done about the organizations of large trusts. To start the legislative ball rolling, Senator John Sherman of Ohio introduced into Congress a measure now known as the Sherman Anti-Trust law. The Sherman Anti-Trust act was passed by Congress on July 2, 1890, by a large bi-partisan vote. This measure declared illegal all contracts to create monopolies in restraint of trade and competition. Again, as in the case of the railroads, little effort was made to enforce the provisions of the anti-trust law. The lack of enforcement caused the Sherman Anti-Trust law to be considered a dead letter by the turn of the century. However, this law was to serve as the basis for future legislation just at the Interstate Commerce Act

52 McKee, op. cit., p. 192.
54 Bassett, op. cit., pp. 739-740.
had done in the case of railroad regulation.\footnote{Loc. cit.}

The public's interest in the evils of big business was revived by the appearance of several books describing conditions existing among the large trusts. Some of the books responsible for this revival of interest were Ida M. Tarbell's \textit{History of the Standard Oil Company}, Upton Sinclair's \textit{The Jungle}, Lincoln Steffens' \textit{The Shame of Cities}, Frank Norris's \textit{The Octopus}, and a series of articles by David Graham Phillips entitled "The Treason of the Senate." Again, as in the case of the railroads, those who advocated reform found a ready champion in Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt has earned a place in history as a trust buster. Under his leadership the aroused public forced Congress to make some concessions to his demands for the regulation of big business. The Expedition Act of 1903 gave anti-trust suits precedence on court calendars, and also provided special trial courts to hear government prosecutions. A new department of Commerce and Labor was created. This department included a Bureau of Corporations, whose duty it was to investigate the affairs of large industrial concerns. At the same time Congress appropriated $5,000,000 to be used by the Attorney-General for the better enforcement of the anti-trust and interstate commerce laws. During the Roosevelt administration over forty
court actions were instituted against big business organizations.

Another important plank in the Greenback platform was a plank calling for a graduated income tax. The idea of an income tax to bolster government revenues was not entirely new, for a tax on incomes was one of the means used during the Civil War to raise money with which to conduct the war. After the Civil War, however, the income tax policy was dropped. The idea was revived by the greenback movement and an attempt to legislate on income tax was in the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act of 1894. This act levied an income tax on all incomes exceeding $4,000 per year. This early attempt, however, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Before the next attempt to legislate an income tax was instituted, the Democratic party had in their platform of 1908 a plank calling for a graduated income tax backed by a constitutional amendment. The Republican party also had some of its followers expressing themselves in favor of a graduated income tax. Among these was President Taft, who, when the Payne-Aldrich tariff was passed, also wanted a tax on individual incomes. However, he suggested that it be done by a constitutional amendment. The Payne-Aldrich tariff had a

56 McKee, op. cit., p. 192.
provision calling for a tax of one per cent on the incomes of corporations that exceeded $5,000. 60 In the meantime Congress prepared an amendment legalizing a tax on individual incomes. This amendment was declared ratified by a sufficient number of states on February 25, 1913. The Underwood Tariff Act of 1913 provided for the first legalized income tax on individuals. 61 Thus we can score another victory for the agitation of reform by third party movements.

Another plank of the Greenback platform of 1880 called for a reform in the rules governing the procedure of Congress. 62 It desired that the veto power of the Committees be taken away and that the committees be appointed by the whole legislative body. Its demands for reform were partially carried out when the Speaker of the House was stripped of many of his powers in 1910. This action was carried out by a combination of Democrats and insurgent Republicans. Heretofore, the Speaker had possessed the power to appoint all committees, and he had always been a member of the rules committee. The Congress of 1910 took away the power of the Speaker to appoint committee members and also removed the Speaker from membership of the rules committee, and the committee members

60 Loc. cit.

61 Carman, op. cit., p. 527.

were elected by the legislative committee. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 might be considered a further answer to this demand raised by the Greenbackers in 1880.

The Greenbackers in their 1880 platform denounced the Republican party for discrimination in favor of bondholders. This party also placed itself in opposition to a large standing army and the militia system. It was also opposed to imperialism. We find that the Democrats in their 1900 platform expressed themselves as being opposed to militarism and imperialism. The Greenback party also stated that it classified as dangerous any efforts to restrict suffrage. The party advocated the enfranchisement of every citizen of due age, sound mind, and not a felon. This was their recognition of the woman suffrage question.

The Greenback platform of 1884 repeated many of the planks found in its 1880 platform. However, there were a few new demands and views presented. One of these was a demand for a shorter term for Senators. Neither major party gave any consideration to this demand.

The other new demand of the Greenbackers in 1884 was an outright demand for woman suffrage. Major party plat-

---

63 Bassett, op. cit., p. 828.
64 McKee, op. cit., pp. 331-332.
66 Loc. cit.
forms, heretofore, had contained planks advocating the broadening of the fields for women's endeavors but no exact demand for woman suffrage. Both the Democrats and Republicans would have preferred to ignore the subject, but continued outside pressure caused both parties to come out in favor of woman suffrage by state action in their 1916 platforms. 67 A great number of states had already granted suffrage to women by 1916, Wyoming as early as 1869. Nevertheless, the leaders of the woman suffrage movement wanted action by the federal government. This action was forthcoming. In 1919 Congress proposed the 19th amendment, and early in 1920 a sufficient number of states had ratified the amendment. Thus women were able to participate in the election of 1920. 68

Looking back over the Greenback-Labor Reform movement, it is evident that all of their party planks, with rare exceptions, were sooner or later incorporated in one or both major party platforms. It is also evident that a majority of their proposals received legislative action. The Greenback party passed out of existence after 1884. Its remnants were absorbed by the Union Labor party of 1888. Some of the Greenbackers rejoined the Republican party and others be-


68 Hicks, op. cit., p. 408.
Leaders of the Greenback party, such as James Baird Weaver, eventually found their way into the Populist party.70


70 Loc. cit.
CHAPTER IV

ANTI-MONOPOLY PARTY

Another third party movement that had its origin in the period of the eighties was the Anti-Monopoly party. The demands of the Anti-Monopoly party had much in common with the demands of the Greenback-Labor Reform movement. The constant shifting of the members of various pressure groups makes distinguishing between the end of one party and the birth of a new party difficult. However, a group of westerners and farmers presented to the public in 1884 a platform bearing the name of the Anti-Monopoly party.\footnote{Haynes, Third Party Movements Since the Civil War, pp. 146-148.}

The main rallying points of the Anti-Monopoly party were the demands to regulate large business corporations and to regulate interstate commerce by law. Both of these proposals have been dealt with in the discussion of the Greenback-Labor Reform movement. They further repeated the demands of the Greenbackers on the matters of the creation of a bureau of labor statistics, both state and national, the holding of the public land for actual settlers, a graduated income tax, a revenue tariff that would fall as lightly as possible upon the necessities of life, and the payment of the bonded debt as soon as it falls due.
The Anti-Monopoly party was among the first to call for direct election of Senators.\(^2\) The Democrats borrowed this plank from the 1884 Anti-Monopoly platform and made it a part of their platforms in the campaigns of 1900, 1904, 1908, and 1912.\(^3\) The direct election demand was included in a minority report of the Republican party platform committee of 1908.\(^4\) Congress prepared an amendment to the Constitution legalizing the direct election of Senators and a sufficient number of states had ratified by May 31, 1913, to put the amendment into effect. Thus ended the struggle of another third party innovation to gain recognition.

