

"WHY BE A PROGRESSIVE?" INQUIRES EMERSON HOUGH

Question Also Answered by This "Best Seller" of the Virile, American Out-of-Doors School, Who Once Served Himself as a Ranger in the West.

(By Emerson Hough) "Why fool with this new party," asked an acquaintance, "what can you get out of it? It has no chance to win."

You can make no answer to that sort of man. If you told him the truth he could not understand it. If you made him the simplest of all explanations, he could not believe it. He cannot comprehend that a party can do anybody great good without affording somebody great grief. If Ephraim be wedded to his idols, let the union of the world endure. The world moves on just the same.

The final argument for this new party lies in that fact; that the world does move. Compare the dark ages with today and you find that the world has moved. All civilization is progress. The Progressive party is the party of civilization. Do you want the dark ages or today for yours? That is your own concern. The world will move onward just the same.

The rewards of a clean way of thought are something which the old line standpat man cannot understand. "What are you expecting to get out of this?" he demands; and he thinks you crazy when you say that you expect to get nothing out of it. Yet you are crazed only in the delirium of the human impulse forward. The standpat man cannot understand that. You cannot argue with a man who deals in assertions only, and whose premises are those of the past. Let him alone. The world moves just the same.

One of the assertions of the standpat man of either of the old parties is, that this third party is Roosevelt and Roosevelt alone. Of course, that assertion is not true, because the world had progressed before Roosevelt was born and will do so after he is dead. The motives of this third party go deeper than any one man's life. They take hold on great causes and effects, on real conditions, which are far wider than any one man's life.

With or Without Roosevelt. If Theodore Roosevelt felt lead tomorrow, he could go happy, knowing that the fight he wages will sometime be won, knowing that the world moves, with or without Theodore Roosevelt. It makes no great difference whether Bacon or Shakespeare wrote Shakespeare. The fact, the deed, is the great thing. It makes no great difference to civilization whether Roosevelt or some one else shall win this great fight; it will be won sooner or later. Theodore Roosevelt himself is a great enough man to know that.

The standpat man of either old party cannot understand these things. The sheer delight of a man's decision, the joy of a fight which is there to be fought—these are the things which the standpat man of either old party cannot understand. Why argue with him? Let Ephraim remain wedded to his idols. Let him continue to demand, "What can this third party get for you?"

Many years ago as a young man I lived in a small community in the Rocky mountains, where we had not much law beyond that of the six-shooter. It was a sweet and seemly country for a man. No man abused his neighbor there. There were few locks on the doors. There was one great law, which ran to the effect that, when trouble came, it was a man's part to strap on his gun, get out in the middle of the road and meet his neighbor. Of course, he might get killed; but that was much better than to live with the recollection of having hid behind the door, and having shirked for the sheriff or other form of representative or constitutional government to come and take care of him.

He Leads, Others Follow. Theodore Roosevelt was not the sort to hide behind the door. For that reason, America admires him. For that reason, he is on the front page. For that reason, Colonel Bryan, Mr. John Maynard Harlan and the very late Congressman J. Adam Smith, follow him wherever he makes speeches. Why do they not precede him and why does he not follow them? The answer is fairly obvious. He is a leader, and not a follower. What sort of man do you want in the White House at Washington—a leader or a follower?

Why are you a Progressive? In all likelihood it is in no wise just to say that you are a Roosevelt-worshiper. Perhaps you became a Progressive for the same reason that I did, because you have read the history of America and American politics, because you have studied the great questions of American history. We have had great issues before today, but none larger than those of today. We face the third war of American independence. It is not enough in days like these to sit down clutching the clay idols of an ancient party in our laps and refusing to lift our eyes. Whether we do or not, the world moves on.

Now, all the great issues of a country of this country, are no decided inside of old parties, but outside of them. This is true in spite of the vociferations of all the Borahs, La Follettes and Hadleys who get cold feet when the shooting actually begins. New and great human needs always have demanded new and great political parties. If you do not believe this, read American history. You will find there that great parties have come up and grown, that they have waxed and that they have waned. That is the history of the Progressive party, and a Progressive party will replace this Progressive party. Always there are some men who think, some men who are on the side of civilization, some men who are on the side of the future and not of the past. The Progressive party is the party of the future, not that of the past. Oppose it if you like. Your choice is your privilege. But the world will move on just the same.

Not a One-Man Party. The Progressive party is not a one-man party, but it would be worse than Solah who did not congratulate it on having the friendship and the leadership of one of the most wonderful minds, one of the most wonderful nervous systems this country or any other ever has seen. Put before the standpat man the full tale of the day's works of this one man, the vast range of his activities, and he will turn away from you as did the countryman after a long study of the camel in the menagerie. "There ain't no such a animal," said he. For the standpat man there ain't no such a animal as Roosevelt.

