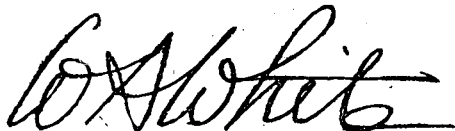


"You cannot dramatize the injustices of the present situation. . . . The reformer's occupation is gone."



THE old reformer in the new order faces a new situation. He cannot bring to bear upon the new situation the old psychology. It won't work. The dissidence of discontent will not bite into this situation. Twenty, thirty, even forty years ago economic and social injustices were much more obvious and seemed more cruel than they are today. Since 1917, in America at least, great improvement seems to have come in the distribution of wealth. Perhaps the rich are vastly richer, but certainly the poor are getting more necessities, comforts, and even luxuries out of life than they got before. They are not getting enough, but they are getting too many of the needs and comforts of life to make a very serious cause at the present time. I should like to see them get more. But when I talk to the average man who looks at life in the average way, at the average condition of the average industrial worker, the average man puts his hand to his mouth and swallows his yawn and walks off. You cannot dramatize the injustices of the present situation. Hence the reformer's occupation is gone. The radical is unable to appeal to the emotions of the people. New times will produce new causes, and sooner or later new issues will call out those qualities in heart and mind which made the old idealists popular and forceful in the land. But their time is not now.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

"When the war was over, real liberal cooperation would have captured the future for the world."



AN intelligent answer requires us to recall at the outset that many of the things about which Mr. Howe was radical have been accomplished. American municipal government, which was a disgrace twenty-five years ago, is now both more honest and more efficient. The principle of municipal home rule has been adopted into state constitutions. Many cities have made and re-made their own charters and a series of informing experiments has been made in municipal institutions, so that city government is freer from bossism, more responsive to popular control and more efficient than it used to be. With these changes has come the full acceptance of the program of municipal activity for which radicals used to contend—better public schools, parks, bath houses and public control of public utility monopolies.

In the second place, we must admit that some of the things radicals contended for have been tried and found of less value in practice than they promised in theory. Among these are the initiative and referendum, the recall, the non-partisan primary, the commission form of government and proportional representation. That some of these have proved useful is clear, but their absolute importance is plainly less than was once supposed.

In the third place, when the great national test came after the World War, the radicals developed a wholly un-

Where Are the

FRED HOWE asked the question broaden it to include progressive taxers, 'muck rakers,' civic campaigners of the century fought for the common it before the people. We have asked: 'to men and women who were in the th No attempt is made to frame a commo to help the reader find himself in relati

GEORGE W. ALGER, lawyer, long time head of the Reform Club of New York, a pioneer in the cause of constructive labor legislation. Author of *The Old Law and the New Order*.

NEWTON D. BAKER, Tom Johnson's left hand in his long drawn municipal ownership fight in Cleveland, his successor as mayor of the city, and Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of War. Since then president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

RAY STANNARD BAKER has been called America's "star reporter" since the days of "the old McClure's." He followed the white plume of Wilson to Paris, directed the American Press Bureau at the Peace Conference, and is now at work on the authoritative biography of Wilson.

ROGER BALDWIN is known best for his spirited work in organizing the American Civil Liberties Union. He arrived there by way of law, social and civic work in St. Louis. His nine months in jail in 1918 was for his conscience's sake; he refused to be examined for the draft.

STUART CHASE, who is one of the Labor Bureau group, has just written a book on Waste. He began as a certified public accountant, and is bent on finding out what economics has to do with happiness.

CLARENCE DARROW, Chicago lawyer, the attorney for the defense in cases as varied as they have been famous—from the McNamara trial in Los Angeles to the Scopes case in Tennessee where he locked horns over evolution with William Jennings Bryan.

EUGENE V. DEBS of Indiana. The many-time presidential candidate of the Socialists who went to the Atlanta Penitentiary for his expressions on the War. This is the fifth decade since he led the Pullman strike of '94. There's nothing weary about Debs.

SHERWOOD EDDY has labored for the Y. M. C. A. in India, all Asia and other strange parts of the world, including the U. S. A. He voices the new world hope of the church, and sees youth as its evangel.

CHARLOTTE was a socialist, s fore liberalism w a social philosop

NORMAN HA Collier's Weekly and spread the He discovered Collier, S. S. Mc way, John S. Ph grave were leade tion and made th in American life.

WILLIAM H. Bill, one of the s Everybody's Ma land, now interj world and lets i

MORRIS HILL called "the brain For two decades committee, he t when he polled 1 for Mayor of, N

JOHN HAYN The Community lodestone of so enough to say l him during the Church Militant

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BENJAMIN attacked congest he began organi secretary of the League with he:

FREMONT O fisted editor of fought the tract municipal feud strong arm rep reformer's port kidnapped.

JOHN S. PH Clure's right ha and then founde with Steffens, F

Pre-War Radicals?