In addition to the foregoing demands, the Anti-Monopoly party expressed its dissatisfaction with legislation unfair to American agriculture.\(^5\) The above stand influenced the legislation brought about as a result of the agitation carried forward by the Populist party. A thorough discussion will follow in a later chapter. The platform of the Anti-Monopoly party also voiced the perennial demand of parties out of power, a demand for the reduction of public expenditures.\(^6\) The Anti-Monopoly party had no prior or subsequent

\(^2\)McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 225.
\(^3\)Porter, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 215, 250, 282, 323.
\(^5\)McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 225.
\(^6\)\textit{Loc. cit.}
history; the platform of 1884 was the only one it presented to the public.
CHAPTER V

PROHIBITION REFORM MOVEMENT

Colvin states that the organization of the Prohibition party was not the result of the sudden impulse of a few enthusiasts. It was the evolutionary resultant of a number of factors or groups of influences which had been working through a series of years.

These factors or groups of factors included:

1. The background of experience with the political difficulties involved in the enforcement of the prohibitory laws of the fifties.
2. The passage of the Internal Revenue Act of 1862.
3. The compact organization of the liquor interests.
4. The growth of the liquor evil during the Civil War.
5. The political situation in which it was felt that the object of the Republican party had been virtually accomplished and that there should be a new party for a new issue.
6. The revival of the temperance activity immediately after the Civil War, and the resolutions of many bodies for political action.

The first call for a National Prohibition convention came in 1869. The meeting's membership consisted of the leaders of various temperance movements found in the United States. At this meeting the main creed of the prohibitionists was established. However, it was not until 1872 that they held their first nominating convention. Previous to this

---


2Ibid., p. 88.
date they had worked in various state campaigns. As one would assume, the main policy of the Prohibition party was a demand to eliminate the importation, exportation, manufacture, and traffic of all alcoholic beverages.\(^3\) The pressure of this party resulted in several states enacting state-wide prohibition laws. However, it proved difficult for one state to be dry and its neighbor state to remain wet. Thus there came about a demand for federal action. Forty-five years after the first nominating convention of the Prohibition party met, federal action was forthcoming. Neither of the major parties made any direct reference to prohibition in any of their platforms. They preferred to ignore the problem. However, in 1917, an amendment was proposed prohibiting the sale, transportation, and manufacture of intoxicating liquors. This amendment came as a result of the many years of agitation and education brought about by the Prohibition party and other temperance societies. The eighteenth amendment was ratified by a sufficient number of states in 1919. Prohibition went into effect in 1920.\(^4\) Since then, however, the eighteenth amendment has been repealed.\(^5\) Nevertheless, the demand for prohibition was answered temporarily.

\(^3\)McKee, op. cit., pp. 157-158.
\(^4\)Hicks, op. cit., p. 632.
\(^5\)Loc. cit.
Aside from the liquor issue, the Prohibition party endorsed the stand of the Greenback-Labor movement on woman suffrage. The Prohibition party was the first party to adopt a woman's suffrage plank in their platform.

In addition to the demands already listed the Prohibition party platform contained several more or less utopian planks. Among these demands can be found a request for the use of the Bible as a textbook in all schools and a request that national observance of the Sabbath be established by laws prohibiting all business, public or private, on Sunday, works of necessity, charity, and religion being excepted. The latter demands received no Federal legislative or major party action.

The Prohibition party further called for the abolition of the twin elements of barbarism, polygamy and the social evil. The Mormon Church in Utah was the only religious organization in the United States that sanctioned polygamy. The Mormons had been forced to leave the Eastern and Central states because of this deviation from the standard of conduct in regard to marriage. In the period of this study, the Republican party first expressed a desire to legislate

---

7 Loc. cit.  
8 Loc. cit.  
9 Beard, op. cit., p. 290.
against polygamy in their campaign of 1880.\(^{10}\) Such a stand was repeated in 1884 and 1888, and the Democrats condemned polygamy in their 1904 platform.\(^{11}\)

Legislative measures designed to suppress polygamy began to appear as early as 1862. A later act of 1882, the Edmunds Act tried to strengthen the effort to eliminate polygamy by depriving those who practice polygamy of their civil rights. However, the acts of 1862 and 1882 were ineffectively enforced and thus the Mormons paid little attention to them.\(^{12}\) As a result of the agitation stirred up by the Prohibition party and due to the fact that Utah was seeking statehood, the complete elimination of polygamy was brought about by the passage of a bill in 1887 "which authorized the confiscation of the property of the Mormon Church" if it resisted the laws of Congress. The authorities of the Mormon Church became alarmed. President Woodruff and the officials of the church renounced polygamy in 1890.\(^{13}\) In spite of this action many of the non-Mormons were doubtful of its sincerity, and Utah was denied statehood until 1896. The Utah state constitution prohibited plural marriages.

---

\(^{10}\)McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 188.  
\(^{13}\)Bassett, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 748.
absolutely and forever.\textsuperscript{14}

There is to be found no direct stand on the social evil in any of the platforms of the major parties during the period of this study. Nevertheless, there were legislative measures passed designed to curb the social evil. Such legislation was at first entirely up to the states. As a result, most of the states (44) enacted injunction and abatement laws which allowed houses of ill fame to be closed as public nuisances. This type of law was effective against the owners, agents and operators of houses of ill repute.\textsuperscript{15} Iowa was the first state to make use of the injunction and abatement law in controlling the social evil. The Federal Government entered into the picture with the passage of the White Slave Acts of 1910. The White Slave Acts consisted of the Mann Act which prohibits interstate and international traffic in women for immoral purposes and the Bernet Act which penalized those who imported alien women for the purpose of prostitution.\textsuperscript{16} The May Act of 1941 further prohibited prostitution within a reasonable distance of a military establishment.\textsuperscript{17} The fact that prostitution had

\textsuperscript{14}Beard, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 443.

\textsuperscript{15}George Gould, \textit{Laws Against Prostitution and Their Use} (New York: The American Social Hygiene Association, 1941), pp. 4-8.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Loc. cit.}
not been completely eliminated can be attributed to the fact that White Slave Laws were inefficiently administered and the reluctance of the Federal government to interfere with what it considers to be the duty of the states.

The Prohibition party also advocated that the charters of all secret lodges granted by state or federal legislation should be withdrawn and their oaths prohibited by law. The only restrictions placed upon lodges and secret societies is the one stating that they cannot advocate the use of force, and they cannot advocate the overthrow of the American government. Neither of the major parties made any mention of the above demand in their platforms.

The Prohibition party's platforms usually contained a demand for the extension of political and civil rights to all Indians and Chinese in the United States.\textsuperscript{18} The Democrats came nearest to adopting the latter stand when in 1884 they stated that they were in favor of the extension of political and civil equality to all citizens regardless of race, creed, or color.\textsuperscript{19} One phase of the Prohibition demand was partially carried out by a series of legislative acts headed by the Dawes Act of 1887. The Dawes Act stated that if the Indian left the reservation, he could become a full-

\textsuperscript{18} McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 176.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 205.
fledged citizen. After becoming a citizen he could acquire one hundred sixty acres of land. It was the purpose of the Dawes Act to eliminate the Indian as a public charge. Under the reservation system the Indian had reached the point where he had become dependent upon the government for the necessities of life. By 1920, about half of the Indians in the United States had accepted the Dawes plan. However, much of the better land granted to the Indians had by various and questionable methods come into the possession of a few white men. Congress in 1924 bestowed citizenship on all Indians, even those who remained on reservations. In 1934, the government brought about a complete reversal of its Indian policy. Instead of the individual ownership prescribed by the Dawes Act, the government now favored tribal ownership of land and to some extent local tribal government.20

The Prohibition party called for public schools and state aid to these schools. They also favored the separation of church and school, and compulsory education.21 Both of the major parties essentially agreed with the stand taken by the Prohibition party. Both parties had similar planks in their 1876 platforms.22 The states have done well toward

20Bassett, op. cit., pp. 690-691.
21McKee, op. cit., p. 176.
22Ibid., pp. 166, 171.
fulfilling the demands of the Prohibitionists for free public education. Forty-five of the states emerged with essentially the same school system. They provide for the education of both rural and urban children through high school and provide state supported institutions for the training of teachers.\textsuperscript{23} Most of the states have enacted compulsory education laws although they are far from being uniform.