It is urged against Theodore Roosevelt that he is self-seeker and that he is an egotist. One imagines that any man succeeding under the great law of survival is obliged to be somewhat of an egotist. Any great man is obliged to be something of an egotist. Look on the front page for the name of the man who has forged forward, who leads where others follow. Perhaps you will adjust yourself to a new definition of the term "egotism." You do not call the tall tree egotism. But as to the selfishness, the little self-seeking which is charged against Theodore Roosevelt, it is idle to pay attention to that sort of thing. Since it is charged in mere assertion, suppose we argue about that, and do not retaliate in like weak assertion.

On La Follette. Many of us were present at the fatal Philadelphia banquet on February 2, 1912, when Senator Robert M. La Follette, in the parlance of the day, "blew up." If we do not care to be so flip-pant, let us call unfortunate and unhappy that two hours' address in the wee sma' hours, at the end of which we saw the bowed and broken figure of a man who had aspired to lead the new progressive thought of his time. It is not fair to ask whether the speaker or his listeners made the more unfortunate, the more discouraging figure. But at the end of it all, there was a bowed and broken figure of whom many said in sadness, "That is not presidential timber now."

Before February 2, 1912, Colonel Roosevelt, with many others, was of the belief that Senator La Follette was the natural leader of the progressive movement of this country. After February 2, 1912, Colonel Roosevelt and everybody else knew that under such leadership that cause could not win. But the cause was there, the need for it to win was as great as ever. Do you perchance know of any other man who, better than Colonel Roosevelt himself, could have stepped from the sidelines and gotten into the game at this crisis?

When Senator La Follette at the Taft convention in Chicago showed what many frankly called personal vindictiveness against Roosevelt, what many frankly called a dog-in-the-manger attitude, he really hurt no one so much as himself, although he did not help, but wounded, the progressive cause in which he had labored so long. He did what he could to give another man his proving. He gave another man full opportunity whether to hide behind the door, or whether to come out in the street and meet his trouble. Roosevelt came out into the street.

When Governor Hadley discovered that it takes more than a silver voice and a set of clean-cut, classic features to make a great man; when Borah of Idaho, concluded that reforms ought to be made inside and not outside of the old party; when Cummings of Iowa did not come through; and when Denton of Illinois, agonized at finding a fence both sides of which he could not occupy—these the worse side—when all these weak-kneed folks did these weak-kneed things after the outrage of the Taft convention—the people of this country concluded that that might be politics, but that it was not government. So they started a new party. The stand-pat folk of both the old parties cannot understand it. They cannot understand that a party can be governed by principle and not by policy alone. But the world moves just the same.

Republic an Experiment. As against the leader of this new party at the current date it is urged that he seeks to be a dictator. The assertion is not true. If it were true, would the dictatorship of an honest and courageous man be worse than the dictatorship of a cunning and avaricious oligarchy? The former might do something for you and me, the latter would do nothing. If this were Roosevelt and not America I would as live live in it as though it were Kuhn-Loeb-land or Rockefeller-land or Harriman-land or Morganland. Choose as you like for your own self.

Great Britain still considers the American republic an experiment. If that republic is to be governed after the fashion of the Taft convention, Great Britain is right. If we are to be ruled from Wall street and not from Washington, Great Britain is right. The underlying principle of this republic is the idea of the old town-meeting in which the majority ruled. If the majority is not to rule in America, then Great Britain is right, and this republic is an experiment, and it has failed. If we are to be governed by such rules as the men who dominated the Taft convention at Chicago, then Great Britain is right, and this republic has failed.

But, because there are many men in America who are not weak, who are not willing to accept the wishes of an oligarchy, who are not willing to be dominated by pretenders, there was a protest, there was a third party. In other words, when the time came, this republic decided that it had not been a failure, that it intended to go on, and that it intended to settle its own troubles as they arose, in the middle of the street. That is why a good many of us are Progressives today. It is your privilege to remain a standpat man if you like, and to ally yourself with either old party if you like. The world will go on just the same.

We are at the brink of the third war of American independence, the most tremendous and the most vitally important war of the three. This is the war on the side of the old town-meeting, and against the rule of a rickety oligarchy built up on special privilege and in violation of the ancient law of an even break and fair play.

You can read in history of very many wars like this, if you like. This is a bread war, the war of a people demanding better living conditions, a fairer, a more even chance in the human struggle. Read all the history you like. Did you ever read of a bread war which had any other than just one end? The hungry have always won. There never was an honest leader of a bread war who died unknown to his own times or forgotten of later times. The cause of human need is the one cause that will not be denied.