Confessions of a Reformer. We urgents, liberals, socialists, single-labor leaders who in the early years they variously saw it, and dramatized "Who succeeds them?" and put the questions "Who will fight then, or who are active now." Rather we throw these answers out into a changing world.

FRANK GILMAN and feminist began in the parlor—fighting edge.

was editor of the Boston Post. He was editor of the Boston Post. He was editor of the Boston Post. He was editor of the Boston Post.

er known as the "Red" made the old power in the Boston to the fight.

myer, is often called a "socialist Party." of its executive committee. He was a national figure as a candidate in 1917.

IES has made a name in New York a nation. Tribute to his action stood by belongs to the lives peace.

of the People's Party in Washington, was Walsh on the International Relations, and chairman of the

H, for years in Manhattan before the insurgencies as Reconstruction in Washington.

-hearted, two-faceted, San Francisco Call, he most bitter country when part of the himself was

is S. S. Mc- is great days; can Magazine, Dooley," and

Miss Tarbell as his colleagues. As an adventure of the spirit, it went the way of all flesh; but he is a member of the Crowell Publishing Company, residuary legatee of the pre-war Collier's and the pre-prosperity American.

LOUIS F. POST was for years the devoted editor of The Public, spokesman for the Single Taxers. From 1913 to 1921, as Assistant U. S. Secretary of Labor, he put humaneness into government service and resisted the "Deportation Delirium."

LAWSON PURDY, today general secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society. As New York's tax expert, to quote Mr. Howe, he made "one of the most distinguished contributions to municipal politics."

IDA M. TARBELL, dean of American women journalists, was associated with McClure's from 1894 to 1906, and with The American from 1906 to 1915. Her Inside History of the Standard Oil Company was the first outstanding example of large scale magazine fact-gathering.

NORMAN THOMAS, director of the League for Industrial Democracy. In spreading his evangel of labor in politics, he stood as Farmer-Labor candidate for Governor of New York in 1924, Socialist candidate for Mayor in 1925.

BURTON K. WHEELER, United States Senator from Montana and LaFollette's running mate in 1925. He has emerged victorious from three suits which his inquisitiveness as to the Harding regime may have cost him.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, editor of the Emporia Gazette, official organ of the Middle West. He has written everything, including guide-books to the early liberal movement like The Old Order Changeth, and Stratagems and Spoils. He is the best preserved specimen of the Bull Moose.

The editors of The Survey acknowledge the collaboration of Charles Scribner's Sons, who made this symposium possible by dispatching to each contributor a copy of "The Confessions of a Reformer," the autobiographical volume in which Mr. Howe not only puts the question quoted, but interprets his own rich experience.

suspected lack of capacity to cooperate. When the war was over, real liberal cooperation would have captured the future for the world, but every radical and every liberal, apparently, had his own theory or his own grievance, and the conservative reaction marched through the liberal ranks, which were broken into fragments by their own dissensions.

In the fourth place, after the immeasurable destruction of the World War, a destruction alike of physical property and faith in human institutions, the stricken and terrified world demanded a respite. Instead of more destruction of things and faith, it wanted a chance to build again on its shattered foundation. Most of the radicals of the older day have responded to the call for constructive effort.

Lastly the experience of the Russian people under a degrading despotism, with radicals in the saddle, has tempered the welcome of radical ideas in other parts of the world.

None of the foregoing means that there is less room in the world or less need in the world for liberalism. Liberalism is a state of mind and not a creed. A liberal uses his fellow men for their benefit and not for his own. He judges political purposes by their effect on the common good and he has in his mind's eye, as the ultimate object of his concern, "the forgotten man," remote, obscure and inaudible in high places. Liberalism of this quality is imperishable and it has many brave services yet to perform for the American people.

NEWTON W. BAKER

"There are no miracles in progress; there is only the plodding but beautiful adventure of inquiry and education."

Ray Stannard Baker

I CAN answer "Here" to your roll-call of the "pre-war radicals." If I was indeed a radical then, I am still a radical, and no hopeless radical either, for my belief in certain great fundamentals of human relationship has not changed. I believed then that the basis of all advance in civilization was human understanding and human sympathy. I believe it still more vitally now. I am therefore more radical, not less.

Where I was mistaken as a "pre-war radical" was in thinking that what I wanted could be had by adopting certain easy devices of social inventions—otherwise, by shortcuts. What I have gained since is the knowledge that though the thing is true the time appointed is long. There are no miracles in progress; there is only the plodding but beautiful adventure of inquiry and education. Civilization does not come by control but by self-control. We cannot make the hurrah of elections and the enactment of laws take the place of personal conviction.

I deny being a "disillusioned radical"; but rather a deeper radical in the very sense of the word "root." We must go down deep where men live and try first of all to understand them. We "pre-war radicals" were just like all the other politicians; we were more interested in bossing people than in knowing them; we wanted to boss our neighbors into our own little plans for goodness, or efficiency, or justice. We did not understand that growth does not come from without or above, but from within and deep down.