The Prohibition party repeated the stand of other third party movements on the matters of land, direct election of Senators, separation of money from banking, and regulation of transportation.\textsuperscript{24} In addition to their demand for direct election of Senators, they called for direct election of every civil official, even the President and Vice-President. It is a well-known fact that the seventeenth amendment establishes the principle of the direct election of Senators. However, as for the direct election of the President and Vice-President, nothing concrete has been accomplished although there has been talk about eliminating the electoral college. One might consider the appearance of the names of the presidential candidates on the ballot as a step toward direct election. There has been no concerted effort on the part of the major parties to establish direct election of the President and Vice-President.

\textsuperscript{23}Hicks, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 295.

\textsuperscript{24}McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 176.
The Prohibitionists further advocated the abolition of executive and legislative patronage. The Civil Service Act of 1883 provided a partial answer to this demand. The Prohibition party also advocated a property tax to replace the tariff as a source of revenue. The idea of a property tax will be more fully discussed in a later chapter. They also advocated the use of arbitration as a means of settling international disputes. The fact that the Republican party favored arbitration is evidenced by planks in their platforms of 1884 and 1900. American participation in the Hague tribunals and the creation of the International Court of Arbitration was action in line with the Prohibitionist demand. The International Court settled a number of controversies during its early years. America worked hard to obtain success for the Court.

The Prohibitionists also called for the abolition of all barbarous modes and instruments of punishment and the practice of humanity in the discipline of jails and prisons. Due to agitation of writers and the efforts of humanitarians, the idea had grown that prisons should be places of reform.

---


27 McKee, op. cit., p. 177.
instead of punishment. With the growth of that idea the prisons are, as a rule, clean and the prisoners are well treated. There are, however, still some abuses which require attention. The Bureau of Prisons was created in 1918 for the purpose of supervising the Federal prisons. The Democrats carried a prison reform plank in their platform of 1916.

The suppression of gambling was one of the minor planks of the Prohibition platform in 1872. This matter had been left up to the states and other local government agencies. The local agencies in many cases have fulfilled the Prohibitionist demand.

The history of the Prohibition party extends from 1869 to the present. Its main task has been to educate the people of the United States in regard to the liquor problem. The fact that they enjoyed success in obtaining action on the majority of their demands, and temporarily enjoyed success on the party's main principle, will spur them on to greater effort. As a result perhaps there shall be another period of prohibition in the future. The failure of the major parties to eliminate the Prohibition party may be attributed to the fact that the subject of prohibition was ignored by the major parties. The Democrats in their platform of 1876 expressed faith "in the liberty of individual

conduct unvexed by sumptuary laws." The Republicans merely expressed sympathy with the work of temperance societies but proposed to respect the rights reserved to the people.  

---


30 *Loc. cit.*
CHAPTER VI

POPULIST MOVEMENT

The Populist party had its basic elements in the various Farmer and Granger movements that originated during the early seventies. Some of these organizations were the Patrons of Husbandry, National Farmer's Alliance, the National Farmer's Alliance and Industrial Union, Farmer's Mutual Benefit Association, Patrons of Industry, and a Farmer's League. At first the above-named organizations were non-political and non-partisan in nature. Their members could belong to the major party that they felt best served their interests. It was understood, however, that each member was to work within his own party to secure the ends desired by the farm organizations.¹

¹The Anti-Monopoly party and the Greenback party were the independent parties that served as the voice of the farmer and industrial groups. With the passing of the Greenback party, these groups began to seek a new voice.² Due to the fact that the Farmer's Alliance, which had a Northern and a Southern group, had enjoyed moderate success in state politics there was a demand for a new party composed

²Ibid., p. 208.

¹John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1931), p. 96.
of the farm and industrial people. The movement for a new party got off to a big start with a convention at Ocala, Florida, in 1890. The convention at Ocala was called for the purpose of building a spirit of unity and goodwill among the farmer organizations and to arrange for a convention which would have as its purpose the formation of a new party. This was the viewpoint expressed by a group at the convention headed by Ingatius Donnelly of Minnesota. Donnelly proposed that the convention establish an executive committee for the new party. 3 There was, however, another viewpoint held by a great many members of this convention. The second group insisted that the Ocala meeting was just a convention to talk about forming a new party. The leader of the second group, James B. Weaver, held that the formation of the new party should be put off and the Ocala convention should concentrate on harmony. It was his hope that delay would result in other reform groups joining the move to form a new party. Donnelly and his group wanted the new party formed immediately without regard to anyone else. 4

The first Populist convention was held at Omaha on July 2, 1892. 5 The platform promulgated by this convention had a plank calling for government ownership of railroads

3 Ibid., p. 213.
4 Loc. cit.
5 Ibid., p. 231.
and if carried through, the placing of all railroad jobs on civil service. Government operation of the railroads was tried during World War I, but the railroads were returned to private companies immediately following the war. Outside of this action taken by the government, there has been no attempt to fulfill this request of the Populists. The major parties have never advocated anything but the regulation of the railroads.

In their second plank, the Populists called for a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, without the aid of banking corporations, and with a method of direct distribution to the people. As an answer to their own financial demand, the Populists favored the adoption of the sub-treasury plan advocated by the Farmer's Alliance. The sub-treasury plan stated that the policy of using the banks of the United States as depositories should be abolished and in the place of said system, establish in every county, in each of the states that offers for sale during a year $5,000,000 worth of farm products, a sub-treasury office, which shall have in connection with it such warehouses or elevators as are necessary for storing and preserving such agricultural products as are offered to it for storage. Upon the grain stored the sub-treasury office was authorized to issue United

---

6Hicks, The Populist Revolt, pp. 187-188.
States legal tender money equal to eighty per cent of the value of the produce stored. For its service the treasury could charge one per cent interest plus a trifling amount for insurance and handling of the grain. The owner had the privilege of either reclaiming the grain or selling the grain within a year's time. In case he sold he could claim the difference between the selling price of his grain and the amount advanced by the sub-treasury office. However, if after a year the grain still remained, the sub-treasury auctioned the grain off to the highest bidder giving the farmer only the difference between the selling price and the amount advanced. Although this elaborate system was never wholly adopted, later legislation took careful note of the Populist theory.  

There were in the years to come several acts passed in an attempt to improve the conditions of the nation's farmers. The Warehouse Act of 1916, the Packers and Stockyard Act of 1921, the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916, the Federal Intermediate Credit Act of 1923, the McNary-Haugen Bill of 1927, and the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 were among these attempts. The New Deal administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt adopted a number of measures designed to accomplish the ends sought by the Populist movement in the

---

7Loc. cit.
Among these measures can be found the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1936, and the modification of the latter act in 1938. It was the purpose of this legislation to improve the lot of the farmer by enabling him to market his crops at a higher market price and to make more money available to him in the season when his need for money was the greatest. The Federal Reserve System, although not wholly Populist and not destructive of the national banking system, took careful note of the Populist diagnosis and did not completely ignore the Populist prescriptions. Note that the Populists called for the adoption of the sub-treasury plan or a better one.