All over the world, decade by decade, year by year, in every nation, the house of commons has grown, whereas the prestige of the house of lords has waned. This is true for Great Britain, for Germany, for China. China has her republic today. Let us not abandon hope. We yet may have one in America! Who knows? It may be that you have married money or made it easily, and that hence you classify yourself with the house of lords. It is your privilege to do so. The world will move on just the same. It is your privilege, if you like, to deny that there may be any such thing as a political party with actual principles back of it. It is your privilege, if you like, to refuse the simplest and most obvious explanation of one of the most striking phenomena of American history. But your blindness, your ignorance, your assertions will neither alter the course of history nor the progress of the Progressive party.

Not Any Victory. A victory for Mr. Taft and his theory of government is not any victory at all. It is only a temporary clinging to a broken bridge. So far as a victory for Mr. Wilson is a clinging to standpat ideals of an old and outworn party, it could be no victory at all, but merely a halting at a broken bridge. Why waste time when trouble is due? Why not buckle on your gun, get in the middle of the street, and have it over with? The house of commons wins steadily. The working people of the world win steadily. Antagonize these things if you like. You do not stop them. This Progressive party is the outcome of conditions, a part of the progress of the world. It is bigger than both the old parties and all the standpat folk, who cannot understand any such thing as a great and vital human need. Do not join with it unless you like—but do not try to stop it. Take on the simpler task of stopping the stars in their courses. Attempt the general chore of wiping out all human hope and human resolution.

The Progressive party is in tune with the religion of the stars. Be against it if you like; nobody is holding you. But the stars and the world are apt to go right on ahead pretty much the same. They play the long game, and all November look alike to them. If not this November, some other November. If not this Roosevelt, some other Roosevelt at some later day. But this day this November, this Roosevelt suits a lot of us—so many of us that very likely a great many standpat people are this November going to get the surprise of their eminently respectable and highly constitutional lives.

LET US REDEEM IDAHO.

The Republican state committee by the suit just decided by the supreme court has tried to disfranchise the Roosevelt supporters in Idaho and to force Idaho voters to vote for Taft. But the Progressive campaign will go on just the same. Let the Progressive voters of this state at once organize to prevent disfranchisement. Let them write the names of the Roosevelt electors and Mr. Smock, candidate for congress, on the ballot and vote the whole Progressive ticket as a rebuke to the Republican state committee which is just as effectually controlled by the invisible government as was the Republican national committee and convention which disfranchised the Progressive Republicans and stole the Republican nomination for Taft. Let us work together and redeem Idaho.—G. H. MARTIN, Progressive Candidate for Governor.

HOW TO VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT.

(Cut this out and hand it to some Progressive voter who is not a subscriber to the Capital News and request him to take it to the election booth with him when he votes.) Write the following names in the blank spaces provided for presidential electors in the column set aside for the Electors' Progressive Party and place an X in the circle or square opposite each name:

- H. HARLAND X
E. M. HARRIS X
L. M. EARL X
H. C. OLNEY X

TO VOTE FOR PROGRESSIVE CONGRESSMAN.

Write the following name in the blank space provided for congressmen in the column set aside for the Electors' Progressive Party:

- P. M. SMOCK X
TO VOTE FOR THE PROGRESSIVE STATE TICKET.

Mark an X opposite the name of every candidate printed in the column headed "Electors' Progressive Party."

TO ENROLL IN THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

State Chairman Gipson wants to get in communication with every Progressive voter in Idaho. Many Democrats and Republicans who wish to join have not had the enrollment blank presented to them and for that reason the attached blank is printed. If you believe that the time has come for a third party in American public affairs, fill out this blank and mail it to the Progressive headquarters, Boise, Idaho.

J. H. GIPSON, State Chairman Progressive Party, Boise, Idaho. I hereby enroll as a member of the Progressive Party. Name Post Office Street No. or R. F. D.

AN APPEAL TO PATRIOTIC AMERICANS

The PROGRESSIVE PARTY is fighting for the people's rights and must be supported by the people. If you have not responded to the PROGRESSIVE PARTY'S appeal for campaign funds, DO IT NOW. Show your loyalty and patriotism toward a Nobler America by sending your donation. Send as much as you can—anything from \$1.00 up.

J. H. GIPSON, State Chairman Progressive Party, Boise, Idaho.

Herewith I enclose \$..... for the Progressive Campaign fund.

Name Post Office

Mail this coupon with your contribution to J. H. Gipson, Boise, Idaho, and a receipt will be promptly sent you.

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