

The constitution, while, in reality, one of the least democratic in the western world, was surrounded by a Fourth-of-July halo which awed criticism, socialist and other, and persuaded the people they were fortunate above all other men in their free institutions. Nowhere, again, is it so difficult for a third party to develop as in the United States. The two-party lobby is firmly rooted in tradition. The popular dislike of throwing away a vote deters all but the most earnest from aiding a struggling third party. Above all, politics has become a business in which elaborate organization and a fat bank account give tremendous advantage the spoils of the victor and demand huge expenditures from the politicians while the multiplicity of offices for which the non-liberal elector is forced to choose candidates makes organization necessary and inevitable. Again, if the two powerful party machines the amateur is heavily handicapped.

Yet of late years the socialist has found more cause for hope. Industry is concentrated in ever larger combinations, vital national resources are monopolized, wealth beyond the dreams of earlier ages is hoarded in single hands, fraud and corruption are revealed in the records of both finance, easily-gotten profits are flaunted in raw barbaric display. The poverty of Naples and Warsaw is transplanted to New York and Chicago. Free land and the frontier vanish for the future. "America—here or nowhere." The evils of child labor, of immortality of uncompensated accident strike victims. In years of low prices the farmer groans under the weight of mortgages; when prices soar and the farmer buys his motor car, the consumer, forced to economize, which are against the grain, vents his indiscriminate wrath on the middleman, the trader, or "the Sucker." The trade unionist, freed from the shackles of employers' associations and hostile capitalist organizations, is led to a political action for protection. The German immigrant, the Jew and the Finn spread the coalition of "Rascals." The non-classer develops a vague, more diffused, socialistic sentiment among the native born. The socialist is found to have his day is dawning.

The twentieth century socialist movement began in American rank and file middle class leaders and an increasingly important upper middle class. Socialism in the United States has proved to be a foreign importation; the recent growth has been mainly among the native born. It has proved to be a middle class movement of manual workers; the leaders are usually men of liberal education and professional occupation, while the middle class representation in the ranks is increasing. Its policy is increasingly opportunist, although it has not yet been transformed into a mere radical reform party.