The third plank of the 1892 platform called for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. The Democrats adopted the silver plank of the Populists in their platforms of 1896 and 1900. The Republicans in 1896 expressed themselves in favor of silver coinage by an international agreement. Unless such an agreement could be reached, paper and silver coinage must be maintained at parity with gold. There had been several

---

8 Wirth, op. cit., pp. 492, 514-518.
9 John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, p. 44.
12 Ibid., pp. 301-302.
international conferences at which the possibilities of bimetallism were discussed. The nations attending the conference agreed that the theory of bimetallism was economically sound but no nation cared to be the first to take the plunge. Although the free and unlimited coinage of silver was not authorized by law until Franklin Roosevelt's administration, the end sought by the Populists in their silver demand was met with more liberality than the Populists themselves ever dreamed of. The financial reform which they were seeking was brought about by the passage of the Federal Reserve Act of 1913. The Reserve Act brought forth the national currency which a number of third parties had been seeking; it placed close control of the government over the banking system. It also provided for the expansion of the currency, and it continued the prohibition of the issuance of notes by state banks. In further promoting the ideas originally promulgated by the Populists, the Thomas Amendment to the emergency farm relief bill of 1933 authorized the President, at his discretion, to provide for an expansion of the country's currency and credit as follows: (a) The Federal Reserve System was authorized to put an additional $3,000,000,000 into treasury notes to be used to retire government bonds. (b) The President was empowered to issue an additional $3,000,000,000 through the sale of government bonds.

13Beard, op. cit., p. 589.
(c) The President was also given the power to reduce the amount of gold in the standard dollar by as much as fifty percent and to establish a fixed ratio of gold to silver and then to provide for the unlimited coinage of silver at that ratio. Further legislation, the Silver Purchase Act of 1934, authorized the President to nationalize silver and to maintain one-fourth of the nation's monetary stock in silver. The dream of the Populists in the latter part of the nineteenth century had finally been realized.

Continuing with Populist demands along the financial line, their request for the amount of circulating medium to be increased to not less than fifty dollars per person has been complied with. The legislation just discussed has produced per capita dollars far in excess of Populist demands. The Republicans recognized favorably this demand of the Populists by stating in their platform of 1900 that the volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it was in 1900.

Another Populist demand in their platform of 1892 was for the establishment of a postal savings system. The

---

14 Hicks, The American Nation, pp. 688-689.
15 Ibid., p. 687.
16 Ibid., p. 688.
17 McKee, op. cit., p. 342.
Republicans placed a postal savings plank in their platform of 1908. A postal savings system was established in 1911 during the administration of President Taft. Postal savings deposits merit an interest rate of two per cent.

The Populists repeated the demands of other third party movements when they called for a graduated income tax and direct election of Senators, the President, and the Vice-President.  

Government ownership of telephone and telegraph facilities was advocated by the Populists. Neither of the major parties has ever advocated anything but the regulation of these facilities. The attempts to regulate communications' facilities culminated in the creation of the Federal Communications Commission in 1934.

The adoption of the Australian secret ballot was recommended by the Populist party. The Australian secret ballot was introduced into this country about 1880 and between 1888 and 1910 all of the states except Georgia and South Carolina adopted it at least in part. Neither of the major parties made any direct mention of the Australian system

---

19 Porter, op. cit., p. 302.
21 Ibid., p. 512.
22 Magruder, op. cit., p. 315.
of voting in their platforms. Election laws and procedures are largely state functions.

The Populists further advocated the use of idle labor on public works during the periods of hard times. The Democrats accepted the Populist remedy in formulating the New Deal's unemployment policies. The Civil Works Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Public Works Administration, and the Works Progress Administration were all attempts on the part of the New Deal Administration to provide work for the unemployed by using them on public works. The fact that the period from 1896 to 1930 was one of general prosperity nullified the need for legislative action upon the Populist theory. Not until the depression of the 1930's was there need for such legislation.

Their land plank was a repetition of the land policy of other third party movements. The Populists also called for a "true policy which would state that State and National legislation shall be such as will ultimately enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home." Legislation designed to fulfill this request came in the form of the Home Loan Bank Act of 1932. This act was enacted to

25 McKee, op. cit., p. 308.
aid the home owner to retain his home. 26 Later, under the New Deal, two measures were passed that more nearly approached the Populist request. These measures were enacted to help the prospective home owner obtain homes. They were the establishment of the Home Owners Loan Corporation in 1933 and the Federal Housing Administration in 1934. 27 The Democrats sympathized with the stand of the Populists in regard to their land policy and to enabling citizens to acquire homes, as early as 1892. 28

The Populists expressed themselves in favor of home rule in the territories and early admission of the territories as states. They also favored home rule for the District of Columbia. 29 Both of the major parties carried planks in their platforms of 1892 expressing themselves in favor of home rule in the territories and the admission of the territories as states. 30 All of the continental territories except Alaska were admitted as states by 1912.

In their platform of 1896 the Populists condemned the wholesale system of disfranchisement adopted by some states, and called for state legislation that would secure

26 John D. Hicks, The American Nation, p. 650.
27 Ibid., p. 692.
28 Porter, op. cit., p. 160.
30 McKee, op. cit., pp. 267, 273.
a full, free, and fair ballot and an honest count of such ballots. The struggle to extend the ballot is still going on. Evidence of this struggle is to be found in the Democratic convention of 1948, where the Civil Rights program of President Truman brought about a revolt in the Democratic party. Both of the major parties had similar planks in their platforms of 1876. Thus the Populists were merely voicing agreement with a policy that had already been accepted by both major parties.

One unusual plank in the Populist platform of 1896 was their foreign policy plank. Usually third parties are content with a discussion of domestic problems in their platforms. However, at this time, the Populists came out in favor of independence for Cuba. The above stand was adopted by the Republicans in their platform of 1896. The Democrats also extended their sympathies to Cuba in the same year. The Spanish-American War resulted in the establishment of Cuban independence. The American declaration of war contained the Teller Amendment which pledged the United States to deny themselves the privilege of annexing Cuba.

---

32 McKee, op. cit., pp. 184, 190.
34 McKee, op. cit., p. 303.
However, the Platt amendment placed Cuba under the guardianship of the United States. The guardianship lasted until 1934.

Further study of the Populist platform of 1896 reveals that they also recommended to states for their consideration the system of direct legislation embodying the use of the initiative, referendum, and recall. This request was complied with to the extent that about half of the states and several hundred cities adopted, at least in part, the initiative, referendum, and recall theory of direct legislation. The Democrats in 1900 favored a consideration of direct legislation by the states.

Although for a while it looked as if the Populist party might achieve major status, it went the way of the majority of third parties and lost its place in the sun when it fused with the Democrats. The Populists rallied behind Bryan and sacrificed half of their party principles by going all out for the free silver issue. The Populists allowed the Democrats to get the jump on them in 1896 when they failed to hold their convention before either of the major party conventions. Following the campaign of 1896, there


38 McKee, op. cit., p. 337.
were a few Populists who tried to revive the party; but their efforts were completely futile.
CHAPTER VII

THE LATER LABOR MOVEMENTS

Labor parties in the United States before 1888 were local and transient. With the exception of the Labor Reform party in 1872, none of the labor parties entered into the field of national politics as parties with a slate of candidates and a platform. During the period before 1888, the labor groups sometimes joined other groups in formulating a new party. An example of this fusion was the Greenback-Labor party. In 1888, two labor parties appeared on the national political scene. They were the Union Labor and the United Labor parties.¹ Each party came out with a platform, which for the most part was a repetition of the demands of other third parties. The Union Labor party's land policy was the same general land policy advocated by other third parties with the exception that homesteads should be exempt from taxation.² This exemption has been carried out in several states. For example, Florida and South Dakota have a $5,000 exemption; Texas has a $3,000 exemption; Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, had exemptions of


²McKee, op. cit., pp. 249-250.
The Union Labor party repeated the demands of other third party movements when they called for government ownership of all railroads and transportation facilities, for government ownership of the communication system, for the establishment of a postal savings bank, for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, for the establishment of a national monetary system in the interest of the producer, for a graduated income tax, for direct election of Senators, for the Exclusion of Chinese immigrants, for abolition of alien contract labor, for woman suffrage, for the passage of a service pension bill, and for the abolishment of prison contract labor. The Union Labor party also opposed child labor and favored education for all children. The Union Labor party advocated that arbitration should replace strikes as a means of settling labor disputes. The Republicans stated in their platform of 1896 that they favored "the creation of a national board of arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employees engaged in interstate commerce". The Democrats

---

3Magruder, op. cit., p. 540.

4McKee, op. cit., p. 250.

5Loc. cit.

6Ibid., p. 304.
also voiced a similar conviction in their 1896 platform.\textsuperscript{7}

The above demand was the result of the crippling railroad strikes during the latter part of the nineteenth century. As a result President Grover Cleveland proposed in his message to Congress in 1886, that commissions of arbitration be set up to dispose of disputes arising between employees and employers. In 1888, Congress enacted a voluntary arbitration law applicable to railroads. The law was extended in 1898 and again in 1913. The success of this legislation caused students of industrial questions to urge that all unions and employers should be compelled to submit all disputes to an official tribunal of arbitration. Kansas actually passed such a law in 1920. However, it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. Congress in the Esch-Cummins railway bill of the same year created a federal board of nine members to which all railroad disputes, not settled by negotiation, must be submitted. This early trend toward compulsory arbitration was opposed by both the employer and the employee.\textsuperscript{8}

Further attempts to bring about the use of arbitration as a means of settling controversies between employers and employees resulted in the creation of the National Civic Federation in 1901. As this body generally upheld the capi-

\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., p. 295.

\textsuperscript{8}Beard, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 582.
talistic viewpoint, it became unpopular with the working class of people. The creation of the National Labor Relations Board of 1935 was a further attempt to provide a peaceful means of settling labor disputes. Abolition of the practice of issuing bonds by federal, state, and municipal governments was also advocated by the Union Labor party. Although the practice of issuing bonds is widely used yet today, there has been some effort exerted to eliminate bond issue by state governments. An example is Indiana's constitution which prohibits a bonded indebtedness. Major party recognition took the form of a plank in the Democrat platform of 1896 stating that they favored the elimination of bond issues during peacetime.

For the most part, the United Labor platform was a repetition of the Union Labor platform. There were, however, a few new demands. Among these was a demand to change the system of land taxation so that the tax would be according to value of the land rather than the area. Use of a general property tax as a method of raising revenue is decreasing. A general property tax was once used by the federal govern-

---

9 Carman, op. cit., p. 511.
10 Ibid., p. 766.
11 McKee, op. cit., p. 250.
12 Ibid., p. 320.
13 Ibid., pp. 252-253.
ment but the practice has ceased. Even states are relying more upon other means for raising revenue than formerly. However, local units of government use the property tax and the tax is levied according to the value of the land. 14 Both of the major parties ignored this issue on a national basis. The above change in property tax methods was brought about by state action.

The United Labor platform further advocated the abolition of taxes on industry and its products. 15 With the ample number of sales taxes, cosmetic taxes, and excise taxes, it would appear that the latter request was also ignored. Major party platforms of this period failed to carry any direct reference to the latter demand.

Another new demand brought forth by this party was a request to simplify court procedure and diminish the expense of legal proceedings so that the poor might be placed upon an equality with the rich. 16 The creation of the court of small claims and the guarantee of a defense counsel are attempts to comply with this request. 17

Generally speaking, labor parties have failed to woo a large following of the laboring class from the major parties.

14 Magruder, op. cit., p. 538.
16 Ibid., p. 254.
17 Magruder, op. cit., p. 504.
For one reason and another the laboring man has been reluctant to sever his ties with the major parties.\textsuperscript{18}

The passing of the Union Labor and United Labor parties can be attributed to fusion. However, instead of merging with the major parties, these two parties merged with other third parties. The major faction of the Union Labor party merged with the Populists while the major portion of the United Labor party fused with the Socialist-Labor party.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18}Woodburn, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 222.

\textsuperscript{19}Loc. \textit{cit.}
CHAPTER VIII

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY MOVEMENT

The Socialist-Labor party was the first dominant element of the Socialist movement in the United States for the twenty years between 1880 and 1900.\(^1\) One unusual thing about the membership of the Socialist-Labor party during the twenty years of its prominence was the fact that only ten per cent of the members were native-born Americans. Tides of the party's fortune moved in conjunction with the prosperity of the country. When the country was prosperous, the vote of the Socialist-Labor party was small while in times of depression the vote increased. Primarily the purpose of the Socialist movement was at first purely for the purpose of propaganda.\(^2\) The Socialists felt that they should bide their time until they were sufficiently organized for political action. Members of the Socialist movement finally entered into the field of politics by endorsing the Greenback party in 1880. The Greenback platform of 1880 contained many ideas advocated by the Socialists.\(^3\) The same was true of later Greenback platforms. In 1888 elements of the


\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 226-233.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 255.
Socialist movement supported the Union Labor party. However, in 1892 the Socialists must have felt that their day had arrived for they came out with a party platform and a slate of candidates.

Demands in their 1892 platform were divided into two phases, social and political. Among the social demands was a request for the reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production. The request for legislation upon the subject of the length of a working day has been a continuous request of all labor organizations. Due to the pressure of these various labor organizations, the working hours per day have been decreased. Most of the decrease in the length of the working day has been accomplished through the process of collective bargaining. There were, however, several Federal and state legislative measures that reduced the number of working hours. Typical of these legislative measures was the passage in 1867 of laws in Illinois, Missouri, New York, and Wisconsin providing for an eight-hour day for women and children. During the next year, Congress established an eight-hour day for public

---


5Yarbough, op. cit., p. 648.

6Wirth, op. cit., pp. 452-453.
works. Continuing, the federal government reduced the working day to eight hours for federal employees in 1916 and also in 1916 Congress passed the Adamson Act which established an eight-hour day for railroad employees.\(^7\) During the decade of the "Thirties" the National Recovery Act attempted to set up a standard of wages and hours for labor but the National Recovery Act was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, a number of the labor benefits of the National Recovery Act were salvaged in the Wages and Hours Law of 1938. The Wages and Hours Law established a forty-four hour work week and in 1940 the work week was reduced to forty hours.\(^8\) The restriction on the length of the work week was lifted during World War II, only to be reapplied after the war. Both of the major parties, the Republicans in 1884 and the Democrats in 1908, adopted the principle of the eight-hour day.\(^9\)

The Socialist-Labor platform joined other third parties calling for government ownership of the transportation and communication systems. It further advocated that municipalities obtain control of waterworks, gas works, and electrical plants.\(^10\) The above demand has been complied

---

\(^7\)Loc. cit.

\(^8\)Yarbough, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 649.

\(^9\)Porter, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 133, 280.

with to the extent that many cities own their own waterworks, and several own their own electrical plants and gas works. Neither of the major parties has ever advocated anything more than the regulation of the transportation and communication systems. The matter of regulation has already been discussed. However, in recent years, the government has entered the business of supplying electricity. Projects such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Boulder Dam, Grand Coulee Dam, and Bonneville Dam are examples of government operation of public utilities. Altogether there are some forty-two power projects such as the T.V.A. in the United States.\footnote{Hicks, \textit{The American Nation}, pp. 693-696.}

The Socialist-Labor platform of 1892 further repeated the social demands of other minor parties in regard to the issue of money, to the conservation of natural resources, to the adoption of a graduated income tax, and to the use of child and convict labor. In regard to child labor, the Socialist-Laborites asked that statistics on child labor conditions in the United States be prepared. All of the above planks have been discussed previously. The Socialist-Labor platform of 1892 also contained a demand for the adoption of an inheritance tax. This above request has been complied with by all states except Nevada.\footnote{Magruder, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 582.}
an inheritance tax was also accepted by Congress.13 Neither
of the major parties carried a direct request for an inheri-
tance tax. The platform of 1892 also stated that inventions
should be free to all and the inventor remunerated by the
government. The copyright and patent laws are ample proof
that inventors have not been remunerated by the government
and inventions are not free to all. Major parties failed to
adopt this latter principle.

Continuing, the Socialist-Labor platform contained
an expression in favor of compulsory education at public
expense. Although compulsory education laws throughout the
United States are not uniform, most of the states have com-
plied with this request at least in part.14 Republicans and
Democrats had expressed themselves in favor of compulsory
education as early as 1876.15 Many of the political demands
of the Socialist-Laborites were repetitions of previous third
party demands. They include the use of the secret ballot,
universal suffrage, and the initiative, referendum, and recall.

The Socialist-Labor party also issued a request for
the introduction of the principle of minority representation.
This is a principle that has received no legislative or major

13 Ibid., p. 126.
14 Ibid., pp. 618-619.
15 McKee, op. cit., pp. 166, 171.
party consideration. Other proposals of the Socialist-Labor party which received little or no consideration was the demand to abolish the executive veto power and the abolition of all upper legislative chambers.\textsuperscript{16} Nebraska is the only state which has adopted the unicameral legislature.\textsuperscript{17}

The Socialist-Labor party in their 1896 platform called for "the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law."\textsuperscript{18} Both major parties adopted the latter plank in 1908.\textsuperscript{19} This request was complied with when most of the forty-eight states enacted employers' liability laws.\textsuperscript{20} The Socialist-Laborites further called for uniform civil and criminal laws throughout the United States. They wished administration of justice to be free of charge and they further felt that capital punishment should be abolished.\textsuperscript{21} Civil and criminal laws are state functions. Some of the states have complied with the Socialist-Laborite demands for the elimination of capital punishment, but the systems of criminal and civil law are not completely uniform.

\textsuperscript{16} McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 325.
\textsuperscript{17} Magruder, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 481.
\textsuperscript{18} McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 325.
\textsuperscript{19} McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 280, 301.
\textsuperscript{20} Hicks, \textit{The American Nation}, p. 406.
\textsuperscript{21} McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 325.
The Socialist party's history extends on into the twentieth century, but it was replaced as the prominent voice of the Socialist movement by the Social Democratic party.
CHAPTER IX

MISCELLANEOUS MINOR PARTIES

There were in the period of this study five other minor parties whose activities on the political front were hardly extensive enough to classify them as outstanding third party movements. However, a brief consideration will be given to the demands of these parties.

The first of these minor parties was the American party. In reality, the American party represented only two states, New York and California. It was one of the super-patriotic elements that has developed in the United States from time to time.\(^1\)

The American party platform included planks stating ideas that were primarily repetitions of the fundamental doctrines of the Constitution. These fundamental doctrines consisted of a reassertion of the principle of freedom of worship, of the principle of political equality, and full protection of laws for all citizens, and the principle of separation of the church and state.\(^2\)

Other American party planks were repetitions of demands made by other third party movements. Among these can be found a demand for the fostering of American industry, for


\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 480-481.
a law prohibiting alien ownership of real estate, and for restrictions on the immigration of foreign labor, paupers, criminals, anarchists, communists, and the mentally ill. 3 In restricting immigration the platform held that prospective immigrants should obtain passports from the American consul of the port from which they sail and further proposed that consuls collect a hundred dollars from every immigrant. The above demand had been complied with to the extent that the prospective immigrant has to obtain a visa establishing his right of entry into the United States from the consul at his port of departure. Instead of the hundred dollar fee advocated by the American party, the visa fee is ten dollars. 4 The stand of the major parties on immigration has already been discussed.

The American party called for the repeal of all naturalization laws. 5 The naturalization law to which opposition was being expressed dated back to 1802. 6 Naturalization requirements and procedures are essentially the same today as they were in 1802. 7 Major parties also ignored this issue.

The last plank of the American platform stated that

3Loc. cit.
4Magruder, op. cit., p. 251.
6Bassett, op. cit., p. 283.
7Magruder, op. cit., p. 254-255.
only the national, state, or municipal flag should float over any public building in the United States. This request received no major party or legislative action.

Another of the minor parties was the Equal Rights party. This party came out with platforms in the campaigns of 1884 and 1888. The main theme of its platform was equal rights for women. This was to include not only equal political rights but equal rights in industry and equal property holding rights. The major parties' policies in regard to the equality of women was expounded in the chapter on the Prohibition party.

The Equal Rights party further repeated the stand of other third parties on distribution of land, on fostering American industry, on improving the conditions of labor, on pensions for soldiers, on the matter of prohibition, on the Indian problem, on the matter of paying the national debt, on public education, and on the matter of civil service reform.

This party also repeated the stand of other third parties in regard to equal rights for all citizens whether native born or naturalized, in regard to a uniform code of laws for all states, in regard to monopolies, and in regard

---

8McKee, op. cit., pp. 226-228, and 256.

9Loc. cit.

10Ibid., p. 228.
to immigration.\textsuperscript{11}

The Equal Rights platform stated "that the dangers of a solid south or a solid north shall be adverted by a strict regard to the interest of every section of the country, a fair distribution of public offices and public funds."\textsuperscript{12}

This party further pledged itself to maintain the peaceable relations which existed between the various sections of the country and to maintain peaceful relations with all foreign countries.

The National party was another of the minor parties that failed to create much of an impression on the political scene. It was formed by a group of Prohibitionists who seceded from the regular Prohibition party's convention in 1896.\textsuperscript{13} The platform of the National party contained nothing new in the way of demands. There was virtually no difference between their platform and the one advanced by the regular Prohibition party.

The Silver party, another of the minor parties which failed to create much of an impression, promulgated in 1896 a platform that dealt with money and the government's financial system. The Silverites adopted practically the same

\textsuperscript{11}Loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 228.
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p. 320.
financial planks as the Democrat and Populist parties. This party expressed itself in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, in opposition to issuance of interest bearing government bonds, and in the increase of circulating currency by issuance of paper money.\textsuperscript{14}

The last of these miscellaneous minor parties was the National Democratic party of 1896. This party was composed of the hard money and gold Democrats. It differed from the regular Democratic platform only in its financial plank.\textsuperscript{15}


\textsuperscript{15}McKee, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 316-317.
CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Certain assumptions were made at the beginning of this study with the idea that the evidence gathered would prove these assumptions to be accurate. It was also hoped that the true significance of third party movements would be obtained from the study.

Among the assumptions made, the fundamental one as far as this study is concerned, was the assumption that major parties either destroy or limit the growth of third parties by the practice of adopting or incorporating into legislation the platform planks of third parties. It is felt that there has been presented in this study and the chart of third party demands sufficient evidence to warrant the original assumption. Although it was realized that this study does not present any direct evidence to show that third parties are responsible for the appearance of new ideas in the platforms of the major parties, it is believed, however, that in addition to the influence of independent political writers, to the possible influence of Europe, and to the influence of outstanding liberals within the major parties that the minor parties have contributed their share in the task of introducing new ideas into the old parties. A study of the chart beginning on page 89 will reveal that they
have also contributed to the writing of future legislative programs.

The idea that third parties are as a rule more radical than the major parties is a theory generally accepted. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to assume that a number of ideas originating in Europe pass through third parties into the major parties. Circumstantial evidence is sufficient to justify the belief that minor parties are one of the main sources for major party platform planks. Some facts to support the above statement are the speed with which demands of minor parties are adopted by major parties and the fact that major parties either refute or attempt to dodge issues brought forth in a minor party platform. The Republicans attempted to dodge the woman suffrage issue by stating that they favored the broadening of the fields of endeavor for women. They parried the liquor issue with a statement to the effect that they were in sympathy with the work of temperance societies. They attempted to refute the claim of the Populists for the need of an increase of circulating medium by stating in their 1900 platform that "the money supply was never so great as it is today." The Democrats attempted to dodge many of the Prohibition demands with a statement to the effect that they had faith in the right of man to govern his own behavior unvexed by sumptuary laws.

Returning to the original assumption, it is to be
remembered that the main object of the study was to prove that the appearance of third party demands in major party platforms was responsible either for the decease of the third party or a decline in its activities: not to prove that the minor party was responsible for the appearance of new ideas in the platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties.

The main basis for the study in third party demands has been the platforms of the major and minor parties.

The second assumption made was that an examination of minor party platforms would reveal the major domestic problems that have confronted the nation during the period under study. Using as a typical example the problem of land distribution, there can be no doubt of the presence of sufficient evidence to warrant the latter assumption.

In addition to the summary of the assumptions undertaken to be proved and the assumptions proved, there are several more or less interesting conclusions that may be drawn as a result of the data presented.

The first conclusion states that the main function of third parties is to present new ideas to the public.¹ "What the agitator is among individuals the third party is in relation to the older party organizations."²

---

¹Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
²Haynes, Third Party Movements Since the Civil War, pp. 4-5.
The record of achievement built by third parties in the latter part of the nineteenth century is amazing. \(^3\) If minor parties are content with their missionary role, then the value of their service is unlimited. Their record is even more amazing when one considers the fact that one of the questionable practices of third parties has been that of extending their platforms to cover a wide variety of ideas. If the super-patriotic, super-religious, and utopian demands were excluded, the percentage of third party demands accepted by major parties would approach one hundred per cent.

From the evidence gathered, one can conclude that there are three fertile fields for the birth and growth of third party movements in the United States. They are the industrial working class, which includes a great number of foreign born, and the farm groups, and the moralists. The Labor Reform, Greenback, Socialist-Labor, Populist, Union Labor, and United Labor parties were products of the first two fields; while the Prohibition and Equal Rights parties were products of the third field.

It is the desire of this study to further point out that some of the additional reasons why minor parties fail to achieve major party status are the nation’s election machinery and the election tactics of third parties. The

\(^3\)Hesseltine, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
reason that a number of third parties have demanded the direct election of the President and Vice-President is that the electoral college tends to preserve the two party system and discourages multiple parties. Minor parties also endanger their chances for success by frequently changing their election tactics.\(^4\)

Reform is a good issue with which to build enthusiasm, but after the initial impulse to activity the interest dies down. The latter is another contribution to the failure of third parties to achieve a major victory in the national elections.

Minor parties stress policies and platforms while major parties concentrate on candidates.\(^5\)

It is to be noted that despite all obstacles, parties such as the Prohibition and the Socialist-Labor have persisted until the present. Perhaps this was due to the fact that these parties have been content to play the role of the missionary.

Although they desired to achieve major party status, they were organized primarily for, as the Socialist-Labor party so state, the purpose of propaganda and in the case


\(^5\)Loc. *cit.*
of the Prohibition party it was organized to educate the people on the problems of liquor and moral conduct. Another reason for the persistance of the Prohibition party might be the reluctance of the major parties to adopt the question of prohibition.

The ridicule, humor, and abhorrence with which third parties are regarded by a great number of Americans is unjustified. Third parties perform a very real and useful job in the processes of democratic government. If a person desires political power, he should steer clear of minor parties. However, if he is an idealist or a true reformer, he would find minor parties a suitable field for his activities.
### A Chart of Third Party Demands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</th>
<th>Adopted by Republicans</th>
<th>Adopted by Democrats</th>
<th>Adopted by Federal Gov't.</th>
<th>Action by State Gov't.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Liberal Republicans (1872)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. General Amnesty</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X 1868</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reform in the Civil Service</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A Tariff for Revenue only</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Return to specie payment</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. No further grants of land to railroads and corporations. Holding of land for actual settlers</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Repudiation was denounced</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. One term tenure for President</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1912</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Labor Reform and Greenback-Labor parties (1872-1884)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Issuance of money and bonds directly to the people</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Payment of the National debt</td>
<td>X 1868</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Adopted by Federal Gov't.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Reform and Green-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back-Labor Party con't.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Abolish the custom of exempting</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonds from taxation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Restriction of land sales</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tariff for revenue only</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Restriction on Chinese immigration</td>
<td>X 1880</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. An eight hour day for all mechanics</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and day laborers employed by or in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behalf of any governmental unit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Contract prison labor and contract</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X on the matter of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien labor should be eliminated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>contract alien labor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Regulation of railroads</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. One term tenure for the President</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1912</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Reform in Civil Service</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Adopted by Federal Gov't.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Reform and Greenback-Labor Party con't.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Submission of the military to the Civil authorities</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1892</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Supervision of patents and copyrights by Congress</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Repeal of the Resumption Act of 1875</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X was accomplished by failure to carry out provisions of the Resumption Act</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Interest rates on government bonds not to exceed 3.65%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Protested the sale of government bonds for the purchasing of silver</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Establishment of a Bureau of Labor Statistics and national authority to protect labor</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Elimination of child labor</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>0 Legislation attempted</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. No further importation of Chinese labor</td>
<td>X 1880</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov't.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Reform and Greenback-Labor Party con't.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Regulation of large trusts</td>
<td>X 1888</td>
<td>X 1888</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. A graduated income tax</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Reform in the rules governing Congress</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Shorter terms for Senators</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Woman Suffrage</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Regulation of Interstate Commerce</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Anti-Monopoly Party (1884)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Regulation of big business and monopolies</td>
<td>X 1888</td>
<td>X 1888</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Regulation of Interstate Commerce</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A Bureau of Labor Statistics State and National</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Holding of public land for actual settlers and no further grants to corporations</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov't.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. A graduated income tax</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tariff for revenue</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Direct election of Senators</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1900</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Economy in administration and reduction of government expenditures</td>
<td>X1</td>
<td>X1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IV. Prohibition Party (1872-1900)**

1. Elimination of the importation, exportation, manufacture and traffic of all alcoholic beverages
   -
   -
   X
   X

2. Woman Suffrage
   X 1916
   X 1916
   X
   X

3. Use of the Bible as a textbook in all schools
   -
   -
   -
   -

4. The establishment of the national observance of the Sabbath by law.
   -
   -
   -
   -

5. The abolition of polygamy
   X 1880
   X 1904
   X
   X

X1 This plank is always voiced by the party out of power.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</th>
<th>Adopted by Republicans</th>
<th>Adopted by Democrats</th>
<th>Action by Federal Gov't.</th>
<th>Action by State Gov't.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Party cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Abolition of the social evil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. All charters of secret lodges with-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drawn and their oaths prohibited by law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The extension of political and civil</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rights to the Chinese and Indians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X Indian's phase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of this demand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>was carried out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Public education supported by state</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X aid to voca-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aid and compulsory education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tional education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Issuance of money without the inter-</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X Banking was not</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vention of banking</td>
<td>Emergency Currency</td>
<td>Emergency Currency</td>
<td>interferred with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Direct election of Senators</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1900</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Direct election of all civil officials including President and Vice-President</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Abolition of executive and legislative patronage</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X Civil Service Act</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. A property tax to replace the tariff</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov't</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Party con't.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. The use of arbitration as a means of settling international disputes</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. The abolition of all barbarous modes and instruments of punishment and the practice of humanity in discipline of jails and prisons</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Suppression of gambling</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1912 partial adoption</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X local agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Populist Party (1892-1900)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Government ownership or railroads</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X World War I Regulation</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A national currency, safe, sound and flexible, without the aid of banking</td>
<td>X 1908 emergency currency</td>
<td>X 1908 emergency currency</td>
<td>X partially</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16-1</td>
<td>X 1896 with reservations</td>
<td>X 1896 with reservations</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. That the amount of circulating medium be not less than fifty dollars per person</td>
<td>X 1900 recognized the demand</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov't.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Populist Party con't.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Establishment of a postal savings bank</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Graduated income tax</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Direct election of Senators</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1900</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Direct election of President and Vice-President</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Government ownership of telephone and telephone facilities</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X Government regulates these facilities</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Adoption of the Australian secret ballot</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X by 46 states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Use of idle labor on public works</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1932</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. A true policy which will enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1892</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. All land now held by the railroads and corporations reclaimed and held for actual settlers</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call for Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov't</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Populist Party con't.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Home rule in the territories and early admission of the territories as states</td>
<td>X 1888</td>
<td>X 1888</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Independence for Cuba</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. The use of the initiative, referendum, and the recall theory of direct legislation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1900</td>
<td>X ½ of the states several hundred cities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Opposed subsidies to private corporations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1900</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Fair, full and free ballot with an honest count</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Union Labor and United Labor Parties (1888)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Government ownership of transportation and communication system</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X World War I Operations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A graduated income tax</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Direct election of Senators</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1900</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov’t.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov’t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Labor and United Labor Parties con’t.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Woman Suffrage</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Prohibition of contract alien or prison labor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X on the matter of contract</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Pension for soldiers</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X alien labor</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Use of arbitration as a means of settling labor disputes</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Postal savings bank be established</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Free coinage of silver</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Abolition of the custom of issuing gov’t. bonds by any governmental unit with reservations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Establishment of national monetary currency in the interest of the producer, by which the circulating medium in necessary quantity and full legal tender shall be issued directly to the people without intervention of banks</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergency Currency but not destruction of banking</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15. Legislation against child labor.

16. Reduce the hours of labor.

17. Australian system of voting.

18. Simplify court procedure and reduce court expenses so that the poor will be placed on equality with the rich.

VII. Socialist-Labor Party (1892)

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</th>
<th>Adopted by Republicans</th>
<th>Adopted by Democrats</th>
<th>Action by Federal Gov't.</th>
<th>Action by State Gov't</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12. Alien ownership of land prohibited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Homesteads should be exempted from taxation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Opposed land monopolies and favored forfeiture of unearned land grants</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Legislation against child labor</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Reduce the hours of labor</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Australian system of voting</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X by 46 states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Simplify court procedure and reduce court expenses so that the poor will be placed on equality with the rich</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1912</td>
<td>X court of small claims</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Alien ownership of land prohibited
13. Homesteads should be exempted from taxation
14. Opposed land monopolies and favored forfeiture of unearned land grants
15. Legislation against child labor
16. Reduce the hours of labor
17. Australian system of voting
18. Simplify court procedure and reduce court expenses so that the poor will be placed on equality with the rich

VII. Socialist-Labor Party (1892)

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adopted by Republicans</th>
<th>Adopted by Democrats</th>
<th>Action by Federal Gov't.</th>
<th>Action by State Gov't</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X by 46 states
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</th>
<th>Adopted by Republicans</th>
<th>Adopted by Democrats</th>
<th>Action by Federal Gov't.</th>
<th>Action by State Gov't.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Government ownership of transportation and communication systems</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X Regulation</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Municipalities should own public utilities</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X rural electrification projects</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Conservation of natural resources</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Graduated income tax</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Limitation of child labor by Federal law</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Prohibition of convict contract labor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Adoption of an inheritance tax</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Inventions should be free to all</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Compulsory education at public expense</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X Vocational aid</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Adoption of Australian secret ballot</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X by 46 states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Minority representation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov't.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist-Labor Party con't.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Protection of life and limb in all occupations and an efficient employer's liability law</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X 1908</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Abolition of all upper legislative chambers</td>
<td>Transportation Co. employees</td>
<td>Transportation Co. employees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Abolition of executive veto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Capital punishment should be eliminated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X few states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Free administration of justice</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1912 reduce expenses</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Unemployed to be used on public works</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1932</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Repeal of all sumptuary laws</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1876 through 1896</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. American Party (1884)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Full protection of the law for all citizens, native born and naturalized</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov't.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Party cont.'t.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Favored fostering and encouraging American industries</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Restriction of immigration to prevent cheap labor influx</td>
<td>X 1880</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Repeal of the Naturalization laws</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1900</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Subject church property to taxation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Freedom of worship</td>
<td>X 1868</td>
<td>X 1868</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Aliens be prohibited from owning real estate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Separation of church and state</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. No flag but national, state, or municipal flag, shall float over any public building</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov't.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Equal Rights Party (1884-1888)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Opposition to monopolies</td>
<td>X 1888</td>
<td>X 1888</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Public Education</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Extension of political and civil rights to the Indians</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Equal rights to naturalized citizens</td>
<td>X 1868</td>
<td>X 1868</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Payment of pension to soldiers</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Opposition to liquor traffic and sales</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Women Suffrage and equal rights in industry for women</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Equal property rights for women</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>X 1916</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Payment of public debt</td>
<td>X 1868</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Civil Service reform</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov't.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal Rights Party cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Uniform system of laws for all states</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Maintain peaceful relations between states and between United States and the world's nations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1888</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Land for actual settlers</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X 1872</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Silver Party (1896-1900)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 with reservations</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Opposed issuance of Government bonds during peace time</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Increased production to meet the needs of the nations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. National Democrats (Gold Democrats) (1896-1900)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Tariff for Revenue</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Party Demands That Call For Action</td>
<td>Adopted by Republicans</td>
<td>Adopted by Democrats</td>
<td>Action by Federal Gov't.</td>
<td>Action by State Gov't.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Democrats con't.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Opposed subsidies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X 1900</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Opposed silver coinage</td>
<td>X 1896</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Continued Civil Service reform</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Arbitration as means of settling international disputes</td>
<td>X 1884</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Economy in government</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Pensions for soldiers</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>X 1876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY


