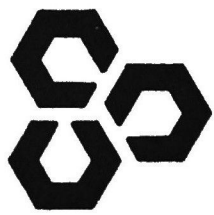
HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD

E. Jay Jernigan



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Henry Demarest Lloyd

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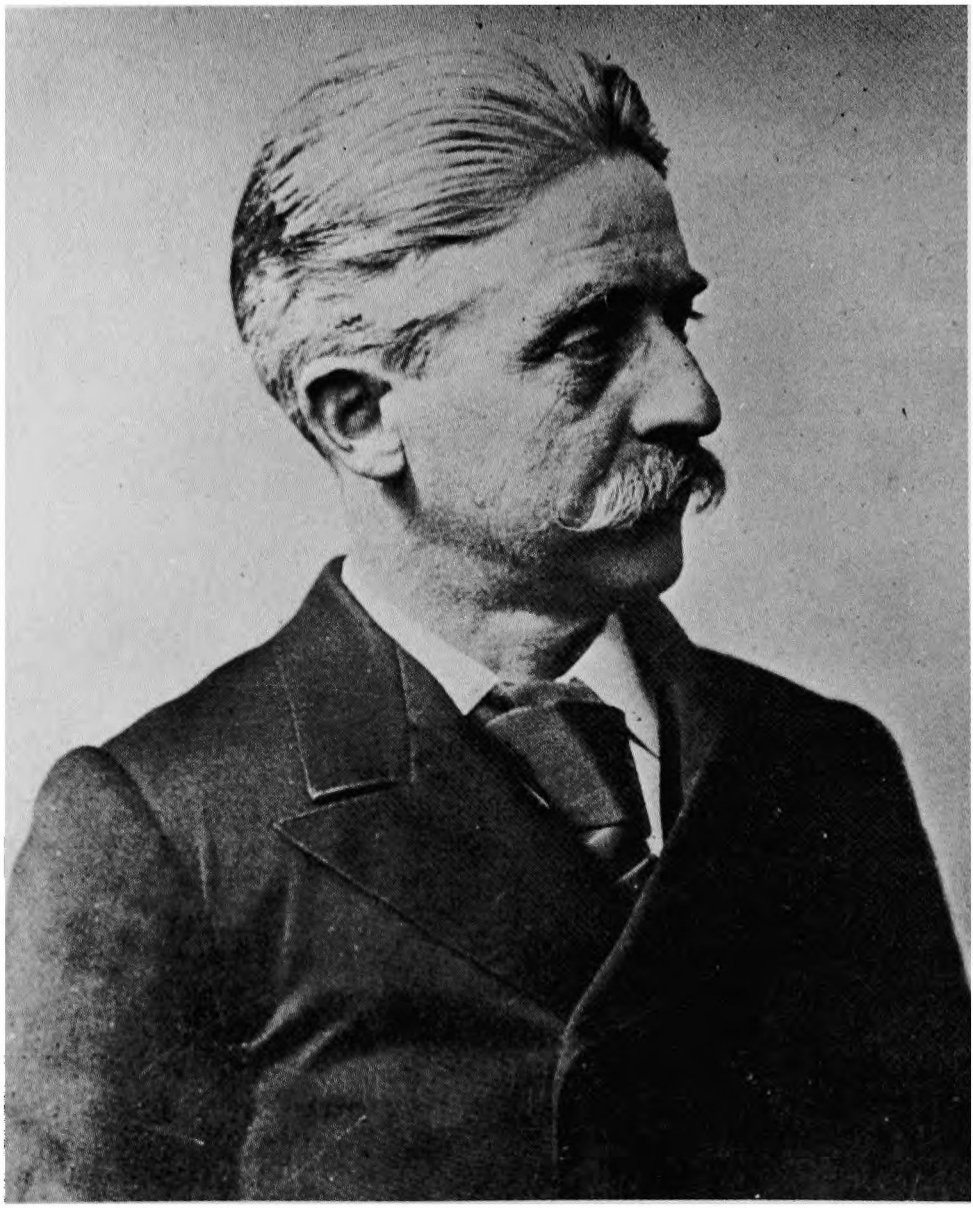

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Henry Demarest Lloyd

HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To my parents,
Evelyn and Elza Jernigan

Contents

About the Author

E. Jay Jernigan is an associate professor of English language and literature at Eastern Michigan University. He holds bachelor of arts and bachelor of science degrees from Emporia Kansas State College and master of arts and doctor of philosophy degrees from Kansas State University. He has taught at a high school, a junior college, and at several universities; in addition to his teaching, he has served since 1970 as an associate editor of *The Journal of Narrative Technique*. He has published on a wide spectrum of topics in such journals as *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, *Michigan Academician*, *Kansas Quarterly*, and *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*.

Preface

Among the few totally dedicated reformers active throughout the Gilded Age (1870–1898) and beyond, Henry Demarest Lloyd was socially and intellectually the most prominent. A lawyer by training, a journalist by choice, he became the archetypal American Muckraker who attacked the evils of oligopoly in newspaper and magazine articles, in speeches, and in books. He began his critical role in 1869 with his editorials for the American Free-Trade League, and he ended it only with his death from pneumonia in 1903 while campaigning in Chicago for immediate municipal ownership of the street railways. Independently wealthy, he was a stalwart champion of organized labor and a fluent advocate of applied Socialism at a time when supporting either one brought social obloquy in most middle- and upper-class quarters. And, as the principal spokesman for the urban labor-Populist coalition within the National People's Party, he gave that important but ill-starred political movement an intellectual coherence and force it otherwise sadly lacked. Widely read and travelled, as well as acquainted with most of the advanced social thinkers of his time, Lloyd evolved into one of the most effective reform publicists and intellectual leaders of the early Progressive Era.

His career as a reformer has evoked two lengthy biographies—one by his sister Caro[line] Lloyd (1912) and one by Chester M. Destler (1963)—but neither discusses critically or analytically Lloyd's numerous publications. In the earlier biography, Caro regards her brother with uncritical affection and fills her book with letters, reminiscences, and adulation; and her discussion of his published writings is sketchy at best. Destler's biography, admirably detailed and documented from manuscript sources, concentrates upon the history of Lloyd's intellectual development and influence. But, unfortunately, this study's inferences lack perspective; for the author gives some of Lloyd's activities more importance than the evidence warrants. And, while Destler considers the effects of many of Lloyd's publications, he does not discuss individual works either systematically or critically. Yet continuing interest exists in Lloyd's publications; for, at the present time, five of his books are available

in reprints, social historians are devoting increased attention to their influence, and recent collections of significant documents in American history invariably include selections from them.

Consequently, the purpose of this study is to present for the first time a systematic analysis and critical assessment of Henry Demarest Lloyd's published works. In doing so, I concentrate on those publications available in book form—the five monographs published during his lifetime, the two that were posthumously edited and published, and the three posthumous collections of his speeches and magazine articles. I also refer when appropriate to his numerous uncollected contributions to newspapers and magazines in an attempt to convey the full range of his journalistic activities. After an introductory chapter that reviews Lloyd's life and times—a discussion designed to provide a suitable perspective for a critical analysis—I have arranged my study of his specific works chronologically, within four major topical categories. Chapters 2 and 3 cover his various Muckraker activities; Chapter 4 discusses his role as a spokesman for organized labor in behalf of political reform; Chapter 5 analyzes his various attempts to formulate a social philosophy; and Chapter 6 reviews his investigative reports about experiments in social democracy in other countries. In a brief final chapter, I assess his significance and his contribution to American social, political, intellectual, and literary history.

My aim throughout this study has been to focus upon Lloyd's works, not upon his personal involvements and activities. Yet I have sought to place those works within a sufficiently specific historical framework that we may view them from a critical standpoint. An historical perspective is especially necessary because so much of his writing was periodical journalism. And, because his collected works consist of expository prose, either in the form of journal articles or in that of public addresses, I have found it necessary to summarize and categorize them more than if I were analyzing belles-lettres, in which genre and method are scholastically better recognized. As a result, I have used topical subtitles to make clearer an otherwise confusing mixture of Lloyd's prose in two chapters in which I treat those collections. Likewise, such expository materials have lent themselves more to explication than to critique; nevertheless, in each instance I have attempted a critical assessment in order to determine objectively Lloyd's ultimate contribution to his era.

In this study I have relied heavily on the many manuscript sources available in the Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and I wish to thank Dr. Josephine Harper, Curator of Manuscripts, for permission to publish citations from those papers. I wish also to thank William B. Lloyd, Jr., for permission to quote from the publications originally copyrighted by his father and for information about his uncle, John B. Lloyd. But my greatest debt is to Chester M. Destler's *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform* (1963), which, because of its detail, is invaluable to any student of American social history during the Gilded Age. I am likewise obligated to several of Destler's other publications, as my documentation indicates. Here I should like to express my general appreciation to that scholar for his writings about Lloyd and the American reform movement.

I am also grateful to my wife, Louise, and to my colleagues, Paul McGlynn and James Angle, who read the original manuscript of this study and suggested stylistic changes. And I wish to thank a former student, Nancy (Gerou) Crawford, who helped with the bibliographical search; Lois Abbott, who cheerfully typed the final manuscript; Dr. Sylvia Bowman, who offered helpful editorial suggestions; and the regents of Eastern Michigan University, who granted me the sabbatical term needed to complete this study.

E. JAY JERNIGAN

Ypsilanti, Michigan

Chronology

1847 Henry Demarest Lloyd, the eldest of five children, born May 1 in New York City to Aaron and Marie Christie Demarest Lloyd.

1847–1860 As a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Aaron Lloyd moved his family from parish to parish in rural New York and New Jersey; then in 1857 to a parish in Pekin, Illinois.

1860 Aaron Lloyd surrendered the ministry; returned with his family to New York City where he moved in with his father-in-law and became proprietor of a small bookstore.

1863 Henry D. Lloyd enrolled as a scholarship student at Columbia College.

1867 Graduated bachelor of arts from Columbia College; entered Columbia Law School.

1869 Passed the New York bar examination; employed as assistant secretary to the American Free-Trade League.

1872 Resigned from the league; moved to Chicago to become literary editor of the Chicago *Tribune*.

1873 On December 25, married Jessie, the daughter of William Bross, a wealthy quarter owner of the *Tribune*.

1874 Appointed financial editor for the *Tribune*.

1878 Moved to Winnetka, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago.

1880 Appointed chief editorial writer for the *Tribune*.

1881 In March issue, the *Atlantic Monthly* published "The Story of a Great Monopoly"—the start of Lloyd's reputation as the original Muckraker.

1885 Resigned from the *Tribune* after political differences with its principal owner, Joseph Medill; travelled in Europe for several months; suffered an emotional breakdown from which he took several years to recover fully.

1886 Participated vigorously in the clemency movement for the Haymarket Anarchists.

1888 In September issue, the *North American Review* published "The New Conscience," the start of Lloyd's role as "prophet-counselor" for social *qua* moral reform.

1889 Built a summer house at Sakonnet Point, Rhode Island; spoke at labor rallies in Illinois where he committed himself to publicizing the plight of the American worker.

1890 Publication of *A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners*, a book length attack of Illinois coal mine owners' labor practices.

1890–1896 Worked with Midwestern labor unions to build a political base for social reform; became the principal organizer of the Illinois labor-Populist coalition within the National People's Party.

1894 Published *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, the first thoroughly documented exposé of the business practices and effects of a representative trust, the Standard Oil Company.

1896 Watched the death of his political hopes in the endorsement of William Jennings Bryan by the People's Party; turned his attention thenceforth to investigating industrial co-operatives and functional social reforms in other countries and to publicizing the results.

1897 Toured co-operatives in Great Britain.

1898 Published *Labor Copartnership*, a report about the British co-operative movement.

1899 Toured New Zealand and Australia to investigate applied Socialism.

1900 Published *A Country Without Strikes* and *Newest England*, both reports about New Zealand's social democracy.

1900–1902 Moved temporarily to Boston for the winter seasons; his wife became a semi-invalid

1901–1902 Toured Europe twice to gather materials about various social and political reform programs.

1902–1903 Involved in the anthracite coal strike; served with Clarence Darrow as counsel to the United Mine Workers and argued before the special presidential commission appointed to resolve that strike.

1903 Died September 28 of pneumonia while leading a Chicago labor-reform political coalition in a campaign for immediate municipal ownership of street railways.

1906–1910 Posthumous publication of *Man, the Social Creator; A Sovereign People; Men, the Workers; Mazzini and Other Essays;* and *Lords of Industry*.

CHAPTER 1

Life and Times

I *New York City and the American Free-Trade League: 1847–1872*

HENRY Demarest Lloyd was born May 1, 1847, at his maternal grandfather's home, 56 Sixth Avenue, New York City. Eldest of the five children of Aaron and Marie Christie Demarest Lloyd, he inherited a volatile family background. His grandfather Lloyd — a Belleville, New Jersey, tailor who studied law and served at various times as justice of the peace, coroner, postmaster, and county judge—was a cantankerous freethinker who remained a Copperhead-Locofoco Democrat through the Civil War period and beyond; his grandfather Demarest, a New York City customs-house official and housing contractor of Huguenot-Dutch stock, was a rigorous Calvinist and a staunch member from 1860 on of the Republican party. Stubborn mutual forbearance by all members of the family, assisted by Marie Lloyd's sensitive diplomacy, turned such potentially explosive ideological polarities into a constructive educational mix of Jacksonian democracy and antimonopolism with Protestant moral fervor and Abolitionism. That amalgam profoundly and positively affected the moral growth of young Henry, the "first of the Muckrakers" and the "dean of American reform." Inherent in his life from its earliest days, religion and politics, ends and means, were fundamental areas of conflict that were subject to resolution.

Aaron Lloyd was, during Henry's childhood, an impecunious minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, who moved from parish to parish in rural New York and New Jersey and then transferred in 1857 to a frontier parish at Pekin, Illinois, where he remained until poverty forced him from the ministry in 1860. Returning to New York City, he settled his family in his father-in-law's new home on Washington Square and opened "Ye Olde Book Shoppe" on Nassau Street in the mercantile section; but he earned only meager profits from it. At first, Henry attended Public School Number 35, then, as

a scholarship student, he entered Columbia College Grammar School; and, in September 1863, he enrolled at Columbia College with a four-year tuition scholarship from Andrew Mills of the Dry Docks Savings Institution. During this period Henry, together with his two brothers, David Demarest and John Calvin, worked after school hours at the Mercantile Library to supplement the family income. Living in genteel poverty within the austere confines of his grandfather's Calvinistic household and next door to his equally stern uncle's, Henry was sustained by his mother, whose understanding but morally firm spirit enabled her to join her teenage sons—but prevent a family rupture—when they fled from the Dutch Reformed to Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church.

In 1867, Henry graduated bachelor of arts from Columbia College as the class poet and as a student in the Second Class of Honor, He then entered Columbia Law School, continuing to work part time at the Mercantile Library. In the spring of 1869, he passed the New York bar examination and obtained a job as a field agent for the American Free-Trade League.[1] In spite of its theoretical polemics and its having as presidents such worthies as William Cullen Bryant and David Dudley Field, the league was in reality a pressure group formed in 1864 to promote East Coast mercantile interests. Enthusiastically espousing its antimonopoly and tariff reform policies while traveling for the league that summer, Lloyd began a series of letters to the New York *Evening Post* signed "NO MONOPOLY," which attacked Horace Greeley's protectionist essays in the New York *Tribune*. Because of the success of the letters, Lloyd was promoted to assistant secretary of the league in September. During the three years that he held this position, his duties provided him with a rapid, pragmatic education in political economy: he edited the monthly *Free-Trader*, wrote newspaper articles and advertisements, took to the lecture platform, edited occasional propaganda pamphlets, and arranged league-sponsored political conferences and public meetings.

In addition to these professional duties, Lloyd taught a class in political economy at the newly formed Evening High School during the winter terms of 1870–1871, for which he arranged lectures by such figures as Horace Greeley, Professor Frances Lieber of Columbia College, and Professor Arthur Perry of Williams College. And Lloyd plunged into local reform movements, the two most prominent being library and election reform. In the spring of 1871,

he and his brother John joined other young New Yorkers in an attempt to liberalize the policies of the several public libraries, and the Lloyds led the agitation against the Mercantile Library Association. After a year long struggle, they gained their objectives of Sunday openings, lower dues, and honest elections to the boards of control. Also early in 1871 Henry joined the Young Men's Municipal Reform Association which, together with the more powerful "Committee of Seventy," helped overthrow "Boss" Tweed's Tammany Hall in the New York City elections that fall. The New York *Times* praised Lloyd's conduct; and one of his contributions to that fight, the pamphlet "Every Man His Own Voter," was reprinted in full in the October 21 issue. At the age of only twenty-four, he had thus won recognition within the ranks of municipal reformers.

State and national politics occupied many of his working hours. After the congressional elections of 1870, the directors of the league focused their efforts upon developing the Liberal Republican bolt from President U.S. Grant's 1872 campaign. The league directors were motivated by Grant's repudiation of civil service and tariff reform, by his confused monetary policies, and by the corruption of his administration. To effect this bolt, they joined late in 1871 with leaders of other Liberal Republican groups to form an umbrella organization, the Tax-Payer's Union; and they selected Lloyd to edit a short-lived monthly, the *People's Pictorial Tax Payer,* which was to publicize their campaign for civil service reform, sound currency, free trade, and proportional representation. As a result, Lloyd was closely involved in the events surrounding the Liberal Republican convention in Cincinnati in May 1872. A member of the New York delegation, he worked strenuously for the presidential candidacy of free trader Charles Francis Adams; but the convention stampeded to protectionist Horace Greeley, the yet-to-be-nominated Democratic candidate. Frustrated by this development, prominent supporters of the league called for a postconvention conference at New York City in an attempt to salvage a third party movement which would endorse free trade. In spite of their youth, Henry and his brother David, at that time the private secretary to Chief Justice Salmon Chase, were instrumental in this attempt. But, persuaded by Senator Carl Schurz that Greeley had the best chance against Grant, that conference adjourned without results.

To Lloyd, though, those events were educational; for he wrote to his good friend, the journalist Henry Keenan, that "the convention

and the conference have I think taught me the whole lesson. No more of these false guides for me; no more thimble-rigging in politics—I am going in (if at all) for a straight persistent fight, with homogeneous elements and in utter disregard of political compromises."[2] He at once began to cast about for a more independent professional position, and he decided eventually that journalism offered the most potential. He told Keenan he wished to enter that field, though he was reluctant to leave the league in defeat. Keenan suggested that, while in Chicago on league business, he call upon Horace White, the Liberal Republican editor of the Chicago *Tribune*, who knew Lloyd and his work, and upon William Bross, one of the publishers of the *Tribune*, which led to his being offered the post of night city editor. Returning to New York City and conferring with his brother David, who had just joined the editorial staff of the New York *Tribune*, Henry decided to follow the famous advice of Greeley, his old opponent, to "go West."

II *Chicago and the* Tribune: *1872–1885*

Chicago in 1872 was just recovering from the apocryphal kick of Mrs. Patrick O'Leary's cow. The great fire of October 1871 had destroyed the business district and most of the central residential areas and had left approximately one-hundred thousand homeless out of a total population of three-hundred twenty-five thousand; but within a year the business district, and within three years the residential areas, were completely rebuilt. In ten years, the population had nearly doubled; in twenty, it had more than tripled; for Chicago had become "Hog Butcher for the World, Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat, Player with Railroads and the Nation's Freight Handler."[3] In this brash, bustling, often violent commercial and industrial center, Henry Lloyd slowly earned an equivocal reputation among his contemporaries as a humanitarian critic of the business ethics of the Gilded Age.

Joining the *Tribune* staff in September 1872, he immediately threw himself into his duties as night city editor. But, after he wrote an editorial for the October 15 issue attacking protectionism, White, who was supporting Greeley's candidacy, reassigned him to the literary editor's chair, a seemingly innocuous post. Over the next two years, Lloyd developed a very strong literary department, which, in addition to belles-lettres, reviewed scientific, philosophical, and religious works from both sides of the Atlantic. His Saturday

and Sunday literary pages contributed their fair share to the *Tribune*'s reputation under Horace White as a liberal, crusading newspaper.

When Lloyd first visited Chicago, he met Jessie, the only surviving child of William Bross, a quarter owner of the *Tribune* and a wealthy real estate holder. She was a witty and independent young woman who had remained in the city immediately after the fire to help in the relief effort. Henry, though not wealthy, was well groomed, educated, ambitious, and fired with high moral purpose; having many of the same interests and loyalties, they were immediately attracted to each other. After a year's courtship, and after obtaining her father's consent, they were married on December 25, 1873, in the midst of a spreading financial panic that jeopardized Bross's fortune for well over a year. The newly wedded couple established housekeeping on the ground floor of 6 Ellridge Court, dubbed "Felicity Flat," where they entertained an expanding circle of influential Chicago friends.

While working diligently at the *Tribune*, Henry also devoted his energies in 1874–1875 to passing the Illinois bar examination, to helping found the Chicago Literary Club and the Sunday Lecture Society, and to establishing an Illinois chapter of the Free-Trade League. He was also learning the complexities of Chicago's financial world under the tutelage of his father-in-law and of a close friend, William Coolbaugh, the president of the Union National Bank. In the fall of 1874, Joseph Medill, with financial help from Marshall Field, a conservative Chicago merchant, increased his ownership in the *Tribune;* and he persuaded Alfred Cowles, another part owner, to join with him to wrest management from White and Bross. Holding only a five percent interest in the paper, White left to edit the New York *Evening Post;* and Medill, when he assumed editorial control of the *Tribune*, kept its tariff reform policies but moved it in general to a much more Conservative Republican stance. He then promoted Lloyd to the post of financial editor.

But Lloyd felt hampered by Medill's editorial policies: though Bross was titular president of the Tribune Company and had given him a hundred shares of its stock, representing a five percent interest, he made several attempts at that time to purchase a newspaper of his own. When his elaborate negotiations in the spring of 1876 to buy the Chicago *Daily News* fell through, caused partly by his father-in-law's opposition, he was intensely disappointed, par-

ticularly since Victor Lawson only two weeks after Lloyd dropped his option bought a half interest in the *Daily News* and established it as one of Chicago's largest newspapers.[4] Because Lloyd's consistent goal from his youth was to acquire an independent, powerful voice in the political destinies of the nation, his inability during this period to find that voice as his own editor contributed to a growing personal frustration which resulted by 1885 in a temporary nervous breakdown. Yet, until that happened, he continued working for the *Tribune* while, with Bross's help, he continued to improve his personal finances. In 1879, he was able to invest wisely enough in Chicago real estate to become moderately wealthy in his own right.[5]

Lloyd, who held the post of financial editor for five years, reported honestly on the Chicago area's economic interests; and he focused particular attention upon market, mercantile, railroad, financial, and corporation analyses. Consistently, his financial page campaigned against unethical business methods by pushing for reforms on the board of trade and by pointing out the flagrant security manipulations of this era. With the firm backing of Medill and Bross, he conducted the *Tribune's* two year crusade for bimetallism until that policy was adopted in the Bland-Allison Silver Act of 1878. Soon after the violent railroad strikes of 1877—during which the *Tribune* carried headlines proclaiming "Anarchy," "Red War," "Incendiarism Run Mad"—Lloyd was asking on his financial page for a more constructive view; was suggesting rigorous regulation of railroads; and was attacking the railroad magnates' watered stock, corruption of legislatures and courts, repressive labor practices, monopolistic agreements, and secret rebates. Because much of the prosperity of the Midwest depended upon fair railroad freight rates and practices, he started a railroad department early in 1878; and, with Medill's approval, he developed for the *Tribune* a long-lasting editorial campaign that called for national railroad regulation and reform since it was clear that the Granger legislation of some Midwestern states was either inadequate or rendered inoperative by various court decisions. On January 2, 1880, Medill promoted Lloyd to chief editorial writer and head of the special editorial departments.

In 1875, soon after their first son was born, Jessie and Henry built a small house at 202 Michigan Avenue. But, sometime after the birth of their second son, they sold this property and moved to the suburban village of Winnetka on the North Shore about eighteen

miles from downtown Chicago. With financial help from Bross, they bought there a small estate that included a cottage they first called "Kef Lawn" which over years of remodelling turned into a sizeable home later known as "The Wayside." Lloyd served several terms on the Winnetka Village Council, and he maintained an active interest in its affairs through the rest of his life. He introduced so many innovations in local control that ultimately its unique form of municipal government received wide attention as the "Winnetka-Lloyd System."[6] At this lakefront retreat, two more sons were born.[7] Yet the family was not separated from its contacts with Chicago: from "The Wayside," the Lloyds continued an active social life in the city, for their daily commuting was made practicable by the nearby Northwestern Railroad. In later years, though, they also maintained Mrs. Bross's apartment in "The Pickwick," 2001 Michigan Avenue.

As the *Tribune's* "minister without portfolio" from 1880–1885, Lloyd was relatively free to devote his attention to a more analytical reporting of the commercial, industrial, and financial ethics of the Robber Barons, the subject in which he continued to be most interested. Particularly, he focused his editorials on railroad manipulation, monopolistic trading practices, and marketing "corners." As a political economist, he began to develop for his readers, and for himself, an answer to the popular Social Darwinism of his day by grafting upon his antimonopolistic free trade principles, largely derived from John Bright's and Richard Cobden's Manchester School of economics, a form of Christian Socialism closely analogous to that of the later English Fabian Society.

For Lloyd was never a dogmatic economist of the "orthodox" school; instead, he was throughout his career an intellectually eclectic, middle-class social reformer. And as a pragmatic radical, he recognized in his editorials of this time a growing need for collective action against business tyranny. For example, he wrote in "A New Magna Charta" of February 12, 1883, "that the fruits of human labor are unfairly divided, and that the strong oppress the weak, is an old, old story. But what is new is that the masses can perhaps by acting together alleviate these wrongs in the world of capital and labor as in the reformations of the past they have done in the worlds of politics and the church. How this is to be done only quacks like Henry George pretend that they can see. But how to do it is the question to which those who were born to hate wrong are turning above every other"(4).

In 1880, after presenting a paper before the Chicago Literary Club entitled "A Cure for Vanderbiltism," Lloyd was urged by Henry Huntington, a close friend and fellow *Tribune* editor, to find a national forum for an exposé of this new and ignominious phenomenon of interlocking combinations in restraint of trade. Consequently, in the next four years he wrote four major magazine articles: "The Story of a Great Monopoly" (1881) and "The Political Economy of Seventy-Three Million Dollars" (1882), which were published by the *Atlantic Monthly;* "Making Bread Dear" (1883) and "Lords of Industry" (1884), which appeared in the *North American Review*. Because of the startling impact of these articles, many historians and literary critics have called Lloyd "the first of the Muckrakers"; but that title may distort his efforts, for his attempt was always not only to expose but also to remedy.[8] Nonetheless, these articles clearly initiated the national antitrust debate that culminated in the Progressive party of 1912.

In spite of the success of Lloyd's journal articles, or perhaps partly because of it, he was increasingly dissatisfied with his position at the *Tribune*. As he wrote to his father, "there are always unpleasant things about being a hired man. I suppose I have the minimum of them. I never receive blame or praise, I am never directed what to do—I come and go and work absolutely at my own discretion—but there is no growth in my work in any direction I specially care to grow in."[9] But his editorial freedom was soon imperiled. In the 1884 presidential elections, Medill supported the Conservative Republican candidate James G. Blaine, who was an anathema to Lloyd to whom he personified the corruption and the collusion of American politics. Though many Liberal Republicans bolted to form the "Mugwumps" and to support the Democrat Grover Cleveland, Lloyd did not follow them because of the scandal about Cleveland's private life. During the campaign, Medill restricted Lloyd's editorials to financial subjects, which strained their relationship but allowed for their differences. However, Lloyd's editorial support after the election of "legitimate labor activity" and his continued and strident attacks on "Wall Street nihilism" in the face of Medill's move toward an explicit alliance with big business brought the inevitable break. That occurred in February 1885, with Lloyd's being granted "a leave of absence, to rest, tour Europe, reflect, and then to return if he wished" on the implied condition that the Medill-Cowles majority would determine all editorial policy.[10]

Lloyd was unwell: for the past year, he had suffered from insomnia and headaches. But the trip to Europe was no rest because Jessie contracted typhoid in Venice and was dangerously ill for a month. She returned home in July while Henry toured the British Isles with his brother David, where he was exhilarated by the amount and variety of social reform activity; by conversations with a close friend, the Socialist journalist William Clarke; and by acquaintance with such prominent politicians or reformers as William Morris, James Bryce, Charles Parnell, Thorold Rogers, and Sidney Webb. While touring the Lake District, Lloyd decided to abandon thirteen years of work by not returning to the *Tribune;* for, as he wrote to his wife, "I think perhaps the time has come for me to devote myself to a larger constituency—a constituency I already have. I cannot work for *both*. That did well enough when I was willing to burn my candle at both ends in my enthusiasm, but I must now choose one to serve and follow."[11] But the strain of that decision coupled with previous stress brought about a serious nervous collapse. After weeks of recuperation in London, he returned to Winnetka "more ill than I knew."[12] His fruitless attempt then to purchase the Chicago *Journal* occasioned a relapse.

III *Winnetka and a Personal Review: 1886–1888*

For the next three years, Lloyd retired from active journalism and devoted much of his attention to extensive reading and study. His return to health was but gradual; as he wrote his friend Henry Huntington in 1888, "the reconquest of fair command of nerves, sleep, working power has been very slow."[13] For him it was a period of change and growth during which he restructured his social philosophy and rededicated himself to social reform. It was also a time when he affirmed his moral courage in the crucible of class hatred and self-interest.

In May 1886, he travelled with a friend to Europe but stayed only six weeks; he returned home unexpectedly in July in time to attend the closing sessions of the trial of the Haymarket Anarchists. This trial with its aftermath had a profound effect on his life: it turned him into a stalwart supporter of labor, it inspired his rededication to a search for a political answer to economic injustice, and it cost him the control of an inheritance of five to six million dollars. Recognizing that he did not know as a "fact" the conditions the Chicago Anarchists were protesting against, he toured the slums of Chicago

during the winter of 1886–1887 under the guidance of his friend Bert Stewart, a member of the Illinois Board of Labor Statistics; and he began his extensive collection of data relevant to labor issues.[14] Also through Stewart, who was co-editor of the journal *Knights of Labor*, Lloyd met local leaders in the eight hour day movement, which the reaction to the Haymarket riot had stalemated; and Lloyd began from this contact to perceive "a relation between the anti-social business management that he had long opposed and the anti-union drive."[15] At Stewart's request, he wrote for the spring supplement of *Knights of Labor* (May 7, 1887) a short article, "The Political Economy of Child Labor," his first real journalism since leaving the *Tribune*. This attack of laissez-faire ethics contributed to the development of Lloyd's eventual reputation among labor as one of its closest friends in the "patrician" class.

In the fall of 1887, he demonstrated this friendship in a much more difficult way: in spite of social obloquy within his class, he participated vigorously in the clemency movement for the condemned Haymarket Anarchists. He was appalled by presiding Judge Joseph Gary's having acted "as prosecuting attorney on the bench," and he was convinced that the Anarchists were convicted by a kangaroo court despite its being upheld on appeal.[16] Lloyd and his friend William Salter worked privately and publicly to foster efforts by labor and a growing number of liberals to prevail upon Governor Richard Oglesby to commute the death sentences. Late in the afternoon of November 9, after a day of public hearings in which various labor groups had appealed to the governor for a commutation, he and Jessie, Salter, and the lawyer S. P. McConnell secured a private audience with Oglesby, a family friend, to present their own petition in behalf of the condemned men. Medill had warned them that to do so would risk disinheritance by Bross, who, growing more conservative in old age, felt strongly that all seven Anarchists should hang. When Lloyd's appeal was printed the next day in the *Tribune*, Bross told him flatly he had disgraced the family by his plea at Springfield and then quietly changed his will.[17] Lloyd continued working for amnesty for the two Haymarket defendents who had not been executed that November, and he did so until his friend Governor John Altgeld pardoned them in 1893.

After the hangings, Judge Gary in a speech at a Chicago Bar Association dinner in his honor attacked labor unions and asserted that their "tyranny" far exceeded that of the "monopolies of capital"

which were "so light as to be scarcely felt." Incensed, Lloyd countered with a long letter in the Chicago *Herald* (January 3, 1888) entitled "Labor and Monopoly," which even more dramatically than his clemency petition identified him with trade unionism and against the alliance of politics with big business. Facing the cynical conservatism symbolized by Judge Gary, he felt the need of the business community to be a new moral vision and said so in the lecture "The New Conscience or the Religion of Labor" before the Chicago Ethical Culture Society on February 5. Printed in the September issue of the *North American Review*, it developed an argument for social reform based on an ethical imperative separate from any extenuating orthodoxy, an argument which he had implied in his earlier magazine articles but which he now presented buttressed by his recent far-ranging reading and his firsthand experiences with labor movements.

The day the Haymarket Anarchists were hanged, Lloyd wrote a "Hymn of the Gallows" to be sung to the tune of "Annie Laurie," a song one of those executed was reported to have sung repeatedly the night before. This composition shows how deeply Lloyd was moved by the hangings, for he quoted from the last words of two of the condemned, then turned those quotations into an emphatic vow:

"Our silence will be stronger than the bodies you strangle today,"
August Spies.
"Let the voice of the people be heard," A. R. Parsons.
Silenced voices wrong shall shake,
More than those the gallows take,
Let the people's voice be heard,
The people will be heard,
The people will be heard,
Voices which the gallows wake,
Thousands, where was one, shall make,
The people will be heard.
From the gallows comes the word,
Let the people's voice be heard,
By the gallow's echo stirred,
The people shall be heard,
The people shall be heard.
From the gallows comes the cry,
To the gallows we repay,
The people shall be heard.[18]

"The New Conscience" was his public announcement of that vow: in the midst of the reactionary whirlwind sweeping Chicago, he took up the mantle of "prophet-counsellor" in the cause of social reform.

His health was returning; in his 1888 letter to Huntington, he wrote, "for the past year it has been impossible even for me to doubt that my feet were traveling firm ground again."[19] Though urged by his brother David and others to immediate action, he was still not yet prepared: "They are trying to make me write fast, *but they will not do it.*"[20] Instead, he continued his study of labor issues, enlarged his reading, and widened his circle of acquaintances in reform movements. And sometime during the year, to keep his financial data current, he directed his secretary, Caroline Stallbohm, to set up a clipping service and develop a social issues library that was to serve as the research foundation for his later works and as an important reference source for many involved in the reform agitation of the next fifteen years.[21] That summer he bought forty acres at Sakonnet Point, Rhode Island, where in 1889 he built a summer home, "The Watch House"; during the 1890's, it and "The Wayside" functioned as rallying points for many reformers and as "settlement houses" for many in the labor movement. Testifying to his growing reputation among Chicago labor, the new Union Labor Party chose him as its candidate for Congress from the Fourth Illinois District—he ran from Rhode Island in absentia and lost. But by summer, 1889, he was ready to do serious battle.

IV *Winnetka and Sakonnet Point; Labor and Political Reform: 1889–1896*

On February 17, 1889, Lloyd presented the lecture "Mazzini, the Prophet of Action" before the Chicago Ethical Culture Society and then repeated it at a March economic conference and elsewhere. It was a call for a new revolutionary faith in the cause of economic freedom. Following the example of Mazzini, he addressed a large American Federation of Labor demonstration for the eight hour day at a park near Chicago on July Fourth. His speech "The Labor Movement" extolled the aims and methods of unionism in seeking an "industrial democracy"; in contrast "the churches, the political economists, the colleges, the existing political parties, all stand impotent in the face of the great question of the day—the social question."[22] Returning from his new summer home in Rhode Island, he gave this speech again at a Rock Island Labor Day program and

investigated personally the plight of locked out miners at nearby Spring Valley. His immediate response to their suffering determined his own role as a "prophet of action"; for it was as an articulate middle-class spokesman for the miners at Spring Valley, as a detached publicist bolstered by years in journalism and by an unimpeachable social position, that he established his credentials as an intellectual leader of the growing Midwest labor movement.

Chicago's Mayor Dewitt Cregier and Congressman Frank Lawler, among others, had started collections of relief supplies for the miners. Lloyd joined them in their charitable efforts, but he also probed for the causes of the lockout. Satisfied that William Scott, a lieutenant of financier Jay Gould and the president of the mining company involved, was determined to break the miners' union, he launched a vigorous campaign to present the miners' case to the public and to expose Scott's methods as typical of monopolistic capital. Appealing personally to a number of Chicago newspaper editors, he convinced them that their reporting of the situation had presented only the company's side; and he helped present the miners' side in a series of letters and articles that autumn.

Among these articles, "Starvation in Illinois," "The Crisis at Spring Valley," "To Certain Rich Men," and "Terrorizing the Working People" reached a wide audience; for they were printed in both Chicago and New York newspapers. He had hoped his analysis of the dispute by the standards of the ethical system he had presented in "The New Conscience," or public pressure induced by it, would convince Scott and his associates to bargain in good faith. It did not: the coal company continued its policies; and Scott publicly attacked Lloyd's motives and character. Though Lloyd had expected some concrete results, he was primarily interested in the abstract moral and social issues involved; for he was, above all, a social theorist. Thus, as a representative case study of immoral exploitation of labor, he wrote a booklength history of the lockout entitled *A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners or the Story of Spring Valley.* Published by the Belford-Clarke Company in May 1890, it received favorable press notice and reached an audience wide enough to justify a second edition.[23]

During the next several years, Lloyd devoted part of his time to publicizing the cause of labor unionism in addresses before various civic organizations. Such speeches as "The Union Forever" before the Chicago Nationalist Club (December 11, 1889), "The New In-

dependence" before the Chicago Sunset Club (November 6, 1890), and "The Ethics of Private Ownership of Public Highways" before the Society for Ethical Culture (January 31, 1891) calmly presented the logic of labor organizations in the context of the new industrialism. Through these talks he reached the middle-class intellectual community in Chicago and vicinity and influenced such men as John Altgeld, Lyman Gage, Clarence Darrow, and George Schilling. He also reached a national and international audience through his extensive personal friendships and his correspondence with a wide spectrum of reformers. He lectured at various summer school "retreats" (for example, the Ann Arbor Summer School of Ethics and the Deerfield Summer School of History) along with such scholars as John Dewey, Thomas H. Green, and Henry C. Adams; and he also travelled widely in the United States and briefly in England (1891) to investigate reform activity.

And, too, he spent much of his time speaking before Chicago area labor unions, helping boost their morale and urging that they organize to work for political change. Several of these speeches reached a much wider audience through national conventions and the labor press. For example, his address "The Safety of the Future Lies in Organized Labor" which he presented at the 1893 convention of the American Federation of Labor had twenty thousand pamphlet copies printed; and it was also reprinted in several labor journals. At the same time, he was closely involved in local labor agitation; he gave the keynote address at a mass meeting protesting police violence against unions (December 7, 1891); he spoke at a garment workers' mass meeting against sweatshops (May 8, 1892); and he drafted resolutions for the regulation of factory conditions to the Illinois legislature which were passed by a huge labor demonstration on February 19, 1893. The most significant of his labor speeches may be found among a selection of his other works in three posthumous anthologies: *Men, the Workers* (1909), *Manzzini and Other Essays* (1910), and *Lords of Industry* (1910).

Lloyd was equally active in local political and social reform. He was a financial supporter of Hull House soon after its founding in 1889 and became a close personal friend of Jane Addams and Ellen Starr; in fact, when Jane's health broke in 1895, she convalesced for several months with the Lloyds at the "Watch House." He enlisted labor's support for the successful gubernatorial campaign of John Altgeld in 1892, and then served as a trusted friend and as an

occasional advisor during his four year term. Through his friendship with George Schilling, Altgeld's secretary of labor statistics, he obtained Mrs. Florence Kelley's appointment as the state investigator of child labor. He then worked with her, Governor Altgeld, and others to push the Illinois Factory Act of 1893 through the legislature. On his advice, Altgeld appointed Mrs. Kelley state factory inspector; and she dedicated herself to making that legislation work until the Illinois Supreme Court nullified any effective enforcement of the act. As secretary of the program committee for the World's Labor, Co-operative, and Single-Tax Congresses of the famous Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Lloyd planned the program for the Labor Congress and was closely involved in the other two. These congresses with their international array of delegates furthered his move toward a modified Socialism and fired his latent interest in cooperatives.

During 1893, Lloyd also identified with a new party of protest and reform, the heterogeneous People's Party founded at St. Louis, February 1892, by sundry rural Populist groups. The platform it adopted that July at its first national convention in Omaha included many of the reforms he had advocated or supported: government ownership and operation of railroads and telegraph systems, institution of a graduated income tax, redistribution of excessive land grants, enforcement of an eight hour day, abolition of Pinkerton police, adoption of initiative and referendum, and the nullification of any government subsidies to private corporations. Though this "Omaha Platform" did not include the full Socialist program he favored of "collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution," he recognized in this People's Party a practical vehicle for political reform and soon became acquainted with its leaders. In the spring of 1893, Governor Altgeld chose him to head the Illinois delegation to the National Anti-Trust Conference called by Minnesota Governor Knute Nelson to meet at Chicago that June. Ignatius Donnelly, a prominent Minnesota Populist, in concert with Lloyd led a Populist bolt from that conference when it turned down their call for government ownership of mines and railroads; this action marked the beginning of Lloyd's role as a leader of radical "urban" Populism.

Meanwhile, since 1889 he had been working on a book about trusts, using the Standard Oil Company as his touchstone. The first draft was completed by 1891, but he spent the next two years

gathering more data, revising his text, and scrutinizing all his sources. Early in 1893, he asked several oil experts and attorneys to read a third draft for accuracy and possible libel; then, after rebuffs from several publishers, Lloyd sent it to a close friend, novelist-editor William D. Howells, who tried to interest Harper & Brothers in it. After another year of revision and verification and after submission to several other publishers, Lloyd eventually persuaded Harper & Brothers to accept it; they published it in October 1894 as *Wealth Against Commonwealth*. The first thoroughly documented exposé of the socially destructive practices and effects of a representative trust, it was Lloyd's most important contribution to the reform movement and the work for which most remember him.

But the welter of violent events in 1894 muffled the immediate impact of the book. The financial collapse of 1893 brought a deep economic depression which motivated the mass march upon Washington in the spring of 1894 of "General" Jacob Coxey's motley "army" of unemployed. Protests and calls for panaceas were the order of the day; the spectre of a heterodox but popular third party frightened established politicians. Labor was restive: the soft coal miners struck unsuccessfully; but Eugene Debs's American Railway Union won its strike against the Great Northern. President Cleveland worried about the tariff and his gold standard while Attorney General Olney sent troops to Chicago and smashed the Pullman strike over the protests of Governor Altgeld.

Henry Lloyd was affected by all these events. He refused to speak before a Chicago contingent of Coxey's army in April because he opposed "a physical remedy" of abuses. But he visited the coal mines of Illinois that spring as an advisor to Governor Altgeld; he recommended that the governor not send militia unless local authorities were unable to keep order, and he suggested that the Bureau of Labor Statistics inform the press about the true conditions of the miners. That summer, he worked for the formation of a new political coalition at the Illinois Conference of Organized Labor in Springfield. He was instrumental in the conference's adopting a compromise program of modified Populism-Socialism, the "Springfield Platform," and in its calling for a national labor-Populist convention; while there, he was privy to Altgeld's handling of federal intervention in the Pullman strike. Returning to Chicago, he followed closely the events that led to Debs's arrest for aiding the Pullman strikers in defiance of a court injunction, contributed to the

defense fund, and publicly supported the American Railway Union's cause. In a speech "Strikes and Injunctions" before the Chicago Sunset Club, he, along with Clarence Darrow, Debs's attorney, attacked the double standard prevailing in federal courts.

But Lloyd turned most of his attention the rest of that year to developing a labor-Populist political alliance.[24] Samuel Gompers's refusal to commit the American Federation of Labor to partisan politics did not deter Lloyd and many others within the Chicago labor movements from organizing a Cook County Labor-Populist Party. Lloyd, Darrow, and ex-Senator Lyman Trumbull were the leaders at its convention on October 6, with Debs giving vicarious support from his prison cell. Lloyd was nominated for Congress from the Seventh District. Though the party waged a vigorous campaign, every one of its candidates lost in the official count; nevertheless, the party tried again in the following municipal elections.[25]

The next two years Lloyd devoted largely to politics and to defense of his antitrust analysis in *Wealth Against Commonwealth.* Standard Oil immediately tried to discredit the book, not by libel suits, which would have proved both embarrassing and fruitless, but by *ad hominem* attacks from such subsidized journalists as George Gunton, editor of the *Social Economist.*[26] Lloyd carefully replied in the press to each of these attacks, supporting his analysis always with public records and sworn court testimony. He also thwarted John D. Rockefeller's personal attempt in 1896 to organize a committee of prominent clergymen to "investigate" the company by asking the committee to conduct the inquiry in public with the aid of competent lawyers. Rockefeller dropped his attempt. Standard Oil soon retreated into stolid silence. But not so Lloyd: he continued for the rest of his life to ponder the baleful effects of unrestrained monopoly and to publicize alternative approaches to business organization.

During 1895, Lloyd worked with the Chicago Labor-Populists in a municipal campaign advocating city ownership of utilities and public works, plus an assortment of other Socialist reforms. However, the more moderate Civic Federation in its own bid for municipal reform drew the most effective political support and succeeded in overthrowing the corrupt city ring, though Lloyd's "radical" speeches during the campaign helped point the issues. Splintered by ideological and methodological differences between the Labor Socialists and the more orthodox Populists, Lloyd's coalition foun-

dered, and its members waited for direction from the People's Party convention scheduled for July 1896 in St. Louis. During the interval, Lloyd worked on an elaboration of the humanistic philosophy that he had presented in his 1888 article "The New Conscience." Designated the "Manuscript of 1896," it was edited and published posthumously at his request as *Man, the Social Creator* (1906); and it is of interest insofar as it reveals the intellectual assumptions behind most of his reform utterances and activity.

Lloyd went to St. Louis that July determined to fight against any fusion with the Democrats, who had just nominated William Jennings Bryan on a simplistic free silver platform. Lloyd hoped to unite the party behind a comprehensive platform of social reform but was forced to sit helpless while Senator William Allen, the permanent chairman, maneuvered the convention into an endorsement of Bryan and free silver. Indignant, Lloyd watched the suicide of his party. He reported bitterly to Andrew Adair, an official of the typographical union: "The Free Silver movement is a fake. Free Silver is the cow-bird of the Reform movement. It waited until the nest had been built by the sacrifices and labor of others, and then it laid its eggs in it, pushing out the others which lie smashed on the ground."[27] Unable to compromise, he withdrew from national politics and voted reluctantly for the Socialist Labor Party ticket in 1896 and 1900.

V *Boston, Australasia, and Europe; Co-operatives and Experimental Socialism: 1897–1902*

For some time, influenced in part by personal contacts with enthusiasts, by Edward Bellamy's Nationalist movement, and by Laurence Gronlund's analysis in *The Coöperative Commonwealth*, Lloyd had been interested in co-operatives and in Utopian communitarianism. While at the St. Louis convention, he also attended the synchronous National Co-operative Congress and was elected to the board of directors of the newly formed American Co-operative Union. At that congress he became better acquainted with N. O. Nelson—a St. Louis industrialist, whose co-operative factory he visited—and James Rhodes, editor of the *American Cooperative News;* both impressed upon him the theoretical possibilities of co-operation. Discouraged in his attempt to inject meaningful social reform into the national political forum, he turned to an investiga-

tion of co-operative movements as a means of generating beneficial change in the social fabric.

That winter he worked with the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, an affiliate of the American Co-operative Union, in a projected federation of communitarian colonies; but he was privately skeptical about that project's chances for success. He supported Eugene Debs's efforts to merge his tottering American Railway Union with that organization in a visionary attempt to build a political base from a series of union-backed Socialist colonies planted in Washington state. The leaders of the American Railway Union did indeed endorse that project at its last convention in June 1897; but they then voted to dissolve their own moribund organization to form instead a new, comprehensive Socialist party, the Social Democracy of America, with themselves as its officers. Lloyd once again sensed the specter of machine politics and withdrew his support from any such federation.[28] Still, he retained his interest in communitarianism, for at this time he contributed financially to several colonies and visited a number, such as the new Ruskin Colony at Cave Mills, Tennessee. Convinced that the co-operative movement in the United States had potential but lacked direction, he attended the Third International Co-operative Congress in Delft, Holland, in September 1897, seeking guidance from European examples. After the congress adjourned, he accepted an invitation from an English delegate to attend a regional conference in Britain and to explore various co-operative enterprises there.

That visit turned into a six weeks' tour of British co-operative experiments that influenced him profoundly. On his return to Winnetka, he quickly cast his impressions in simple travel book form with illustrations and an appendix of statistics. Published by Harper & Brothers in August 1898, the book had a clearly descriptive title: *Labor Copartnership. Notes of a Visit to Co-operative Workshops, Factories, and Farms in Great Britain and Ireland, in which Employer, Employé, and Consumer Share in Ownership, Management, and Results.* It found a ready audience in a United States that was just emerging from a long financial depression, and it helped spread a contemporaneous interest in the co-operative movement. Its success greatly encouraged Lloyd to continue his mission as a reform leader *qua* publicist.

During 1897–1898, he lectured widely in the United States be-

fore civic clubs, reform meetings, economic conferences, and summer schools in support of a variety of progressive movements. He continued his attacks on current business ethics in his analyses of irresponsible trusts; he encouraged a resurgent municipal reform movement by supporting the Direct Legislation League and by advocating municipal ownership of utilities and public works; he championed Theodore Gilman's proposal of a national clearinghouse currency; and he enthusiastically publicized the success of cooperatives in Great Britain. Financially, he aided individual reformers in distress or under attack (Laurence Gronlund and Professor Edward Bemis, for example); and he advised Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones in his successful campaign for mayor of Toledo, Ohio, on a municipal reform ticket.

Though very much an Emersonian Transcendentalist in theory, Lloyd was nevertheless a utilitarian in practice: in working for the reform of industrial democracy, he focused on the pragmatics of change. Therefore, he decided in the winter of 1898 to visit New Zealand and Australia to investigate their controversial experiments in national Socialism, which had been inspired partially by the ideas of Henry George and Edward Bellamy. Accompanied by his eldest son, he started for Australasia early in January 1899, with an assortment of letters of introduction from British and American labor leaders, journalists, and reformers—and an official commission from the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect "labor facts." Lloyd and his son toured North and South New Zealand for several months, then sailed to Australia where they spent a month. In both countries Lloyd discovered a variety of successful Socialist programs: compulsory labor arbitration, state-owned-and-operated railroads, progressive taxation systems, extensive state welfare and pension systems, and state-sponsored land settlement projects. He also studied a number of government subsidized co-operative and communitarian settlements, but their notable lack of success dimmed his enthusiasm for co-operation in that form.

Returned to the "Watch House" that summer, he wrote several magazine articles about New Zealand, and then he composed a small monograph about its compulsory arbitration system entitled *A Country Without Strikes.* It was published in May 1900, with an introduction by William Reeves, the minister of labor in New Zealand who had drafted the original arbitration law. But Lloyd had purposely limited its scope, and he began that winter a much more

comprehensive report about his impressions of New Zealand and Australian social democracy and published it in October 1900 as *Newest England*. Both books proved topical and met ready audiences.

Upon his return from Australia, he found Jessie ill. Her continued frail health plus the fact that three of their four sons were attending undergraduate or professional school at Harvard University caused them to settle in Boston for the next three winters (1900–1902) with only an occasional trip to their home in Winnetka. During that time, Henry continued his activities as reform leader *qua* publicist; but family matters occupied more of his attention than usual because of Jessie's irregular health. He quickly became involved with Boston civic functions and clubs (the Round Table Club and the Twentieth Century Club, for example), and he spoke before various local economic and reform groups (such as the Workingmen's Political League and the Union for Industrial Progress), which demonstrated again his unusual ability to move in two quite different social worlds and to affect each. When Jessie was able, they entertained a miscellany of local reform leaders (for instance, Louis Brandeis and Edwin Mead) together with members of the local university-intellectual community (such as William James and Edward Everett Hale). Lloyd continued his interest in New Zealand, writing and lecturing in defense of its Socialist policies.

When Jessie's health permitted his absence, he travelled extensively throughout the United States to speak about reform and the "new democracy." In the fall of 1901, for example, under the auspices of the University Association of Chicago he lectured about "Newest England" before chapters of the Economic League in the major cities of the West Coast. But to some extent his activity was diminished during this period by occasional attacks of melancholy. From January through April 1901, he and Jessie toured Europe, where he renewed his many contacts with scholars and reformers and studied the progress of Socialism and co-operatives in Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and Great Britain. However, he cancelled some of his itinerary because of his wife's continued ill health. From March through July 1902, he was again in Europe, but this time alone; for he had returned there to do a thorough study of Swiss democracy which he regarded as the most advanced in the world. He started a book length analysis of Switzerland's successful, democratic control of the forces of industrialization after his return from

that trip, but that work was interrupted by his involvement in the anthracite coal strike of 1902. Finished posthumously by his close friend, the English economist John Hobson, it was published in 1907 under the title *A Sovereign People.*

VI *Pennsylvania and Chicago; The Anthracite Coal Strike and Municipal Ownership: 1902–1903*

In May 1902, organized by the United Mine Workers, the anthracite miners struck the Pennsylvania coal trust. George Baer, president of the Reading Railway, acted as the official head of that trust, which was in fact controlled by the financier J. P. Morgan. As summer wore on and as a lack of hard coal supplies for winter threatened, Baer's refusal to negotiate with the United Mine Workers precipitated a national crisis. His haughty announcement in July (in a letter to a concerned citizen that was immediately made public) that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country" helped focus growing national resentment against the trust's intransigence.[29] But it was impervious to public pressure: Baer rejected categorically on September 16 all union demands and pronounced that the trust would hire only nonunion men.

Lloyd had followed the strike closely since his return from Europe, and he had reacted so angrily to Baer's July announcement that he travelled to Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, to interview officials on both sides to find out for himself which of the many conflicting statements about the situation were true. William Randolph Hearst commissioned him to report his observations in the New York *Journal,* which he did on August 23. Because of the strike, public interest in compulsory arbitration had greatly intensified; as its leading American proponent, he urged its merits during September and October in several newspaper accounts and in the article "Australasia Cures for Coal Wars" published in the November issue of the *Atlantic Monthly.* Under mounting political pressure, President Theodore Roosevelt in an attempt to resolve the strike invited the coal operators and the union officials to the White House on October 3; but Baer and his associates refused even to speak to the union leaders. Roosevelt then sent his secretary of war, Elihu Root, to meet privately with J. P. Morgan, whom Root per-

suaded to bring the dispute before a seven man commission appointed by the president. Roosevelt virtually turned this "commission" into an arbitration panel to investigate the issues and arrive at an award. The miners quickly returned to work, accepting the authority of the commission.

Hearings began early in November 1902 and lasted to the middle of February 1903, with Lloyd as a principal participant. For he had volunteered his services to John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers on October 14, and he was immediately involved in planning the union's presentation of evidence.[30] Through Lloyd's influence, Mitchell secured Clarence Darrow as the union's chief counsel. These three—Mitchell, Darrow, and Lloyd—with the help of a nine man staff headed by Walter Weyl, designed and presented the United Mine Workers' case, while a combined trust taskforce of twenty-four attorneys supported by groups of staff opposed them. Exhilarated by the challenge, Lloyd dedicated himself to the struggle; he helped devise strategy with Mitchell and Darrow, and he personally collected, organized, and publicized much of the information that was to support the miners' cause. Most of the four months occupied by the commission's investigation he spent away from home in Scranton and Philadelphia where the commission sat, or in travels, speaking on behalf of the miners or assembling witnesses and collecting data for their case. He was present at all the formal hearings, advising Mitchell and, under Darrow's direction, arguing part of the case; he was especially flattered when Darrow asked him to make the strategic opening argument in their final presentation. Two days after the hearings were over, the three were honored in Chicago by organized labor in a crowded Auditorium Theater reception attended by over five thousand. The award that the commissioners announced on March 21, though only a partial victory for the miners, gratified Lloyd, particularly since it set a precedent for compulsory arbitration and established a series of rulings favorable to labor.

Lloyd's wife's health had been quite frail again that fall; after the family spent Christmas together at Winnetka, Henry sent her to a health spa at Pass Christian, Mississippi, but late that spring she joined him at Winnetka where they held a large reception for their eldest son and his recent bride. They then made their annual trip to the "Watch House" at Sakonnet Point; there in early summer he began again to work on his book about Switzerland, but he applied

himself only intermittently to this task because of other commitments. During the coal hearings, he had become an associate editor of a new Chicago labor newspaper *Boyce's Weekly;* thus he had secured a forum for publicizing his immediate cause and, more importantly, had insured that he could continue to publish his knowledge of and views about social reform. He wrote twenty-four articles for that weekly, starting with the January 7, 1903, issue. In March, he appeared before committees of the Maine and Massachusetts legislatures to speak in favor of Socialist party petitions to nationalize coal mines. He wrote several magazine articles that spring about railroad regulation and one about New Zealand's welfare program; and he continued to lecture before reform clubs and labor symposiums.

Then that summer his attention was attracted to two interrelated reform possibilities: one, the opportunity to exercise leadership in the growing Socialist party and, two, the chance to effect municipal ownership of public transportation in Chicago. Several times in the past Lloyd had toyed with the idea of joining the Socialist party but had demurred because of its doctrinaire adherence to a Marxist class analysis of the social struggle, for he was essentially a Fabian in theory. Now, convinced he "must find some political remedy," he again considered joining in the hope that he could broaden its policies and enlist it in "practical work." While consulting friends and pondering that decision, he drafted a tentative statement "Why I Join the Socialists," but most whom he consulted advised him he could serve the reform movement best from outside party ranks. Meanwhile, he had embarked on a campaign for municipal ownership of Chicago's public transportation; and, when the Socialists' leaders, Eugene Debs and Thomas Morgan, refused to aid him in "practical work," he dropped his plans to join that party.

Chicago's Mayor Carter Harrison, Jr., supported by a progressive city council, was fighting the ninety-nine year franchises of the Union Traction Company, formerly Charles Yerkes's property but now controlled by a syndicate financed in part by J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller. Harrison followed a moderate, pragmatic reform policy of limited franchises and eventual municipal ownership. In contrast, Lloyd felt the time was ripe for a sweeping reform program of immediate municipal ownership; and he helped bring influential unions and reform groups into a coalition to fight for this program when in Chicago in June. He researched the municipal

transportation issue back at Sakonnet Point in midsummer; wrote a campaign pamphlet, "The Chicago Traction Question"; then returned to Chicago to assume leadership of the coalition and rally support for his program. He persuaded the Municipal Ownership Delegates' Convention to inaugurate a petition drive on Labor Day for a local referendum on the issue; and he worked strenuously during the first part of September to increase public support for his program, hoping to pressure the mayor and council into accepting his more radical approach. On September 20, though suffering from a bad bronchial cold, he appeared before a convention of the Chicago Federation of Labor to secure adoption of a "Traction Emergency Call" to be presented by a mass delegation at the next city council meeting, September 28. That week his cold turned into pneumonia: he died the day the council met. The news of his death elicited a flood of press notices and public resolutions commending his life and work. But, following his wishes, the family arranged only a small private ceremony before cremation. In lieu of a public funeral, a memorial service was held the next month at the Auditorium Theater sponsored by most of Chicago's labor and reform groups and attended by five thousand ticketholders.

CHAPTER 2

The First of the Muckrakers: The Chicago Tribune *and* Lords of Industry

HENRY Lloyd earned his place in American history essentially as "the first of the Muckrakers," that group of magazine writers who exposed, often sensationally, dishonesty in business and in government from roughly 1902 to 1912. The term itself was first used as a descriptive epithet in 1906, three years after Lloyd's death, by President Theodore Roosevelt in his speech at the laying of a cornerstone for the office building of the House of Representatives. At that ceremony, he said that those of his contemporaries who were so concerned with attacking abuses that they refused to see the good reminded him of the Man with the Muckrake in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* "who could look no way but downward with the muck-rake in his hands; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck-rake, but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor."

Yet Roosevelt immediately qualified the derogatory tenor of his remark by asserting "I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in book, magazine, or newspaper, with merciless severity makes such an attack, provided always that he in turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful."[1] Subsequently, "Muckraker" has continued as an ambivalent label conveying both blame and praise. It is in the latter image, as benefactor, that posterity has generally viewed Lloyd. He himself would have rejected Bunyan's purblind Muckraker; indeed, while working on *Wealth Against Commonwealth,* he wrote his mother: "It keeps me poking about and scavenging in piles of filthy human greed and cruelty almost too nauseous to handle. Nothing but the sternest sense of duty, and the conviction that men

must understand the vices of our present system before they will be able to rise to a better, drives me back to my desk every day."[2]

I *Prelude*

Lloyd's first public pronouncement about the moral consequences of the new industrialism dates from his graduation address "Soda and Society" at the Columbia College commencement ceremony of 1867. In it, he viewed the coalition of commerce and science as essentially a beneficent civilizing force, but its motivation was clearly "on the specie basis of a safe return of 05 per cent." And his praise of its political economy was certainly not that of adulatory cant: "When the materials for soap-making were found to be exhausted in England and known to be abundant in Africa, then, when Capital saw profit in African civilization it invested largely in African missions, it paid and equipped such noble men as Livingstone to go forth and explore the country in the double character of missionaries and commercial agents with a Bible in one hand and a contract for fat in the other."[3] But it wasn't until fourteen years later, in 1881, when he addressed a national audience as a free-lance contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly,* that he established his right to the title "first of the Muckrakers."

Hired by the American Free-Trade League in 1869, he wrote and spoke for its campaign policy of a "revenue tariff and no monopolies" for three years as its press agent-secretary. Although a paid agent of a pressure group, Lloyd worked in harmony with his moral and intellectual principles at promoting a political policy he viewed as melioristic. Writing anonymously as a "promotional" journalist, he published during 1869–1870 a series of letters signed "NO MONOPOLY" in the New York *Evening Post,* a semiweekly edited by William Cullen Bryant, the past president of the Free-Trade League.[4] The "NO MONOPOLY" series was a direct attack upon Horace Greeley's protectionist editorials in the New York *Tribune;* and, by citing a wide range of business and labor statistics, Lloyd refuted Greeley's claim that protection produced full employment, demonstrated the injurious effects of tariff-induced monopolies, and advanced arguments for Richard Cobden's utilitarian doctrine of free trade. He also edited the league's monthly *Free-Trader;* drafted news releases and prepared antiprotectionist campaign tracts, such as the *People's Pictorial Tax Payer;* lectured on free-trade principles, as in his formal reply before the New York Liberal Club to a speech

by Horace Greeley; and answered O. J. Bliss's contention that political economy was futile in an article advocating the principles of the Manchester school in the *Phrenological Journal*.[5] But, since most of this output was topical journalism in specialized or local publications, it is today of limited intrinsic interest.

II Tribune *Commentaries*

When Joseph Medill had shifted Lloyd from literary to financial editor of the Chicago *Tribune* in 1874, he had once again turned his professional attention to the ethics and principles motivating the new industrial-commercial colossus destined to affect so profoundly the future of the United States. But his daily columns reporting financial news and his frequent articles and editorials were without bylines because of the journalistic tradition relative to anonymity of the newspaper's "Finance and Commerce" page or its "Railroads" section or its editorial page; for, to the general public, it was the *Tribune* speaking. And that was true to a large extent, for Lloyd necessarily worked within the loose framework of Medill's overall editorial policy, though he was much more of a free agent than most of the staff because he represented Bross's minority ownership. It was also true in that he necessarily focused his selection of financial news and editorial commentary upon the regional interests of the newspaper's audience, although it was a region of great commercial importance.

Yet for the six years that Lloyd was its editor, the *Tribune's* financial page was personal in that it was honest: Robert Patterson, who later succeeded Medill as editor in chief, wrote Lloyd in 1895 that he had been "almost the solitary exception" to the rule that financial editors were generally considered crooked.[6] And such news was personal in that it was his; for Lloyd acknowledged in a melancholy letter to his friend Henry Keenan in 1878 "365 columns a year written of financial slush."[7] While we cannot with certainty identify the commentaries that he wrote for the editorial page during this period, we can assume with some certainty that, as financial editor, he selected the subjects and wrote the interpretive articles on the financial page.

A glance at that page provides us with some indication of Lloyd's daily journalistic efforts during those years. The "Finance and Commerce" section at that time actually occupied a page and a half on the average (nine to ten columns). Much of it, of course, con-

sisted of market quotations as compiled by reporters directly from local sources or from telegraph citations, but these were prefaced by separate commentaries that totalled several columns of print and were Lloyd's work or were written under his direct supervision. The focus of this commentary was to report and interpret business statistics—to provide market, mercantile, railroad, financial, and corporation analyses. A resumé of market quotations from a typical issue, say that of Wednesday, October 15, 1879, provides these categories: New York Stock and Security Exchange, daily real estate transactions, mining news, board of trade transactions, general markets (mostly produce and hardware), lumber, livestock, petroleum, and cotton quotations plus a brief survey of representative United States and foreign markets. For a daily report, that was very thorough indeed.

From a general survey of Lloyd's page, Chester M. Destler observes a consistent editorial pattern: "Lloyd analyzed the economy, as it burst geographic boundaries, realistically in the light of public interests, the need for effective business ethics, and the threat of promoter-speculator 'Caesarism.' "[8] As a market analyst, he had established his reputation so well by 1879 that he was asked to write the article "Clearing and Clearing Houses" for John Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Science*.[9] Destler also reports that Lloyd conducted on the editorial page two extensive money and commerce campaigns, both starting in 1877—one was for bimetallism, which espoused free silver as against a Midwestern crusade for greenbackism and culminated with passage of the Bland-Allison Act; the other campaign was against railroad abuses that ended only with his resignation in 1885 after the *Tribune*'s move farther to the political right. "In both Lloyd bore the heat of the battle, although policy was undoubtedly determined in conclave with Medill."[10]

After Lloyd was promoted to chief editorial writer for the *Tribune* in 1880, a position he held for a little over five years, we can identify with certainty fifty-four of his editorials; but we can do so only because he collected and marked them, and they are manifestly a minute selection, largely from his work of 1882 and 1883. Also, because they are signed by his name or initials, we can identify as his twenty-three other contributions from 1881 and 1883. Though they originally reached a wide audience through the pages of one of the most influential daily newspapers of the Midwest, none is readily accessible to today's reader since the papers are buried in nearly

century-old files available in very few libraries. Since the purpose in examining them in this study is to determine what they reveal about Lloyd's right to the title "first of the Muckrakers," we only need to note their several recurrent themes as they chart his development as an economist-reformer.

Inherent in his editorials was the ethical touchstone of Utilitarianism—the test of general welfare with its emphasis on laissez-faire—and the empirical criterion of Positivism—the test of experience. Those attitudes could be predicted from his earlier career as an agent of the Benthamite Free-Trade League and his favorable reviews while he was the *Tribune*'s literary editor of books by such figures as Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and George H. Lewes. But modifying this morally stern texture of rationalistic ideas was his reading of the "new economists" and the Romantics Ralph Waldo Emerson and Thomas Carlyle, whose emphasis upon the human mind and the spirit as the creating and controlling forces in our existence had great impact on Lloyd. The strident intellectual clashes between adherents of the diverse philosophical views inherent in Rationalism and Romanticism were to constitute that era's *Zeitgeist*. Lloyd's eventual accommodation of those paradoxical ideas was apparent in his editorials as an inchoate Christian Socialism (in contrast to Social Darwinism, a popular accommodation he opposed) which, under the influence of William Morris, Joseph Mazzini, and John Ruskin, among others, he developed into the moderate, middle-class program of morally inspired Fabian Socialism apparent in his later works.

Clearly, exposure and reform were the two aims knitting his identified *Tribune* editorials of the 1880's. Most of these fit into two major campaigns: one was against unethical financial speculation and commercial manipulation through the agency of "corners" or monopolies; the other, against railroad chicanery and abuses. As remedies, he began to call for a new Humanism, for honesty in government, and for national regulation of public services. His editorial "American Pashas" of December 30, 1881 (4), is an example of the unethical and manipulated financial affairs campaign; in it, he compared Cobden's eyewitness account in 1836 of the tyrannous monopoly of the Egyptian pasha "Mehemet Ali" to the current tendency in the United States: "All our business interests are drifting to monopoly, and each monopoly has its pasha." After a rapid survey of the development of oligopoly in many commercial fields, Lloyd

concluded that "wealth acquired by labor is an honor to a man and a benefit to society, but great fortunes of tens of millions, acquired by bribing Legislatures, corrupting courts, betraying corporate trusts, and crushing the weak with the sheer force of accumulated wealth are a menace to the people individually and as a society."

His editorial "Railroad Annexation" of April 12, 1884 (4), is an example of the second campaign; in it, he remarked upon the new willingness of several railroad officials to accept government recognition and regulation of rate pools because they had tardily acknowledged that they and the public needed protection. And he admonished those who argued differently: "Railroad wars bring intolerable evils; railroad pools are to be submitted to only when they are part of the government itself. In absorbing the railroad government into the political government of the country is the greatest opportunity the people of the United States will ever have for regaining full control of the corporations which have taken so insurgent a position for so many years."

In 1881 and again in 1883 Lloyd represented the Chicago *Tribune* on promotional tours of Henry Villard's Northern Pacific Railroad; and he also toured in 1883, on his own initiative and at his own expense, Collis Huntington's Southern Pacific Railroad. That trip enlarged his firsthand experience of railway operations and resulted in signed editorial essays attacking railroad "land monopoly," such as the two page feature "Our Land, the Story of the Dissipation of Our Great National Inheritance" (March 17, 1883 [12–13]) and the two part "California Cornered" (October 8 [3] and October 13 [12]). Destler designates them "masterpieces" in the literature of exposure "that would have been a credit to *McClure's* twenty years later."[11] But, whether masterpieces or not, they were printed in the ephemeral pages of a Chicago daily and soon forgotten. Only when Lloyd turned to a national audience through the medium of a substantial monthly was his voice widely heard and his message remembered.[12]

In the spring of 1880, he read a paper entitled "A Cure for Vanderbiltism" before the Chicago Literary Club. It made such a strong impression upon his friend Henry Huntington that he warmly encouraged Lloyd to send a revision of it to Allen Rice, the editor of the *North American Review*. Rice rejected it against the advice of his reader; but William D. Howells, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, accepted it in December 1880, and published it as the feature article

"The Story of a Great Monopoly" in the March 1881 issue (pp. 317–34). Its remarkable success inspired Lloyd to write in addition to his newspaper contributions a total of 105 subsequent magazine or journal articles during his lifetime, along with innumerable speeches and lectures and six books. After his death, and as requested by his will, Anne Withington, a Boston settlement house worker and friend, and Caroline Stallbohm, his secretary for many years, edited several book length collections of the most significant or representative of the articles and speeches. Since these formats provide today the most readily accessible writings by Lloyd, these collections are used for an analysis of his efforts as a speaker and as a periodical journalist; and the work we most rely upon is the antimonopoly anthology, *Lords of Industry* (1910).

III Lords of Industry: *Four Early Magazine Articles*

A. "The Story of a Great Monopoly"

Lloyd's first purpose in "The Story of a Great Monopoly" was to demonstrate a relationship between the widespread violence of the great railroad strikes of 1877 and the more insidiously violent collusion of prominent railroad financiers with officers of corporate combinations. To document that collusion he chose the business connections of the Standard Oil Company with the Northeastern trunk lines, particularly with the Pennsylvania Railroad. His second purpose was to use that demonstration to call for federal regulation of common carriers to ensure equity in the American marketplace and verity in American democracy. He emphasized that a national remedy was needed: "The movement of the railroad trains of this country is literally the circulation of its blood. Evidently, . . . the States cannot prevent its arrest by the struggle between these giant forces within society, outside the law"(9).

He began his article with the acknowledgment that railroads were the vital force in the rapid growth of American industry. Yet in recognizing their contribution, he cautioned, we should not ignore railroad corporate practices that bode evil to the republic, such as blatant evasion of taxes, fraudulent manipulation of securities, corruption of legislatures and courts, and the imposition of arbitrarily inequitable freight rates: "More than any other class, our railroad men have developed the country, and tried its institutions"(2). Be-

cause of railroad officials' unethical practices and their unfair treatment of labor, the common people, who were unable to obtain redress by other means, erupted into anarchy and near revolution during the notorious strikes of 1876–1877. Therefore, "our treatment of 'the railroad problem' will show the quality and calibre of our political sense"(3). The body of the article was a survey of the moves by the Standard Oil Company to monopolize the petroleum industry through manipulation of railroad freight rates and facilities. The survey was documented sufficiently to establish his thesis; all evidence used was a matter of public record. Some of the testimony he cited was necessarily fragmentary and his interpretation of statistics was sometimes hindered by incomplete data, yet he presented, in general, an honest, coherent exposé of monopoly in action.

He first cited the importance of kerosene to the nation's economy; then pointed out that very few "know that its production, manufacture, and export, its price at home and abroad, have been controlled for years by a single corporation—the Standard Oil Company" (10). He acknowledged the ability of Rockefeller and his associates, but he charged them with dishonesty: "Their great business capacity would have insured the managers of the Standard a success, but the means by which they achieved monopoly was by conspiracy with the railroads"(13). Foremost among these means was the oil company's securing of preferential freight rates and rebates from the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, the Erie, and the Atlantic and Great Western railroads through secret contracts that were obtained, Lloyd implied, by bribes of stock in "the Acme Oil Company, a partner in the Standard combination, on which heavy monthly dividends are paid"(15). Also, the oil company would join with one or two railroads in the ruinous rate wars of the 1870's to force another railroad to give it special treatment or grant it control of its oil cars, oil holdings, pipelines, and terminal facilities. In general terms, Lloyd was alluding to what was the most successful strategy of Standard Oil, the best-known instance of which was its war in 1877 with the Pennsylvania Railroad and its affiliate, the Empire Transportation Company. Consequently, Standard managed to close alternate routes of transportation to most of its competitors.

Standard Oil kept its efforts free from meaningful public investigation and regulation by the blatant refusal of all concerned to reveal their business arrangements and, Lloyd charged, by wholesale cor-

ruption of government officials. When Cornelius Vanderbilt, first vice-president of the New York Central, was questioned before the New York Railroad Investigating Committee about his company's rate policies, his answers were

> "I don't know," "I forget," "I don't remember," to 116 questions out of 249 by actual count. At a time when the Standard Oil Company through its other self, the American Transfer Company, was receiving from the New York Central thirty-five cents a barrel on all oil shipped by itself or its competitors, and was getting other rebates which cost the New York Central over $2,000,000 from October 17, 1877 to March 31, 1879 Mr. Vanderbilt testified positively before the New York Investigating Committee that he knew nothing whatever about the American Transfer Company, its officers or the payments to it. (18–19).

Moreover, government investigations were often buried in legislative committees controlled by Standard Oil; as Lloyd phrased it, "the Standard has done everything with the Pennsylvania Legislature except refine it" (14). As a result, Standard Oil was able to buy out or control most refineries and to dictate to the public the price of both crude and refined oil and decide where, when, and how it was to be handled and marketed.

But Lloyd's primary target was not Standard Oil, for its monopoly was but symptomatic of the real problem, control of the nation's railroads: "It is the railroads that have bred the millionaires who are now buying newspapers, and getting up corners in wheat, corn, and cotton, and are making railroad consolidations that stretch across the continent. By the same tactics that the railroads have used to build up the Standard, they can give other combinations of capitalists the control of the wheat, lumber, cotton, or any other product of the United States" (37–38). At the present time, he reported, a plan to form a great railroad pool under the title "Trunk Line Executive Committee" threatened to extinguish all competition. He concluded with a plea that the nation recognize the new industrial forces that were menacing its freedom and initiate effective regulation of the common carriers for the common good:

> In less than the ordinary span of a lifetime, our railroads have brought upon us the worst labor disturbance, the greatest of monopolies, and the most formidable combination of money and brains that ever overshadowed a state. The time has come to face the fact that the forces of capital and industry have outgrown the forces of our government. . . . The nation is

the engine of the people. They must use it for their industrial life, as they used it in 1861 for their political life. The States have failed. The United States must succeed, or the people will perish. (45–46)

"The Story of a Great Monopoly" created such an immediate stir that an unprecedented seven printings of the *Atlantic*'s March issue were necessary. Medill reprinted the entire article in the *Tribune;* it was reprinted also in *The Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter* and in the *London Railway News.* Many other newspapers gave it favorable editorial attention and quoted from it extensively. Charles Edward Russell—the New York journalist and, later, Socialist Muckraker—reported its initial impact upon him, which must have been typical of many:

> Once launched upon that historic article, like all others that encountered it, I was swept by an increasing and irresistible interest to the end, arising thence with an entirely new sense and conception of the forces at work in my country and the first glimpse of an American's duty thereto. Yet I had been reared in an old-time Abolitionist family where opposition to the corporations was held to be the next great work after the destruction of slavery, and my father had carried on a lifelong struggle against the growing power of the railroad companies. I knew then, in a general way, something of the menace of accumulated wealth, but it had never been made clear, vital, and personal to me until I read that article, and from that time I could never question the author's own conception of what lay before us.[13]

John Clarke in *The Federal Trust Policy* said that the article also had a lasting impact: "for the next twenty-five years [it] afforded the starting point for every public investigation of industry and the climax for every orator endeavoring to describe the sins of the trusts."[14]

Lloyd did err, though, in some details of his analysis of the Standard Oil monopoly. His inference that Acme Oil Company stock was used to bribe railroad officials was wrong, but his theory of joint managerial investment was correct. Because of occasionally vague or inaccurate chronology, he also fell into several nonsequiturs; and he ignored the production glut of 1878 as a factor in the shipment crisis of 1879 which Standard Oil was able to use to its advantage. Nevertheless, historians have accepted the general truth of his presentation and the validity of his thesis, with the notable exception of Allan Nevins. In his second biography of John D. Rockefeller, *Study in Power,* Nevins attacked both Lloyd's interpretation of data and

his intellectual integrity in this article and in *Wealth Against Commonwealth*. Nevins claimed that in 1881 Lloyd's "acquaintance with finance was elementary; he knew nothing of economics; he was credulous and cocksure."[15] Then he pointed to Lloyd's mistakes and concluded that the article was flagrantly inaccurate and biased; unfortunately, in his *ad hominem* attack and in his concentration upon Lloyd's several errors in his analysis of the then little-known business history of Standard Oil, Nevins distorted the larger purport of the article: the grave danger of preferential freight rates. On that subject Lloyd had studied and written as financial editor of the *Tribune* since 1874; he had been interested in the syndrome of monopoly even before obtaining his job with the Free-Trade League in 1869. Thus Russel Nye's acknowledgment in *Midwestern Progressive Politics* that this article "marked a deciding turning point in journalistic history, since it was the first documented and authoritative study of industrial concentration to appear in the journals" seems a more valid evaluation.[16]

Because W. D. Howells severed his connection with the *Atlantic* and left for Europe while the March issue was being typeset, Lloyd's revised proof containing new information and minor corrections reached the editor's desk too late to be used. Though an errata slip bound with the issue announced that fact, Lloyd was dissatisfied with the printed version and acted on his brother David's suggestion that he "make a supplementary article embodying your new facts" by systematically collecting more data about Standard Oil; and, after Lloyd did so, he eventually used this data in his book *Wealth Against Commonwealth*.[17] But he turned his immediate attention to writing about railroad abuses and economic philosophy in three more magazine articles which focused national attention upon cataclysmic contemporary financial trends.

B. "The Political Economy of Seventy-Three Million Dollars"

The next article, developed also from a paper Lloyd read before the Chicago Literary Club, was sent by Lloyd to Thomas Aldrich, the new and more conservative editor of the *Atlantic*, who published it as "The Political Economy of $73,000,000" in the July 1882 issue (69–81), but only after he had secured legal advice and had requested several revisions. In it, Lloyd hit two targets with one aim: the first was the orthodox laissez-faire school of political economy; the second was the disreputable financier, Jay Gould.

Each explained the other; both were fraudulent and inimical to the common good.

Lloyd began by decrying the pretension of orthodox economics. Many prominent current political thinkers—Walter Bagehot, William Jevons, John Cairnes, Henry Maine, Ruskin, Carlyle, Emerson—pointed to the bankruptcy of its claim to a universal authority based on a scientific method. Yet "never more than now have we needed such a help as this political economy has pretended to be," for we are "caught in the whirl of new forces, and flung forward every day a step farther into a future dim with the portents of struggle between Titans reared on steam, electricity and credit" (51). His examination of the structure of orthodox theory revealed it to be an "apostolic science" built upon Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Thomas Malthus as interpreted by John Stuart Mill—a syllogistic fabric of a priori dogma, simplistic definitions, and abstract conclusions: "If the critic looks with distrust on a science of human conduct founded on assumptions, and doubts the stability of a structure reared with syllogistic brick on imaginary foundations, to what a dead stop he must come before the unscientific vagueness of the term 'wealth'"(54).

Patently false for an industrial nation was the orthodox school's central assumption that true value is determined by individual self-interest that functions in a freely competitive market place. These "abstract economists" by reasoning from their major premise of competition ignored the "gravest problems of the day, which are questions of combination and not of competition"(57). To substitute the stipulative term "profit" for the metaphoric concept "wealth," as they did, was to shift "responsibility for injustice and legal selfishness from human shoulders upon the back of Nature." Hence political economists had to abandon the assumptions of the orthodox school and work toward a new and realistic analysis of economic facts in the context of a more humanistic assessment of value:

> Laissez-faire theories of politics and political economy are useless in the treatment of the labor question, in the regulation of railroads, sanitary and educational government, and a multitude of similar questions. It is not to be denied that competition is an industrial force, and a mighty one, but it is only one. By neglecting the other forces, from sympathy to monopoly, the abstract political economist deduces principles which fit no realities and has to neglect those realities for which we need principles most. When combi-

nation comes in at the door, this political economy of competition flies out of the window. It is a political economy of persons, not of the people. (64–65).

Lloyd then turned to the career of a boy who came from the country to New York City to market an improved mouse trap but remained to manufacture other kinds of traps. In the transparent guise of this metaphor, he traced the four notorious swindles by Jay Gould to illustrate "what may be accomplished by a scientific devotion to the principles of competition, laissez-faire, desire of wealth, and self interest, if not the harmony of interests"(65). The first was Gould's looting of the assets of the Erie Railroad while he was president of the line from 1868–1872; in that he was helped by James Fisk, Daniel Drew, and Tammany's "Boss" Tweed. Lloyd described that manipulation of securities, politicians, and judges as "an orgy of fiduciary harlotry." The second was Gould's and Fisk's attempt, with the connivance of high government officials, to corner the market in gold, which culminated in the infamous "Black Friday" of September 24, 1869: "there are men proud to tell you that in that moment of frenzy and horror they hunted, rope in hand, for this disciple of self-interest"(72).

The third trap was Gould's organizing of the American Union Telegraph Company in 1879 to oppose Western Union—not to compete honestly but to force that monopoly to buy his company. Then, under cover of a slanderous campaign attacking the credit structure of Western Union, he quietly acquired control of its stock during December 1880; thus "the public found that the ex-trustee of the Erie, the ally of the Tammany ring, the corrupter of justice and the artificer of panic was master of the rapid transit news and confidence within the United States, and between them and the rest of the world"(74). The fourth trap was still set while Lloyd wrote about it: Gould's acquisition of the Manhattan and Metropolitan Elevated Railroads, the franchized traction of New York City, by the same methods used in his manipulation of the Erie. Through these several means Gould had amassed a fortune of at least seventy-three million dollars by 1882, in marked contrast to the poverty of his employees and the impoverishment of the commonwealth. This success for Gould, Lloyd concluded, raised inescapable questions about a political economy to which the orthodox school had no answers. "A philosopher of the commune said, 'Property is theft.'

American self-government must have a philosophy to say, Theft shall not be property"(80).

Today, Lloyd's extended metaphor of a mousetrap seems sarcastic and coy, but no one quarrelled then with his attack of Gould since the facts were common knowledge and since his caustic tone fit the journalistic style of the age. His prophetic attack of laissez-faire economics did evoke considerable discussion because it was the popular harbinger of a new approach to economic analysis in American universities that was led by his friend Professor Richard Ely and that was based upon the German historical school. Lloyd's humanistic insistence that governmental regulation of the economy was imperative in light of the new commercial and industrial forces menacing the state had wide appeal to *Atlantic* readers, for Lloyd's view was within the American democratic tradition and was also considerably more realistic than Henry George's simplistic rent tax remedy in his contemporaneous *Progress and Poverty.* But several prominent voices, particularly that of Edwin Godkin in the *Nation,* rejected the thesis that combination was the dominent trend in business and suggested instead that the "bad man" hypothesis best explained Gould's career.[18] Lloyd replied in a letter to the *Nation* that "a deeper cause than the depravity of individuals must account for the most dangerous fact of our social condition, the sudden development of a caste of overgrown wealth and power."[19] And he persisted in his search for that cause and its remedy by gathering and publishing the facts of industrial growth and by insisting that the rights of the commonwealth were above those of individual wealth.

C. "Making Bread Dear"

During the summer of 1882, Henry Alden, editor of *Harper's Monthly,* invited Lloyd to write about George Pullman's new "model" community for workers at his sleeping car company. Alden tentatively accepted the article, then assigned a member of his staff to revise it to be much more laudatory of Pullman; Lloyd refused to sign the galley proofs and the article was never published.[20] But the following year Allen Rice of the *North American Review* published Lloyd's article about the deleterious effects of corners in the commodity exchanges; entitled "Making Bread Dear," it appeared in the August issue (118–36).

In this essay, he continued to accuse laissez-faire economists of incompetency because they ignored the realities of modern com-

merce; in this case, he cited the growth of ill-regulated commodity exchanges: "While the text-books of the science of exchange are describing in infantile prattle the imaginary trade of prehistoric trout for pre-Adamite venison between the 'first hunter' and the 'first fisherman,' the industry of the cotton plantation, the oil fields, and the farm is being overlaid by an apparatus of Exchanges which will prove an extremely interesting study to the Ricardo of, say, the twenty-fifth century" (85). These exchanges were falling under the rule of syndicates and bosses who were able to corner major commodities and dictate their prices because of the rapid evolutionary changes in communication and transportation, and because of the development of the corporation and the emergence of huge private fortunes held by men following a "lupine standard of business morality." The fault was not inherent in the institution itself, which was in fact a much improved system of marketing, but in its control. By cornering a commodity through unscrupulous manipulation of transport and capital, the "wealthy criminal classes" were arbitrarily rigging prices all over the world; and they were, for this reason, contributing to strikes and social unrest: "The 'strong man' now builds corners instead of castles, and collects tribute at the end of a telegraph wire instead of a chain stretched across the Rhine" (86). These manipulations of supply and demand were impairing the normal channels of trade: "Transportation, overtasked at one time and at another idle, is hopelessly deranged; and all the banking and other business that must attend the movement of crops goes by fits and starts" (96).

To document his contentions, Lloyd turned to the Chicago Board of Trade and traced several corners in pork and wheat that had developed since the crop shortages of 1879. Through price comparisons over those several years, he confirmed his assertion that "as wheat rises, flour rises; and when flour becomes dear, through manipulation, it is the blood of the poor that flows into the treasury of the syndicate" (112). Because the Illinois Supreme Court had continued to exempt that exchange from state regulation, the only recourse traders in future deliveries had when caught "short" was to the board itself; but its members were far from impartial judges of their own actions. Hence national regulation of exchanges was necessary to establish a proper judicial procedure and to restore the legitimate functioning of trade: "When capitalists combine irresistibly against the people, the government, which is the people's combination, must take them in hand" (111–12).

In several respects, "Making Bread Dear" is much weaker than Lloyd's two earlier articles because its organization is more discursive, its presentation of data is limited, and its hypothesis that recent strikes were "traceable directly" to corners is forced. Yet the thesis of the essay elicited so much favorable press comment, both in the United States and in England, that Rice, influenced by the public discussion, published a reply by Van Buren Denslow, an orthodox economist and journalist, which had originally been commissioned as a companion piece to Lloyd's article but which had not been published because the subject was thought to be of limited interest.[21] Denslow's long, reactionary article, which appeared as "Board of Trade Morality" in the October issue (372–87), was highly critical of Lloyd's vagueness. And Lloyd found that many of his acquaintances in Chicago's business circles who had commended him for his attack on Gould were critical of "Making Bread Dear" because he had struck, perhaps, so close to home or because he had relied too much on exhortation rather than on demonstration. But his exposure of exchange abuses was consistent with his overall development of a public welfare theory of economic analysis, the logic of which was soon confirmed when the Illinois Supreme Court reversed itself to place the board of trade under statutory control and later by congressional passage of the Securities and Exchange Act.

D. "Lords of Industry"

Lloyd published the article "Lords of Industry" which gave its title to the collection in the June 1884 issue of the *North American Review* (535–53). Perhaps he was responding to Denslow's criticism of "Making Bread Dear" for its vagueness because he presented in this article a thoroughly documented, carefully controlled, inductive demonstration before drawing any conclusions. As a result, the essay was a forceful argument for his contention that the United States was experiencing such a dramatic change in its political economy that it required new views and new remedies; and he established his thesis immediately. The free trade laws of supply and demand, restricted a century ago by mercantile "conspiracies" but generally active in the United States for years past, were no longer valid because of the rapid growth of trade combinations: "Adam Smith said in 1776: 'People of the same trade hardly meet together even for merriment and diversion but the conversation

ends in a conspiracy against the public or in some contrivance to raise prices.' The expansive ferment of the New Industry, coming with the new science, the new land, and the new liberties of our era, broke up these 'conspiracies,' and for a century we have heard nothing of them; but the race to over-run is being succeeded by the struggle to divide, and combinations are reappearing on all sides" (117).

Lloyd then enumerated a total of fifty-eight industrial or trade monopolies, discussing the development and nature of principal ones, such as lumber, meat packing, coal, stoves, matches, paper, coffins, steel, whiskey, and school books. In the hardcoal industry, for example, six railroads directly controlled 195,000 of the estimated total of 270,000 acres of anthracite coal land, and the rest was held by individuals and firms "necessarily tributary" to the railway lines. Since profits had to be shown by these railroads on watered stock representing "three or four times the real cost" of the lines, their desire was to combine to inflate prices by forcibly reducing production. This combination in turn pushed labor into combinations, which led inevitably to the stalemate of strikes at the expense of the consumer. Some of the more voluntary combinations did, of course, break apart—such as that in the match industry— but, after a quick price war, the pools regrouped to set price and production figures.

The need for governmental regulation, the immediate political conclusion Lloyd drew from this massing of data, was pragmatically logical: "Society is letting these combinations become institutions without compelling them to adjust their charges to the cost of production, which used to be the universal rule of price. Our laws and commissions to regulate the railroads are but toddling steps in a path in which we need to walk like men"(143). But Lloyd was never content with pragmatics alone; he was also a theorist, and from this demonstration he drew another conclusion startlingly prophetic. He anticipated by ten years Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis about the impact on American society of the closing of the frontier:

> Our young men can no longer go West; they must go up or down. Not new land, but new virtue must be the outlet for the future. Our halt at the shore of the Pacific is a much more serious affair than that which brought our ancestors to a pause before the barriers of the Atlantic, and compelled them to practise living together for a few hundred years. We cannot hereafter, as

in the past, recover freedom by going to the prairies; we must find it in the society of the good. In the presence of great combinations in all departments of life, the moralist and patriot have work to do of a significance never before approached during the itinerant phases of our civilization. It may be that the coming age of combination will issue in a nobler and fuller liberty for the individual than has yet been seen, but that consummation will be possible, not in a day of competitive trade, but in one of competitive morals.(147)

That a new morality must govern a new school of economic analysis and regulation was the crux of Lloyd's message in all four of his early journal articles.

IV Lords of Industry: *Six Later Works*

The other six works in *Lords of Industry* are quite miscellaneous, but they do furnish a representative chronological sample of Lloyd's commentaries over the next twenty years. He continued in them to reiterate his thesis about the revolutionary growth of oligopolies and the social necessity of their control. "Servitudes Not Contracts," a previously unpublished manuscript dated 1889; "What Washington Would Do To-Day," an address delivered February 22, 1890; "Uses and Abuses of Corporations," a speech first read on December 20, 1894; "The Sugar Trust and the Tariff," a short article published in September 1897; "The National Ownership of Anthracite Coal Mines," an argument supporting petitions presented to two state legislatures, March 12 and 13, 1903; and "The Failure of Railroad Regulation," an address delivered on May 15, 1903—these trace his gradual development of a morally inspired Fabian Socialism, much like that inherent in the programs of the ruling British Labour Party, 1945–1951.

From Lloyd's friend William Clarke, one of the contributors to the germinal *Fabian Essays in Socialism* (1889), Lloyd learned about the aims of Fabianism as they evolved step by step during the 1880's. They were essentially his own since the Fabians were eclectic, democratic, and optimistic gradualists. With few exceptions they were nondoctrinaire, middle-class intellectuals who believed in "permeating" the existing political structure with Socialist ideas; for they were convinced that "no reasonable person *who knows the facts* can fail to become a Socialist."[22] Rule Two of the present "Basis" of the Fabian Society expresses the essence of that principle:

Fabianism "aims at the establishment of a society in which equality of opportunity will be assured and the economic power and privileges of individuals and classes abolished through the collective ownership and democratic control of the economic resources of the community. It seeks to secure these ends by the methods of political democracy."[23] So too did Lloyd, in theory and in program.

Both the *Atlantic* and the *Forum* rejected "Servitudes Not Contracts," Lloyd's first major journal submission about monopolies since his resignation from the *Tribune* and after his breakdown in 1885. Those rejections were significant in that they marked his divergence from an attitude acceptable to the rather conservative monthlies. As the result, more than a decade before such popular magazines as *McClure's* and *Collier's* embraced muckraking, Lloyd had to move perforce to the alternate forums of the platform, the book, and the special interest periodical.[24] The manuscript itself reflected his awakened interest in the labor movement, for he deplored in it the use by the Reading Railroad, contrary to the sworn testimony of its president, of "yellow dog contracts"—agreements signed by laborers not to belong to a union. Therefore, Lloyd developed the British scholar Thorold Roger's point that "the unorganized laborer cannot make free contracts" with highly organized monopolies; and he rejected as a catchword the phrase "freedom of contract," that was to be evoked by a conservative judiciary for years to come.

At Chicago's Central Music Hall, as the principal speaker at the 1890 Washington Birthday celebration of the Personal Rights League, an influential Midwest reform organization, Lloyd presented "What Washington Would Do To-Day." With oratorical flair he attacked the "rotten-ripe prosperity of America" through which the wealthy few had undermined the liberties of the many to establish new forms of tyranny that Washington would deplore. In contrast to George III, these men of wealth were homegrown oppressors whose corruption of legislatures, courts, and commerce gave the lie to the new Know-Nothing witchhunt of "foreigners" as the provocateurs of social unrest: "To-day the discontent mingling with the hum of toil in field and shop gives notice that the growing people find themselves shut in on all sides by class laws which make our currency, roads, lands, franchises, labor, like the Roman provinces which were put at the mercy of a few proconsuls"(172). Therefore,

in the tradition of Washington, "we must put an end to the abuse of government by classes."

In 1894, before the Liberal Club of Buffalo and in a formal debate with William Gratwick, a proponent of Social Darwinism, Lloyd read "Uses and Abuses of Corporations," probably his most eloquent brief analysis of the American economic revolution and its social consequences. He began by commending the corporation as an institution—"the individual writ large"—because only through it had modern industry and trade become possible. But, as an institution, it was amoral; and it could function as the instrument for either private or public good; but, unfortunately, years of accummulated facts demonstrated that it was used by "the most active and aggressive of our industrial leaders" to engender monopolies and to impose a fraudulent value-added tax upon the very necessities of life. But, in the name of the "scientific" method, we are told that "we must get 'more facts' before proceeding to the work of 'reform' "; and this demand came from "political economists of the pigeonhole," Social Darwinists "who will neither use nor interpret the facts they have" (190). Those who argued that such monopolies made products cheaper were guilty of fallacies in fact and in logic:

> To praise a seller as the giver of "cheapness," to hold up his achievements to the admiration of mankind and the emulation of the oncoming generation of business men, and at the same time to ignore the libraries of evidence that this market power, in not one alone but in almost all cases, has been largely gained and is maintained by perverting legislative, judicial, executive, and social functions from the service of the public to that of privilege, and sometimes even by grosser crime,—is this economic? Would a true political economist have to wait for the moralist to learn that a nation does not buy its fuel, transportation, light, etc., cheap at any price when it has to throw in the virtue of its government, the independence of its citizenship, and the market freedom of the people? (192–93)

Besides, it was an error, Lloyd asserted, to assume things were cheaper; cheapness did not produce "ten-ply millionaires." Just as in the past the Parliament of Elizabeth I had asserted its collective will to repeal her many grants of personal monopolies, so too must the American people unite now in common action for common purposes. Reform, therefore, was not to be feared because it was but the logic of the public spirit: "Our task is not to destroy the indi-

vidual or his self-interest, both of which are sacred, but to set over against it, in the composition of forces, society and a social self-interest"(209).

"The Sugar Trust and the Tariff" was a short, caustic exposé in the *Progressive Review* of London in September, 1897 (551–55), of the corrupt political clout of the United States Sugar Trust. Lloyd excoriated the Republican leadership in both houses of Congress for their criminal manipulation of the legislative process to facilitate stock speculation by some legislators and to allow huge surreptitious imports by managers of the sugar trust before passage of the highly protective Dingley Tariff in 1897. The article was in the tradition of his earlier editorial protests in the *Tribune* and demonstrated that his sense of outrage was unimpaired by years of experience.

Entitled "National Ownership of Anthracite Coal Mines" when the article was published in *Lords of Industry*, Lloyd delivered this speech during March 1903, before the investigative committees of the Maine and Massachusetts legislatures. After Lloyd's support of the United Mine Workers during the Anthracite Strike Commission hearings of 1902–1903, the Socialist parties of Maine and Massachusetts asked him to give a formal argument in support of their petitions to nationalize the coal mines before their respective state legislatures. Drawing upon the documentary history of the coal trust that he had prepared for the Strike Commission and using verbatim most of Chapter Two from *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, he drafted a long, detailed survey of the scope and methods of that trust, presented a thorough diagnosis of its pathological effects on American society, and supported a prognosis of cure through nationalization. His argument received immediate public attention because of wide press coverage and because the Massachusetts committee unanimously reported for national ownership, if regulation failed. This speech also had personal significance for Lloyd because it marked his open advocacy of the Socialist party.

Besides presenting a circumstantial history of the trust as it was formed by eight interlocking railroads, his argument developed four trenchant points. First, the railroad tycoons achieved much of their control illegally and immorally by imposing arbitrary freight practices and exorbitant charges upon independent producers or by buying their most aggressive competitors through fraudulent expansion of their own capitalization, the costs of which were passed to the consumer as "reasonable" profits on watered stock. Second, not

only were those "corporation consolidators" ruthless, they were manifestly incompetent: unable to run their railways or mine their coal efficiently, they were at best "corporation jugglers and stock-exchange 'athletes,' experts in the manufacture of Wall Street values, out of hot air, water, and ink"(256).

Third, the financial result of the continuation of the coal trust would be the destruction of the very concept of free contracts for both business and labor. The political result would be the destruction of liberty and democracy: "no government can be free, no society can be free, in which any power whatever over the citizens is greater than, or different from, the powers existing in them, and voluntarily delegated by them to the centre"(283). Fourth, the two forms of relief tried so far—competition and regulation—had failed; therefore, "ownership by the people is the only agency which the people can use to restore their market rights and all their other rights"(225), and still be well within the letter and spirit of the law.

During May 1903, two months after his appearances on behalf of the Socialists' petitions, Lloyd spoke for nationalization of railroads in front of the Massachusetts Reform Club in a debate against John Brooks, who upheld regulation, and Gamaliel Bradford, who advocated laissez faire.[25] His address, a well-focused and systematically documented one, was based partly upon his research for the Strike Commission hearings and partly upon data from Interstate Commerce Commission reports and hearings. Entitled "The Failure of Railroad Regulation," its thrust was just that—all attempts by the people through state or federal legislation or by appeal to the courts had met with universal rebuff: "The result of sixteen years of legislation by Congress, of investigations and effort on the part of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and of litigation in the courts is that 'today, with respect to interstate transportation, that is, the great body of transportation, the public has no safeguard' "(317). The recently passed Elkins Act would prove equally chimerical: "purporting to be designed to put an end to rebates, it withholds the power by which alone that purpose could be achieved" (324). Any impartial review of the railroad kings' history—their false capitalizations, their preferential rates and rebates, their flagrant scofflaw tactics, their inevitable consolidation—could point to but one conclusion, public ownership: "the only way to regulate these owners of our highways is to make each one of us an owner of the highways, as the Swiss have done"(344).

As Lloyd's last public call upon the nation to control its railroads in order to control its monopolies and its destiny, this speech served as the appropriate final example in *Lords of Industry* of his career as a prophet-Muckraker. The following year President Theodore Roosevelt announced that railroad regulation was the "paramount issue" of his second administration. Three years later Congress passed the Hepburn Act, which made effective railway rate regulation possible for the first time.

CHAPTER 3

The First of the Muckrakers: Wealth Against Commonwealth

PUBLISHED in October 1894, *Wealth Against Commonwealth* became Henry Lloyd's magnum opus. An earlier manuscript version had been rejected by several major publishing firms as too moralistic, as too controversial, or as too long when William D. Howells offered in May 1893 to submit it personally to his publisher, Harper & Brothers. But, when that firm declined to publish it in that version, Lloyd tried two other companies. Then, after he had cut and reworked the manuscript to meet readers' objections and had secured favorable legal opinion against libel, Harper & Brothers reconsidered and offered to publish it on a commission basis; thus he had to pay for the typesetting, a common practice of the time for polemical works (Henry George had to set *Progress and Poverty* himself before Appleton & Company would issue it). Within Lloyd's lifetime the book attained a modest trade success, with a total printing of twelve thousand copies, which included the hundreds he circulated himself.[1] But that was far from achieving the extraordinary popularity of George's *Progress and Poverty* or Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, and by 1906 one of the characters in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* was to remark: "Ten years ago Henry D. Lloyd told all the truth about the Standard Oil Company in his *Wealth versus Commonwealth;* and the book was allowed to die, and you hardly ever hear of it."[2] The book did have a secondary influence, however, far beyond its circulation figures and its own life, for it found an audience not within the masses but among the intellectuals, the molders of public opinion—scholars, journalists, political reformers, clergymen—and they translated its message into the Progressive movement of the next two decades.

I *Method and Purpose*

A large part of the diminished immediate appeal of Lloyd's work was due to its format, one that thwarted the expectations of many

readers because it was not a dramatic narrative of personal criminality, as might have been suggested by Lloyd's dissection of Jay Gould in "The Political Economy of $73,000,000," nor a straightforward, chronological history of corporate malfeasance as in his "The Story of a Great Monopoly." Yet it was the logical result of that earlier antimonopoly crusade as reshaped over the intervening years by his increased sympathy for labor and by his articulation of an ethical social philosophy. The title suggests the true nature of the book: it was an indictment of the criminally rich for conspiring to steal the very commonwealth itself. Framing it as a criminal indictment, Lloyd presented a classical legal case against conspiracy that was based on enough relevant circumstantial evidence to prove beyond the requisite legal "reasonable doubt" that most American monopolists were simply thieves.

His purpose, he wrote a friend, was to "lay bare the realities of the Standard Oil methods, and the evils of the results so clearly that the public will all be driven, irresistibly, to see and confess that modern business is still piracy and theft and lying."[3] In a letter to Harper & Brothers, he explained his method:

> I could easily *tell the story* in one quarter the space and . . . tell it better. But then the story would be only told; it would not be proved. The story is not new, the public ear has been dulled into innocuous desuetude by the eloquence and wit and indignation which "monopoly" has had poured upon it. The only string left to play that I can see was this of the Fact-Official adjudicated, massed in avalanche. I realise thoroughly that I sacrifice literary effect by the method I have pursued. My object necessitated this sacrifice. I have aimed to collate the materials from which others will produce literary effects.[4]

If justice were honestly administered and if the polity were active in upholding its rights and duties, Lloyd was certain that the great business magnates of the age would find themselves in a penitentiary, not in a mansion. But *Wealth Against Commonwealth* was not just an arraignment of certain rich men—it was much more than that—it was an indictment of the moral assumptions underlying the entire Gilded Age. This intent was explicit in the structure of the book: it consisted of thirty-five chapters; the first four and final two comprised a framework for the others, which were in no readily discernible logical order, though they did bunch up in separate units moving sequentially in a line of incidents from "local to na-

tional and from national to international" (4). To enhance their collective effect, Lloyd omitted wherever possible the names of those he attacked, not as a defense against libel as several critics suggested—libel law is quite clear that such anonymity is no defense—but because he wanted his readers to concentrate on the gist of his argument. He explained this in answer to an inquiry by Henry C. Bascom, an author and a Prohibitionist:

> I wrote not to attack or expose certain men but to unfold a realistic picture of modern business. It so happened that the oil trust afforded in all ways the very best illustration for my purpose, but owing to the fact that it is the creation of but two or three men, if I had mentioned them they would have appeared on almost every page, and the book would have taken on the appearance to being a personal assault. No matter how much the assault was deserved, to have given the work that aspect would have been fatal to the usefulness which I hope for it.[5]

II *Subject and Structure*

Lloyd was by education a lawyer; though he never made law his profession, he fully utilized his training when he was compiling this book.[6] Indeed, he alerted his readers in the first chapter that all the evidence they would encounter was adjudicated. Monopoly was on trial in the high court of "The New Conscience": "Decisions of courts and of special tribunals like the Interstate Commerce Commission, verdicts of juries in civil and criminal cases, reports of committees of the State Legislatures and of Congress, oath-sworn testimony given in legal proceedings and in official inquiries, corrected by rebutting testimony and by cross-examination—such are the sources of information"(7). While the principle of monopoly itself was under challenge, the charge was against one specific defendant, the Standard Oil trust, because "it is the most successful of all the attempts to put gifts of nature, entire industries, and world markets under one hat. Its originators claim this precedence. It was, one of its spokesmen says, 'the parent of the trust system.' It is the best illustration of a movement which is itself but an illustration of the spirit of the age"(8).

Although the book's unusual legal structure may have caused his sister Caro's somewhat bemused report that "to lawyers it was particularly convincing,"[7] Lloyd aimed its appeal at all the people, hence his proclamation:

> The men and women who do the work of the world have the right to the floor. Everywhere they are rising to "a point of information." They want to know how our labor and the gifts of nature are being ordered by those whom our ideals and consent have made Captains of Industry over us; how it is that we, who profess the religion of the Golden Rule and the political economy of service for service, come to divide our produce into incalculable power and pleasure for a few, and partial existence for the many who are the fountains of these powers and pleasures. This book is an attempt to help the people answer these questions.(6–7)

For he was convinced that the political economy of the United States had dissolved into an internecine war of the few against the many.

After introducing his working hypothesis and method in the first chapter, he surveyed in the next three several well-established American monopolies to demonstrate the extent of the problem before presenting his case in full against just one. This survey comprised the coal trust, the whiskey trust, and the wheat and meat trusts. As he had explained repeatedly in his journal articles, their methods were similar—to remove competition in order to control the trade and to impose an artificial scarcity to achieve inordinately profitable prices—and the results too were the same: the loss of wealth and liberty to the people, "the wiping out of the middle classes." Common to these trusts were two stratagems to secure an advantage: one, to pervert the political processes of democracy to escape any legal consequences of their acts; two, to secure preferential treatment from transportation lines to the exclusion of all competitors. Then, in the following chapters, he developed step by step his bill of particulars against the Standard Oil Company.

The first and most important contention in his case was that Standard Oil acquired most of its market advantages through unethical and illegal control of the common carriers—railroads, pipelines, canal and river boats, steamships. This point, of course, was the major premise of his "The Story of a Great Monopoly," but it was much more thoroughly documented in this book. Relying heavily on testimony elicited by the New York Assembly "Hepburn" Report of 1879 and by the Congressional Trust Report of 1888, he recounted the rise and presumed demise of the scheme symbolized by the South Improvement Company. That company was formed in 1872 by thirteen oil men, ten of whom were members of Standard Oil, expressly to negotiate a contract with the railway trunk lines in the

Pennsylvania oil region to attain rebates to themselves on their own and on their competitors' freight charges. This contract was almost immediately cancelled because of public outcry and a producers' boycott, but Lloyd proceeded to demonstrate that the people had only "grasped the shell of victory to find within the kernel of defeat"(57). For such rebates had in fact been granted to the Standard Oil group ever since that time, though "the facts were hidden in secret contracts with the railroads"(70). Referring to manifold testimony elicited over the more than twenty years since the South Improvement contract, he established that point and another—that many railroad and Standard Oil officials were contemptuous liars.

Then Lloyd traced with abundant detail the Standard Oil takeover of rival pipelines and terminal facilities through such affiliates as United Pipe Lines, the National Transit Company, and the American Transfer Company. He concentrated especially on the clouded events marking the construction of the independent Tidewater Pipe Line during and after the "immediate shipment" crisis of 1878 that was caused by the controlled pipelines managers' refusals to carry crude oil for storage and to transport only that already sold to a refiner—invariably a member of the trust. Completed in 1879, this pipeline was acquired by the National Transit Company in 1883. According to Lloyd, that acquisition was but one more example of the tenacious hold Standard Oil maintained on the producers and was typical of its tactics because the Tidewater's managers were defeated by the combination's "corrupting their officers, slandering their credit, buying up their customers, stealing their elections, garroting them with lawsuits founded on falsehoods, shutting them off the railroads, and plugging up their pipe in the dark"(112).

By using the same tactics, Lloyd insisted, Standard Oil also obtained control over the years of many patents and most refineries; and it had scrapped some and allocated the production of the rest. To make this point poignant, he focused upon the histories of several individuals. The first was the Widow Backus, who assumed management of the Backus Oil Company in 1874 when her husband died. After a visit from John D. Rockefeller and several negotiations with his agents, she sold the company in 1878 for seventy-nine thousand dollars. Later, in a lawsuit against Standard Oil, she charged that she had been high-pressured into signing a sales contract; that, if allowed to function in a free market, her company would have been worth much more; and that a provision prohibiting

her from ever again engaging in a petroleum business was invalid. A second account concerned Samuel Van Syckel, an inventor and early petroleum refiner who built the first successful pipeline in 1865. In a suit against the Acme Oil Company in 1888, he charged that firm with abrogating its contract to build a refinery based upon his patented continuous distilling process. He also charged its parent company, Standard Oil, with systematically obstructing any further attempts he made to utilize the process.

A third and more significant narrative was that of George Rice, the irrepressible independent of Marietta, Ohio, who had been in the petroleum trade since 1865. Devoting three chapters to Rice's career, Lloyd related his many encounters with Standard Oil–directed freight discrimination and cutthroat competition, with inequitable municipal and state laws governing oil storage and inspection, with ineffectual legislative and Interstate Commerce Commission hearings, and with such devious corporate practices as the renumbering of all three thousand trust-owned tank cars within a several week span to thwart a court-ordered investigation of railroad "blind-billing"—the computing of charges to a favored shipper at an unrealistically low, uniform car weight. Countering all such frustrations, Rice was still able to retain a small southern market—through the means of an efficient family-run refinery and local crude oil supplies—and to remain a troublesome gadfly to the trust by vigorously petitioning the various branches of government for redress. But he did so at an unnatural cost; for, Lloyd exclaimed, "It is this dancing attendance upon State legislatures, courts, attorney-generals, Congress, the Interstate Commerce Commission, as shown in this recital, which the modern American business man must add to Thrift, Industry, and Sobriety as a condition of survival"(242).

Another dimension to Lloyd's case was provided by the charge that the trust deliberately sabotaged rivals' property to get rid of them. In 1886, four top Standard Oil officials—H. H. Rogers, J. D. Rockefeller, A. McGregor and J. D. Archbold—were arraigned in a Buffalo court for conspiring with Hiram Everest and his son, managers and quarter owners of the affiliated Vacuum Oil Company, to persuade a distillery workman, Albert Miller, to blow up the refinery of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company, owned by a former employee, Charles Matthews, who was using some of the Vacuum Oil Company processes. Since this provided the only adjudicated

evidence for the accusation that Standard Oil itself criminally destroyed property, Lloyd allocated four chapters to the events covered by this trial. Matthews had also instituted previously a civil suit for damages against Vacuum Oil in answer to earlier suits by that firm against him for patent infringement, ones that were found to be without grounds. Matthews won an award of twenty thousand dollars, then filed a second suit for $250,000; but, before that was resolved, his company was put in the hands of a receiver who settled out of court for eighty-five thousand dollars. In the criminal case, the judge dismissed the charges against the Standard Oil officials; the jury found the Everests guilty; and, after a stay of two years, the judge fined them $250 each and remitted the usual jail sentences. Matthews lost not only his refinery during the litigation but also, Lloyd maintained, his claim to justice.

Moving from the attacks of Standard Oil against individuals, Lloyd next surveyed an assault by several trust-affiliated natural gas companies, principally the Northwestern Ohio Natural Gas Company, against the determined attempts by the city of Toledo from 1889 on to form a municipally owned gas company. Comprising four chapters, his report of Toledo's experiences revealed a tale that was fast becoming familiar of the companies' use of disruptive litigation, false financial statistics, high-pressured legislative lobbying, slander and libel directed against the credit of individuals and the municipality, spying, threats, and even a Sunday coup d'etat against one of their own pipelines in massive efforts to defeat municipal ownership. Particularly outrageous was a scurrilous press campaign by a hack journalist (Patrick C. Boyle, former editor of the Oil City *Derrick*) brought in by Standard Oil interests, Lloyd claimed, to edit the Toledo *Commercial* in support of the gas companies. Yet, in spite of these harassing tactics, the people persevered and succeeded in establishing their own company; thus their struggle was a good omen, "a warning and an encouragement to people everywhere who wish to lead the life of the commonwealth"(367).

From Lloyd's account of that battle he advanced to the state level to retrace the charges of fraud submitted to the United States Senate Committee on Elections by the 1886 legislature of Ohio against Senator Henry B. Payne. From the evidence supporting those charges—though the majority report of the Committee on Elections recommended no official investigation—and from Payne's voting record, Lloyd surmised that Standard Oil had bribed the 1884 Ohio

legislature to secure a senator friendly to its interests. Then, in a far-ranging discussion of the political power of the trust that covers six chapters, he demonstrated Standard Oil's ability at the local and state levels of government to secure special legislation, such as low legal flash tests (the temperature at which an oil distillate will ignite) and loose inspection laws. And he pointed to the ease with which the trust could obtain federal legislation to protect its multifarious companies, such as favorable tariff provisions or jingoistic subsidies, as in the exemption granted the International Steamship Line, a trust affiliate, in the Postal Subsidy Law of 1892. On the international scene too—in Britain, France, Germany, Russia—Standard Oil manifested its overwhelming power to secure what it wanted; but the data for that inference, Lloyd admitted, was not from legal records and was, in contrast to previous proofs, less conclusive. All in all, after twenty-nine chapters of circumstantial evidence, Lloyd's case had indeed become impressive; but, to bring it into sharper focus, he then presented a fourteen point summation (464–65), and each point was substantiated by footnote references to previous pages.

But Lloyd was not content to rest his case without suggesting the means toward a solution—the object of his last two chapters. For he pictured the rise of Standard Oil (the reality) within the much larger framework of public welfare (the ideal). Essential to the integrity of that welfare was a recognition by the people that the principles of Social Darwinism used by apologists to defend the evolution of monopoly capitalists were fundamentally wrong: "The man who should apply in his family or his citizenship this 'survival of the fittest' theory as it is practically professed and operated in business would be a monster, and would be speedily made extinct, as we do with monsters. . . . The true law of business is that all must pursue the interest of all. In the law, the highest product of civilization, this has long been a commonplace"(495). Until the people rejected that theory of self-interest, they would be treating the symptoms, not the disease: "the corporation is merely a cover, the combination of corporations an advantage, the private ownership of public highways an opportunity, and the rebate its perfect tool. The real actors are men; the real instrument, the control of their fellows by wealth, and the mainspring of the evil is the morals and economics which cipher that brothers produce wealth when they are only cheating each other out of birthrights"(492). With regard to such cheating, Lloyd was very sardonic throughout; he scourged officials of Stan-

dard Oil for a hypocrisy that permeated their every act, such as, for example, their philanthropy, through which, he insisted, they perverted the church and the university to their own self-interest.

From the larger perspective of history, Lloyd viewed the new industrial state as ripe for reform or revolution. And that was the crux: reform could bring W. D. Howell's Altruria; revolution would only bring a new face to tyranny. But reform must be fundamental, based on the moral imperative of brotherhood in which the ethical freedom of the individual would function within the constitution of the community; to do otherwise would but license the "moral insanity" of the monopolists. Only on terms of love and justice could the delicate social machinery survive: "History has taught us nothing if not that men can continue to associate only by the laws of association. The golden rule is the first and last of these, but the first and last of the golden rule is that it can be operated only through laws, habits, forms, and institutions"(522).

Change had to be social to insure no private use of public power or public property; such an objective could only be produced by common ownership, not by the half measure of regulation: "We must either regulate, or own, or destroy, perishing by the sword we take. The possibility of regulation is a dream. As long as this control of the necessaries of life and this wealth remain private with individuals, it is they who will regulate, not we. The policy of regulation, disguise it as we may, is but moving to a compromise and equilibrium with the evil all complain of"(532–33). The social change that Lloyd envisioned was popular acceptance of fellowship in a new industrial democracy, "nothing so narrow as the mere governmentalizing of the means and process of production," but the higher patriotism of Christian Socialism. To that end, he had written the book; for, "When it comes to know the facts[,] the human heart can no more endure monopoly than American slavery or Roman empire. The first step to a remedy is that the people care. If they know, they will care. To help them to know and care; to stimulate new hatred of evil, new love of the good, new sympathy for the victims of power[;] and, by enlarging its science, to quicken the old into a new conscience, this compilation of fact has been made"(535).

III *Assessment*

Lloyd was vaguely disappointed by the reception given *Wealth Against Commonwealth;* a year after publication, he wrote a friend, "although the book has sold and is selling well I must confess myself

mystified, on the whole, by the equanimity with which the public submit to the facts disclosed by such a résumé."[8] His book did meet an enthusiastic audience within middle-class reform circles in which Edward Everett Hale's endorsement, "as much an epoch-making book as Uncle Tom's Cabin," carried much weight. And it was reviewed widely, though sometimes critically, by newspapers and journals in the United States and in England (to its later "cheap edition," Harper & Brothers added a ten page supplement containing excerpts from sixty-three favorable press notices). But it did not create the universal spontaneous outcry nor usher in the immediate age of social reform that Lloyd had called for. Some indeed were roused to instant action: John Burroughs, the naturalist, wrote Lloyd that, after an hour's reading, he was so angry he "had to go out and kick stumps."[9] But most seemed stunned by its implications; for, as Howells wrote Lloyd while reading the published version, "the truth is so repulsive that one almost wishes the Standard might come to one's relief with a lie of the sort which has made it irresistible everywhere but in your pages."[10]

Part of the reaction was undoubtedly short-circuited by protests arising from the widespread business panic of 1893. Coxey's Army; the Populist revolt; and the coal, American Railway Union, and Pullman strikes—all called stridently for immediate attention. And, too, Lloyd's message had to compete with such organized enthusiasms as the single tax school (from George's *Progress and Poverty*) and the free silver movement (given new impetus by William "Coin" Harvey's *Coin's Financial School*). But much of the irresolute response on the part of readers was due to the book itself; for, in delivering his indictment, Lloyd had committed the tactical error of overkill. He was psychologically unable to let the facts speak for themselves; he spoke for them through editorializing chapter titles and page headings and through intrusive textual commentary. Such titles as "You Are A—Senator," "For 'Old Glory' And An—Appropriation," "Crime Cheaper than Competition," and such headings as "Kings Incognito," "Silence is Golden," "Book-keepers Who Keep No Books" placed his case within a constant judgmental context yet provided the reader with a variety of ironic asides. Rhetorical outbursts within the text also directed the reader's response in no uncertain terms; one good example is his description of the consternation among independent refiners as they charted Standard Oil's destruction of competitors: "Fox six years word had

been passing from one frightened lip to another that they were all destined for the maw or the morgue, and the fulfilment of the word had been appalling" (74). Lloyd's decision not to name names was also self-defeating, for to some that gave the book the undeserved aura of either a yellow journal or a scandalous *roman à clef*.[11] Thus his prevailing tone of high moral outrage—punctuated by clever epigrams, apt biblical and literary allusions, tart sarcasms, startling antitheses, and sensationally dramatic narration—created an effect sensed sympathetically by Albert Shaw, the editor of *Review of Reviews*: the book was "too overwhelming in its assault to command" the greatest influence. Antagonistically, W. T. Scheide, a Standard Oil executive writing anonymously in the *Nation*, stated that the work was "over 500 octavo pages of the wildest rant."[12]

Such reactions to Lloyd's rhetorical stance are inherent in some of the later comments about *Wealth Against Commonwealth* and thus demonstrate, in varying degrees, a fundamental misunderstanding of both its structure and purpose.[13] Thomas Cochran in an introduction to a modern edition of the book acknowledges its "structural ambiguity . . . that has misled so many reviewers" and remarks that "it is not a satisfactory or coherent study of either railroad rebates or the oil industry, but rather a dramatically presented warning of the menace to public rights and democratic government inherent in a business society of big, monopolistic corporations," a warning in which "the reader sometimes loses the basic argument amid exciting details."[14] Likewise, Daniel Aaron in *Men of Good Hope* insists that Lloyd's book "must be read as a prophet's cry to a sinful people as much as an attack on Standard Oil."[15] Instead of true prophecy, though, it has seemed to some commentators, especially to members of the "business revisionism" school of history, as primarily a false, discursive, stridently critical analysis of big business. That, for example, is the gist of Ralph and Muriel Hidy's characterization of Lloyd's book in their "revisionist" history of Standard Oil, *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882–1911*: "*Wealth against Commonwealth* was a polemical treatise containing a mixture of inconsistencies, truth, half-truth, and unconscious misrepresentation of the truth."[16] But, of course, Lloyd wrote it as a polemic, as a hard-hitting, circumstantial indictment of the prevailing ethical, political, and economic philosophies of big business during the Gilded Age.

As such, Lloyd's work has commanded wide and profound respect over the years. Older historians—Charles and Mary Beard, John

Chamberlain, John Flynn, Matthew Josephson—have acclaimed the book as the first great assault against the trusts and have also praised its documentation and reliability.[17] More recent commentators—Daniel Aaron, Ray Ginger, David Noble, Paul Boller, Jr. —have stressed its germinal influence upon the Progressive Era and the significance of its social welfare theory of government.[18] The most notable exception to those favorable assessments, as mentioned in Chapter 2, was that by Allan Nevins, who in his first biography of John D. Rockefeller (1940) reversed his own earlier commendation of Lloyd's book and proclaimed it "full of prejudice, distortion and misinterpretation."[19]

Questioning Nevins's impeachment of the book, Chester Destler tested the accuracy of *Wealth Against Commonwealth* by checking 420 of its 648 documentary footnotes against their sources and by tracing 241 unsupported statements back to their origins; altogether, of the 661 references checked he found inaccurate only fourteen—"none of any great import." Destler then published an article in the *American Historical Review* of October 1944 (49–72), in which he defended Lloyd's integrity and his use of evidence, to which Nevins replied in April 1945 (676–89) that Lloyd was "a signally untrustworthy historian" who was "too biased, too limited of view, too abusive, [and] too prone to suppress facts adverse to his side of controversial cases." He then repeated his charges more vehemently in his second biography of Rockefeller (1953)—"maliciously false," "intellectually dishonest"—but none outside the "revisionist" school has supported his attack.[20] Instead , the standard critical view, epitomized in the *Literary History of the United States*, grants Lloyd's book "a distinguished place in the literature of ideas of the last quarter of the nineteenth century" where it "remains the classic in 'the literature of exposure.' "[21] And Harold Faulkner in his study *Politics, Reform and Expansion* presents the majority view of historians when he describes it as "perhaps the most bitter and telling attack ever made on monopoly in this country."[22] Of course, the effectiveness of that attack has to be measured against the larger context of time; only then does its stature become clear.

What was remarkable about Lloyd's message in *Wealth Against Commonwealth* was his perception of how much the basic dilemma of government—to what extent the rights of the state transcend the liberties of the individual—was intensified for the American people

by the rapid growth of trusts during the Gilded Age. He saw tremendous power go to individual financiers as they welded the new industrial forces of the age into vertical business organizations controlling entire industries. He saw that power used ruthlessly to exploit the public for selfish or purposeless gain. And he saw beyond the shibboleths of laissez-faire to the far-reaching implications of that power for the future of American democracy. For he warned against the regulators themselves being regulated by multi-national corporations unresponsive to public policy; and he posed with precision the still moot question—in spite of subsequent Square Deal, New Deal, Fair Deal, and post-Watergate legislation:—of how the people can best control big business.

A letter Lloyd wrote to Congressman Frederick Gillette of Massachusetts, in reply to his inquiry about new regulatory legislation occasioned by having read *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, vividly demonstrates just how perceptive Lloyd's insight was into the symbiotic problems afflicting American industry, government, and society. It is revealing enough to quote in full:

Winnetka, Illinois
November 30, 1896

My dear Mr. Gillette,

I have not yet attempted to form any bill with regard to trust legislation. The problem involved in the trusts can be understood and handled only by always keeping separate, it seems to me, the question of combination and the question of arbitrary power in the market. The men who are combining are only pioneers in our commercial evolution. Combination cannot possibly be prevented; nor do I see any reason why the attempt to prevent it should be made. But combination which obtains the power to crush competition and manipulate prices is combination which has reached the point at which something must be done; but I no more think that the thing to be done is to forbid combination than I believe the reform of the currency calls for the remonetization of silver. Either step would be reactionary. The only remedy that I can see is for the public to adopt the policy of the public expropriation of such monopolies as they are created. This we are already beginning to do very freely in England by the public ownership of the tramways, markets, water-docks, railroads, telegraphs, and, in many municipalities of Great Britain, by the public construction and renting of workingmen's dwellings, in opposition to the monopoly of the ground-landlords. The development in this direction is so inchoate in this country that there is as yet no field for national legislation.

All this, of course, has nothing to do with another aspect of the trust business which is of the highest importance: that is, the fact that the power of the present trusts has been almost without exception obtained by the grossest and most palpable violations of law, and even by criminal acts. These have, so far, in every case, gone unpunished. As I understand the law, no legislation is needed to bring these men to justice; but for some mysterious reason, neither the public opinion of the people nor the public virtue of our public officials seems able to grapple with their offenses. I deliberately say that I believe that every important man in the oil, coal and many other trusts ought today to be in some one of our penitentiaries. All that is needed to put them there is no new laws but simply a prosecuting attorney, judge and jury.

The evolution of the power of modern wealth has gone so far that it is hardly necessary now for its holders to combine through any legal form. Recent developments[,] for instance, in the gas business of the cities of New York, Brooklyn and Boston[,] indicate that the control of the gas in each of those cities has been obtained by a few men. It is not necessary for these men to form a New York gas trust, a Brooklyn gas trust or a Boston gas trust. They can keep each one of the separate companies in existence and the only combination will be that effected by the junction of the dividend from each Company in their own pockets. The papers have made a great parade of recent denials of these men, who are our old friends, the Oil Trust men, that they were going to effect any consolidation of the New York Gas Company. Of course not. No consolidation is necessary and to make one would be simply an unnecessary irritation of the public mind. We have reached an extraordinary condition in our economic development, threatening the most portentous political and social consequences. The medieval system of regulating prices by custom and by law has disappeared. Its modern successor, our system of regulating prices by competition, has disappeared, latterly, in hundreds of the markets and is going to disappear in thousands. We are left, as consumers, in the markets, absolutely without protection, by either the old or the new method. This state of affairs is not to be explained as due to anybody's total depravity, nor to the greed of any special individuals. It is the expression of the universal greed of the entire community. A revolution that should break up all these properties and redistribute them among the poeple, and leave our present motives in operation, would only end, ultimately, in reestablishing all the monopolies again. I do not see what we can expect from any new laws, when we cannot even enforce the criminal laws against those men, who have built up their monopolies by the use of criminal means, from rebates to explosion. The existing laws ought to be enforced from the Interstate Commerce law down; but I cannot think of any remedial measure to which I would attach the slightest importance except agitation to awaken the public to the necessity of themselves becoming the owners of every monopoly. Municipal agitation for municipal ownership, and national agitation for the ownership, as an entering wedge, of

the railways, telegraphs, and all the monopolies involving a monopoly of land like that of the coal mines and the oil wells, are the only direction in which I can look for profitable effort.

Let me say, finally, that I wrote my book not with any desire to create such a feeling against combinations as to lead the public back upon their path to reestablish competition, but only to draw such a realistic picture of the ruin and wickedness which attended our present commerical methods as to revolt the people into passing on to a better system.

Faithfully yours,
H. D. Lloyd[23]

But he was done with active Muckraking. After reading *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, the publisher D. C. Heath wrote Lloyd to ask that he expose the schoolbook trust; and Lloyd replied, "I would prefer now that someone else should handle it. This kind of writing is extremely disagreeable to me. I have had to drive myself to it, because it seemed an imperative duty. But surely the way has been opened sufficiently, as far as I am concerned. My mind is turning to more constructive work."[24]

But others continued his work; for, when the young British journalist Henry W. Steed, who was in Paris in 1894, persuaded Ida Tarbell to read *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, it inspired her to write later her famous series of articles in *McClure's* (1903) which were published in book form as *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (1904).[25] Perhaps then the time was right, or perhaps her straightforward chronological account of one corporation was more practical; for she seemed to achieve what Lloyd did not—action—though they both used many of the same documents and covered much the same ground. But her achievement was in large part his: she followed where he led. One result of that leadership was the eventual partitioning of Standard Oil. In 1911, the United States Supreme Court upheld the government's case against that monopoly, an outgrowth of the moderate antitrust drive pursued by the Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft who had public support that was generated by the Muckrakers. Yet such antitrust action was but a palliative, as Lloyd foresaw, because it did not alter the real power of the major oil companies to organize far-flung "communities of interest" among themselves. It was his contention in *Wealth Against Commonwealth* that only government ownership of monopolistic industries could usher in a true community of interest and true public welfare.

CHAPTER 4

A Spokesman for Labor and for Political Reform: A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners *and* Men, the Workers

APPARENTLY, Lloyd's attitude toward labor organizations was one of ambivalence until after he had resigned from the *Tribune*. Though he sympathized with the plight of workers during those years, he seemed to regard labor unionism as having the potential of another noxious trade combination. For example, in "The Political Economy of $73,000,000," he included labor unions in his general condemnation of market pools; and, while he commended the "knights of labor" for their motto "injustice to one is injustice to all," he was apprehensive about strike-related social disruption: "Rumors are in the air of a general strike this summer. It will include the telegraph operators and the railroad men. Communication by wire is to be cut as well as communication by rail. Civilization, at the lifting of the finger of some Knight of Labor, is to be disintegrated" (63). Yet in his *Tribune* editorial "Why Coal is Dear" of January 6, 1883 (4), he referred sympathetically to the poverty of the Pennsylvania coal miners and suggested that their violence during the Molly Maguire riots of 1876–1877 was understandable: "The fierce passions of the Molly Maguires were but the flames from a crater of consuming want." And in another editorial, "The Hocking Valley Conspiracy" of December 6, 1884 (4), in which he criticized a railroad boycott of several coal mine owners who had settled individually with striking miners, he acknowledged the workers' right to strike: they "have a right to accept or refuse the wages offered, to be idle or industrious as they choose." But that statement was hardly an endorsement of labor unionism.

In all Lloyd's utterances, he was adamantly against violence,

against any Anarchist program of resistance; still, that stance did not prevent his unpopular support in 1887 of the condemned Haymarket "rioters." In fact, his involvement in their calamity sparked his increasing interest in the conditions of labor. As he read and pondered about social issues during that period of public excitement and of his own personal soul searching, he developed an ethical philosophy incorporating the very ideals of labor unionism that he first announced in his 1888 lecture "The New Conscience or the Religion of Labor." Through his many contacts with individual workers during this period, he also developed an emotional identification with their plight that prodded him toward some practical application of that social philosophy. Convinced that a peaceable remedy for society's ills could be achieved only through political action, he began to preach that message. As his health returned and as he became surer of his mission, he devoted much of his energy to building a labor-liberal-radical political coalition through which he hoped to implement a program of broad social reform. This objective culminated in his four year campaign (1893–1896) to unite Illinois labor with Populism by means of the comprehensive Springfield Platform of 1894, a modified version of the Omaha Platform drafted by the national People's Party in 1892. But first he had to establish a prolabor reputation.

He had won labor's respect by his moral courage during the Haymarket affair; now he had to earn its trust in his ability as a spokesman and as a political leader. He made his first major step toward this goal in 1889 when he addressed a large labor demonstration on July 4 at an amusement park south of Chicago in support of the drive by the American Federation of Labor for an eight hour day. His speech made such a favorable impression that trade unionists from Rock Island, Illinois, asked him to present it at their Labor Day convention. In fact, he soon was in demand as an "inspirational" speaker at major labor meetings throughout the Chicago area.

After presenting his speech at Rock Island that Labor Day, he visited the locked out miners at nearby Spring Valley to check the press reports about their plight. Shocked by the conditions at that mining town, he wrote a public appeal on behalf of the miners entitled "Starvation in Illinois," which was published on September 5 by four leading Chicago dailies. He followed that article in the next two months with several Associated Press dispatches and with

two long public letters, "The Crisis at Spring Valley" and "To Certain Rich Men," in which he castigated the owners of the Spring Valley Coal Company for their treatment of the miners. These letters were also circulated by the Associated Press and portions were reprinted widely. Stung by the editorials generated from this press campaign, W. L. Scott, the president of the coal company, sent a public letter to leading metropolitan newspapers rebutting Lloyd's charges. Only the then very conservative New York *Times* printed it because parts of it were clearly libelous: "This man Lloyd is a conscienceless liar and is responsible for most of the falsehoods that have been published concerning the state of affairs at Spring Valley."[1] Lloyd replied to that libel in an open letter to several New York newspapers, but he was so incensed by the scurrilous nature of Scott's attack that he also decided to write a book length exposé of the coal company's antilabor methods. Published early in May 1890, under the title *A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners*, this book greatly enhanced his standing with labor; for it was both a cutting attack on big business ethics and a persuasive demonstration of the need for labor unions.

I A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners

Lloyd gave *A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners* two subtitles, "The Story of Spring Valley" and "An Open Letter to the Millionaires"; and both were ostensible indicators of his methods and purposes. On one hand, he wished to present to the public a factual history of labor-management relations in the five year old coal mining town of Spring Valley, Illinois; for he believed that an enlightened public would champion the miners' cause and assuage their sufferings. On the other, he hoped to convince the stockholders of the four interlocking corporations involved—the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, the Spring Valley Coal Company, the Spring Valley Town Site Company, and the Northwest Fuel Company of St. Paul—that, just as they shared in the profits, they also shared in the guilt and thus were morally obligated to change their companies' policies.

To a large extent, Lloyd was simply expanding in this book the articles he had written for his newspaper campaign of the previous fall; and he especially used the technique implicit in his open letter "To Certain Rich Men" originally published in the Chicago *Herald*.[2] He also had a less apparent yet much more universal purpose in

writing the book. Since Spring Valley was but "one case out of a multitude," he wished to present through its story a particularized account of the antilabor tactics of renegade wealth: its unprincipled use of advertising puffs to induce independent workers and small tradesmen to buy lots in a company town and then to entice an oversupply of labor to that town; its use of deceptive press releases, the lockout, the state militia, the blacklist and the yellow dog contract to break the workers' union and render labor cowed and cheap; and its use of a company store and company houses to keep laborers indebted and immobile.

A. Resumé of Lloyd's "Story"

Above the Illinois River several miles north of Spring Valley rises a bluff known locally as Starved Rock. There the Iroquois Indians, forced from their own hunting grounds by European settlers, had successfully beseiged the remnants of the Illinois tribe. Using that attack as an introductory and recurrent analogy, Lloyd accused modern business of following the same savage ethics: "At starved Spring Valley, near by, the story of a victory of Business is printed in the same ghostly figures as that in which the Iroquois found their success recorded the morning, when, no one opposing, they gained the top of Starved Rock" (8).[3] He traced the mutual ownership of the four corporations involved in that seige to the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad to demonstrate once again the collusion of railroads with favored businesses. Then he named the principal officers of the companies involved and accused them of using the "easy machinery of the corporation," their kind of labor union, to organize a lockout, their kind of strike, against the miners of Spring Valley for no apparent reason other than to dictate a wage scale far below that paid by any competitor. Since the president of the Coal Company had issued deceitful appeals to the public to uphold his actions, Lloyd felt obliged to act as the spokesman for the miners and to present a true account of events.

As Lloyd described it, the founding of the town was typical of much nineteenth century land speculation. In 1884, an agent for unknown investors purchased several farms in Bureau County, Illinois, while another agent bought mineral rights to thousands of adjacent acres, and officials of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad planned a track extension to the area. Soon the Town Site Company and the Spring Valley Coal Company circulated newspaper and

pamphlet advertisements throughout the country and "boomed" the excellent investment possibilities of a new coal town. Lloyd explained that such speculative ventures were a common but very questionable practice on the part of "public" railway officials:

> Town site companies are a familiar device in the development of the money-making possibilities of the modern railroad man. They are all about the same thing. They are made up by insiders in railroad management. These insiders take advantage of their knowledge as to where new lines are to be built and where the railroads mean to stop their trains, or they use their power to say where these shall stop. Knowing the one or commanding the other, they buy up the land of the farmers who do not know it, at prices far below their prospective value. These farms, converted into cities, on paper, and sliced up into diminutive metropolitan lots, are then sold to credulous people at fictitious prices created by every artifice of advertising, of wash sales, of mushroom prosperity produced by all the means within the power of railroad manipulations. (22–23)

Those miners who came to Spring Valley and who bought lots on the strength of the coal company's promises of steady employment and good wages were, in Lloyd's judgment, the most enterprising of their class. Within four years, the town had a population of five thousand. However, the company's promises were false: the mine did not operate continuously or at capacity; thus wages did not average more than $31.62 a month instead of the expected $60.00 or more. Nonetheless, an active advertising campaign by the coal company continued to draw laborers to the town, though there was not enough work for those already there. That, Lloyd asserted, was intentional:

> The "supply" of labor is in this way made to over-run the "demand," and the sacred character of the "immutable law of supply and demand" is given an illustration which working-men understand, even if political economists do not. The "unchanging" law, when worked in this way, increases the number of the customers who buy goods at the "pluck-me" stores kept by the company, makes wages low by the underbidding of the unemployed against the employed; it keeps the men poor, humble, and submissive to all your regulations and exactions. This method of regulating "supply and demand" is not a native product of Illinois. It is an importation from Pennsylvania." (32)

In December 1888, the coal company laid off one-third of its work force, nearly one thousand men, without notice but with assur-

ances that unemployment was only temporary. Those still employed voted to share their work with those laid off, and the miners scraped by until April 29, 1889, when all the miners were laid off, with the exception of fifty workers in the machine-dug central vein: "In one afternoon, again without previous notice, all the miners of the town were deprived of their livelihood. They had not struck; they had not asked for any increase in wages; they had made no new demands of any kind upon their employers. Simultaneously with the closing of the mines, the company's store was closed" (51). Because the coal company refused for four months even to make an offer, Lloyd charged that this refusal was but another move by the company in a carefully planned scheme to doom its own boom for further profit. Soon the town's newspapers carried dozens of local items testifying to many store closings and to a mass exodus by the miners to look for jobs elsewhere while their families waited at Spring Valley for news of their success. But many could not find work that summer because of wage reductions and strikes throughout the soft coal fields. Their reserves decimated by the partial lockout, the miners and their families were soon near starvation.

Three weeks after the shutdown, the workers formed a relief committee under the auspices of the National Progressive Union of Miners to seek aid from nearby communities. As the weeks passed without an offer from the coal company, their situation grew more desperate. By June 24, the Chicago *Tribune* reported that five hundred miners' families were at least partially dependent on charity obtained by the relief committee and that those supplies were at best meager. The only response from the coal company immediately after the lockout was to send Pinkerton police to guard its property and then, on the strength of false reports of impending violence, to organize a sheriff's posse and secure a company of state militia to patrol the town. But other than minor rock throwing, there was no violence; "and when the militia went home, they sent back contributions for the relief of the people they had been summoned to shoot" (153). Fortunately, the miners were sustained in their struggle by the local Roman Catholic priest, the Reverend John Power, who made public appeals for charity throughout the diocese, thereby ignoring suggestions made to his superiors by W. L. Scott that he stop.

Early that summer Governor Joseph Fifer appointed special commissioners to investigate conditions in the troubled Illinois coal

fields. They reported that the sufferings of the striking and locked out miners were real and implied that the proposed industrywide wage reductions were unfair. Governor Fifer took no official action, but many private citizens acted—with charity. Since the Spring Valley miners were locked out, they evoked general sympathy: the people of Peoria sent several railroad cars of supplies, and Chicago politicians and labor unions organized subscriptions and sent money and food stuffs. But Scott criticized these efforts as "interference." Late in July, the coal company served eviction notices on all of its tenants, but then its own superintendent, C. J. Devlin, a part owner, rebelled and refused to process the notices. Soon the coal company attracted unfavorable press attention; both Chicago and New York newspapers carried items critical of its actions.

Early in August, representatives of the Illinois miners' unions and the coal operators met in Chicago to try to reach an areawide settlement. Scott broke up that conference by refusing to join any agreement, saying to reporters that he would settle with his own men and would pay them at a higher scale than that fixed by any conference. On August 22, the coal company tendered its "higher" offer: seventy-five cents per ton with thirty inches of brushing (the amount of unrequited maintenance work required), three men in a room, and individual contracts. An analysis of that offer published by the miners revealed it represented in reality a reduction of "over one-half our former wages" and abolishment of the union. The men proposed a union contract of ninety cents a ton, sixteen inches of brushing, and two men in a room as fair wages, comparable to those paid by similar mines in the area. Scott claimed such a settlement was economically impossible and offered to let the workers run the mine if they would pay a royalty of fifteen cents a ton. Superintendent Devlin then offered to operate the mine and give that royalty. Scott refused, Devlin resigned, and the lockout became a strike.

Immediately, the coal company discharged its office force and announced a complete shutdown for an indeterminate period of six months to a year. But only a month later, in a public letter to Governor Fifer, Scott repeated his wage offer and provided a long explanation to justify the company's position; the union replied in kind (Lloyd reproduced both letters and relevant press commentary in a lengthy appendix). The governor sent his adjutant-general to review the situation; his report proved inconclusive—Lloyd excoriated it as superficial and imperceptive. During October, the

workers' plight became even more desperate; the strikes at all other area mines had been settled; and charity sources were drying up in the belief that the Spring Valley miners were back at work or were needlessly recalcitrant. On October 28, the coal company made a new offer of eighty-two and one-half cents per ton, twenty-four inches of brushing, and two men in a room; but it also insisted on individual contracts. By this time, the men were willing to accept the terms that were lower than any in the area, but they would not abandon their union organization. The coal company then advertised for workers throughout the Pennsylvania coal fields and threatened to fill the mines with outsiders. Two weeks later, the miners voted to accept the offer and "apply for work as 'individuals.' " Scott had achieved his twin objectives of undercutting competition and of destroying the union.

B. Lloyd's Analysis of the Implications

At this point, Lloyd turned from narration to exposition: the rest of the book (Chapters 8 through 16) is an analytical commentary, with much documentation, about the effects of the coal company's contract and about the implications for labor and the public of the methods used to obtain that contract. One result was immediate; for, despite Scott's promises to the contrary, union officials and members of the relief committee were blacklisted by the company. Another result would be felt by all the miners on May 1, 1890, when the contract expired at the beginning of the slack season when a strike or a lockout would be much less costly to the company. But Lloyd's close examination of the contract, clause by clause, revealed a much more ubiquitous and debilitating effect: without a union to act as an intermediary, the men had no recourse but to accept the company's interpretation of each provision. Thus a miner's place and his condition of work were determined quite arbitrarily, dependent often upon the whim of a despotic pit boss, and his wages were docked for any number of incontestable reasons. "The bald truth," Lloyd declared, "is that this yearly contract is slavery. It is slavery in yearly installments. Put together, year by year, it is slavery for life"(121).

From his point of view, the real defect in this contract was the method by which it was reached because it represented an unconditional surrender in a war of capital against labor. To use the term "free" contracts in such instances was a mockery: "to be free, they

must be the voluntary agreements of equal parties, made without duress, and with a full understanding of all the obligations assumed and unpaid" (107). The story of Spring Valley demonstrated how involuntary and unequal such agreements were. Lloyd suggested that only in the context of industrial warfare could the actions of Scott be understood and the eagerness of government officials to serve capital be explained: "It is safe in America for 'rulers' to treat the people with contempt; it is not safe for them to thwart the plans of the money-power, not even if they are plans to rob and murder the poor"(142). Scott himself was a congressman from Pennsylvania and, Lloyd claimed, used his wealth and political power to grind down his workers mercilessly. But the fundamental public issue involved, as Lloyd was to repeat again and again, was the nation's philosophy of political economy, Social Darwinism versus social democracy:

> The differing attitudes of the workingmen and the employers show the difference in their philosophy produced by the difference in their circumstances. The workingman represents the multitude—the people. He knows by a sure instinct that war is fatal to his welfare. The business man represents the few who aspire to supremacy over the many by war. He welcomes the struggle, with all its chances, for one of these chances is that he may win great wealth, and be elevated above all his associates. The workingman stands for the democratic principle in business; the capitalist for the oligarchic.(204)

Ironically, Lloyd pointed out, the struggle was itself a sham since victory was predestined to a favored few—not by "survival of the fittest" but by "the malign influence of the railroads" whose managers easily decreed the success or failure of a business.

In *A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners*, Lloyd made another step in his own logical move toward a program of Fabian Socialism. To his earlier antimonopolism and ethical humanism, he now added a firm belief in labor unionism. For he was fearful that an industrial war would produce a class war at the expense of democracy: "Modern business under the leadership of the Captains of Industry has developed into an unnatural fanaticism of greed, producing a seditious wealth and a morbid poverty." By exacerbating class hatred, such warfare was "leading our business civilization to destruction"(244). Only recognition of a mutual social interest by all classes could save the nation and that recognition was the goal of organized labor: "The working man knows that solitary prosperity and the

good of the people are compatible only by being made one"(92). With such a prophecy of apocalypse, yet with such faith in the saving grace of accommodation, Lloyd established his position in 1890 as a staunchly non-Marxian, middle-class social reformer.

C. Assessment

Lloyd wrote *A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners* as a tract for the times; it was number one in a projected series about "Our Bad Wealth" to be issued by Belford-Clarke Company—a series doomed by that firm's bankruptcy late in 1891 and by Lloyd's failure to elicit other authors. The structure of the book reveals its topicality: it was a polemic addressed to "You Captains of Industry" and was buttressed throughout by numerous and lengthy citations of news releases, editorials, public statements, pamphlets, contracts, letters, and wage slips—all set in small point type—plus an appendix of such items. From the title page on, it was written from a manifest bias: he clearly championed the inarticulate laborer against the glib capitalist. And it was designed to be personal, for he believed repentance and redress could be secured only by stripping corporate masks from the faces of the guilty. The necessity of that tactic was justified by Lloyd by quoting John Ruskin's statement, "although many of my discreet friends cry out upon me for allowing 'personalities,' it is my firm conviction that only by justly personal direction of blame can any abuse be vigorously dealt with"(243).

At the time of publication, Lloyd called it his "first and worst book."[4] "First" is undeniable, but "worst" should be qualified by a recognition of its format and purpose. An effective evangelical social tract, it was hastily written, sometimes disorganized, and often repetitious; but it commanded conviction through its rhetorical fervor and its massive documentation. Yet in terms of its achieving its immediate objective—the reformation of W. L. Scott—it was a dismal failure, as Lloyd ruefully admitted in a chapter added to his second edition: "No answer has been made in words, but deeds which speak louder than words have been done at Spring Valley which mean nothing if not that revenge, not reply, is the only response you mean to give"(224). Several years later, Lloyd repeated his admission of failure even more emphatically in a letter to Moritz Pinner, an elderly Abolitionist:

When I wrote the story of Spring Valley, I really believed that its revelations would have some effect upon the directors of the Railroad and the Coal

Company, I brought it out first as an open letter in one of the Chicago papers. I was younger then than I am now. It produced upon these men no effect whatever. There must be something about the possession of power—industrial power as well as any other—which makes it impossible for its possessor to believe or even see the truth as to its effect upon others. Things at Spring Valley have ever since gone on from bad to worse; and recently an appeal went out through the country for food and clothing for the people there, as they were starving. This experience makes me understand what Ruskin meant when he said: "I am done with preaching to the rich."[5]

Not until John Mitchell, who in 1889 was a young miner at Spring Valley, had organized the United Mine Workers in Illinois and had helped win the widespread bituminous coal strikes of 1897–1898 did the Spring Valley miners achieve wage parity and union recognition from Scott's company.[6] But the book did have an immediate effect upon Lloyd himself: it committed him emotionally, intellectually, and publicly to the support of labor.

II Men, the Workers

The anthology put together in 1909 to represent Lloyd's attitudes toward labor issues—*Men, the Workers*—is a miscellany of nine speeches and three articles; and most of them date from the period 1889–1895. When the collection was issued, one reviewer remarked, "its worth is to him who would understand the ideals of the labor movement as set forth by one of its most clear-sighted leaders."[7] But, to be fully understood, those ideals and the way they were expressed should be viewed against the background of Lloyd's political activities, for his aim through the last fifteen years of his life was to transform ideals into reality through a viable political coalition of labor unionists and middle-class reformers. His early hopes for that coalition were summarily frustrated by the fusion of the People's Party with the Free-Silver Democrats in 1896; nevertheless, he was theoretically committed to the concept of political action and in fact died leading just such a coalition of labor and reform.

By the early 1890's, Lloyd had become in theory a middle-class, progressive Socialist—a Fabian in spirit. In 1895, he wrote George Gates, the president of Iowa College (now Grinnell): "I have never identified myself with the Socialists as an organization. If I were in England I should certainly have affiliated with the Fabian society. I have been revolted, here, by the hard tone of the German Socialists, who are about all we have, and by the practical falsity of

the doctrine they constantly reiterate that this crisis must be met by a class struggle, and that the working people alone are to be trusted." The Fabians believed in constitutional and peaceful change effected through the processes of education and democracy—the "inevitability of gradualness," to use Sidney Webb's phrase. Thus, Lloyd wrote Gates, "instead of joining the Socialists as an organization, I have joined the People's Party."[8] Within the Illinois contingent of that party he performed the role of a respected and influential mediator between the heterogeneous forces of urban labor and rural Populism. And, as a mediator, he was very busy.

During the 1890's, labor unionism nearly foundered upon the issues inherent in political action. From 1892–1894 Samual Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, fought vehemently and successfully against committing that organization to a political identity. Conversely, labor "skates"—corrupt local labor leaders, such as Chicago's powerful William Pomeroy—cynically manipulated the votes of their men, not for policy but for personal power. In fact, the very term "unionism" was a misnomer politically; for organized labor embraced a wide and fragmented spectrum of political reform groups that were squabbling among themselves—Bellamyite Nationalists, Christian Socialists, Utopian communitarians, Georgite single-taxers, German Anarchists, old Knights of Labor conservatives, and Marxian Labor Socialists, to name the most prominent.

As a People's Party leader *qua* mediator, Lloyd found that his first Herculean task was to obtain a platform wide enough to include such disparate groups from the rolls of labor yet be within the limits tolerable to the Populists; for they too had their own jumble of disparate elements, which ranged from Southern Alliance farmers to "General" Jacob Coxey's "Commonweal" of the unemployed. Since Lloyd had to explain and defend that platform in terms acceptable to all, we are not surprised to find him writing morosely to Andrew Adair after the People's Party's self-destruction: that "The People's party is a fortuitous collection of the dissatisfied. If it had been organized around a clear-cut *principle*, of which its practical proposals were merely external expressions, it could never have been seduced into fusion, nor induced even to consider the nomination of a man like Bryan who rejects its bottom doctrine."[9]

The platform supporting the Illinois labor-Populist alliance was forged at Springfield during the cataclysmic events of the Pullman

strike, which helped serve as catalyst for the combination of some very unusual elements. There, delegates representing every facet of labor and reform politics in Illinois tenuously welded the Populists' Omaha Platform to a modified version of the 1893 American Federation of Labor political program by a majority of a single vote. Neither plan was much different from the other, except for Plank 10 of the federation's program, which demanded "the collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution." That demand was crucial to Chicago's Labor Socialists led by the indomitable Thomas Morgan, but it was antipathetic to the downstate agrarian Populists. With the convention moving toward a donnybrook, Lloyd effected a compromise—after delivering an hour long plea for moderation and unity—by substituting for Plank 10 a resolution that candidates would "pledge themselves to the principle of the collective ownership by the people of all such means of production and distribution as the people elect for the commonwealth."[10] With this platform "uniting" them, the Chicago contingent waged a quarrelsome but vigorous campaign that culminated on November 3 in a mammoth torchlight parade through the Loop. But that campaign was marred by large-scale defections of single-taxers after Henry George's pointed refusal to endorse the ticket, by well-organized opposition from the conservative Chicago trade unions led by William Pomeroy, and by attempts on the part of both major parties to wreck the coalition's organization from within. The Illinois marriage of labor to Populism was shaky at best.

As its candidate for Congress from the Seventh District, Lloyd gave one of the three major speeches at the People's Party's second mass rally in Chicago on October 6, along with Clarence Darrow and the highly respected Lyman Trumbull. Though this speech was widely distributed in pamphlet form at the time (perhaps as many as one-hundred-thousand copies), it was not included in any of the posthumous collections of Lloyd's works; however, it was republished by Chester Destler in *American Radicalism 1865–1901* because he regarded it as a document of major significance to an understanding of the urban Populist movement. Entitled "The Revolution Is Here," it provides us with a convenient touchstone for judging Lloyd's collected speeches to and about labor, for they too were political oratory to a large extent. It also demonstrates the unity underlying his many reform activities because he skillfully blended Jeffersonian democratic principles with antimonopolism

with non-Marxian Socialism with a Transcendental belief in an ethical revolution in social values.

Above all else, his speech was inspirational and hortatory: the time for revolutionary political reform had come, and the message must be broadcast and action taken. In the speech, Lloyd envisioned the Springfield Platform as the basis for a nationwide, labor-Populist coalition that could possibly capture the presidential elections by 1896; and, as Destler points out, Lloyd saw "the Cook County Populist campaign as the spearhead of the movement to transform the People's party into the American counterpart" of the recently formed British Independent Labour Party. For, Lloyd declared, "the great political fact of our time" was the formation of new reform parties "all over the world wherever popular government exists"—England, France, Germany, Australia—and that was due primarily to unionism: "In organizing against modern capitalism the workingmen set the example which all the people are now driven by self-preservation to follow. The trades union of the workingmen was the precursor of the farmers' alliance, the grange, and the people's party"(217).

He saw in the political fusion of those groups a true union of the interests of a democratic people, a harmonizing of the limited collectivism of the rural Populists with the native Socialism of the middle-class Nationalists and the urban laborers. Thus he preferred the non-Marxian connotations of Laurence Gronlund's phrase "the cooperative commonwealth" when describing the Socialist program of the People's Party, a program that sought to "democratize collective industry": "The co-operative commonwealth is the legitimate offspring and lawful successor of the republic. Our liberties and our wealth are from the people and by the people and both must be for the people. Wealth, like government, is the product of the co-operation of all, and, like government, must be the property of all its creators, not of a privileged few alone. The principles of liberty, equality, union, which rule in the industries we call government must rule in all industries"(218). Appealing to his audience's patriotic faith in constitutional government and in the rights of all men, Lloyd based his political abstractions upon the Lockean principles of the nation's founding fathers and shaped his rhetoric to the concrete diction and colloquial rhythms of Abraham Lincoln and Ralph Waldo Emerson. It is that same oratorical blend of the practical, the theoretical, and the inspirational that we find in his labor speeches.

And it is in a Fabian's dogged faith in political meliorism that we discover their overall purpose.

A. The Philosophy of Labor: "The Labor Movement"

The first selection, "The Labor Movement," is the speech Lloyd gave July 4, 1889, at a huge American Federation of Labor–sponsored demonstration for the eight hour day. The eight hour day had been a national goal of organized labor for several decades: in 1866, it was endorsed by the National Labor Union, the first effective general federation of labor in the United States; and, by 1870, it was applied to most job categories within the federal government. In 1886, the large but loose Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions called a long-planned general strike for the eight hour day in transportation and industry, a strike defeated by opposition from Terence Powderly of the Knights of Labor and by adverse public reaction caused by press hysteria over the Haymarket "riot." Two years later, the recently formed American Federation of Labor started a new, more limited drive for the eight hour day, which culminated successfully in 1890 in a series of strikes by the building tradesmen. In support of that drive, Lloyd was invited to speak at that Independence Day rally by the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly. But he did not limit his remarks to the topic of the day; instead, he reviewed the demands of labor from the broader, more philosophical perspective of a detached political scientist. And because of that perspective, this speech marks his emergence as the leading intellectual of the Chicago labor movement during the 1890's.

After an introduction developing the almost mandatory analogy of the "spirit of '76" to the spirit of labor, Lloyd moved quickly to establish his thesis that the eight hour day should be viewed as but one step in the much more significant quest by labor for universal social justice: "Whoever does not understand this, that the demonstrations of to-day are but the effort to realize in a single detail one aspiration of a new politics, a new industry, which, in their full development, will be of world-wide sweep—whoever does not understand this has not the faintest conception of what the labor movement is" (9). For labor recognized that the only way to achieve an equitable industrial society was to follow the humanistic philosophy of the Golden Rule.

And once again he attacked the doctrine of Social Darwinism as

specious, as "the old theological doctrine of total depravity applied to industry" to be used by the elect, the wealthy, to prove that poverty is the fault of the poor. But labor recognized that doctrine as intrinsically false inasmuch as, under its banner of "free competition," monopoly marched in to pervert the commonwealth and to create class conflict. Therefore, Lloyd observed, it was not labor who sought to pit one class against another, nor was it the new "foreigners" arriving daily to accept the American promise, it was instead the established citizens of great wealth, the monopolists who "have gotten great riches by the labor of their fellows, and . . . are using these riches to impoverish their fellows by the legerdemain of the markets. We see them using the wealth which only the freedom of their native land enabled them to win to destroy that freedom, and before high heaven we solemnly declare that these men are the real foreigners, the real strangers, the real aliens of America!" (29). Labor, in contrast, sought to readjust society for the common good: "The labor movement is not one of self-seekers demanding to get their rights, but of brothers seeking to put things to rights"(23).

In pursuing that line of reasoning, Lloyd established two points fundamental to his attitude toward the labor movement. First, labor was a positive force for social evolution; it offered the only viable approach toward solving the problems of an industrial world because its emphasis was on brotherhood, on the common good rather than on individual self-interest. Second, the rank and file in American labor organizations were wise, patient, honest seekers of that common good; they would not allow their struggle to be sidetracked by Marxian appeals to class-conscious goals, nor by the solipsisms of violence, the enticements of panaceas, or the bigotry of endemic Know-Nothings. To give authority to that analysis, he quoted from such contemporary thinkers as Emerson, Ruskin, Carlyle, Benjamin Disraeli, J.S. Mill, Thorold Rogers, and John Morley. Moreover, Lloyd also placed that analysis firmly within a patriotic context of American history and political philosophy. Thus he translated a July 4 speech supporting the demand for an eight hour day into a heady appeal for universal social betterment.

Lloyd contended that labor had answers to the diverse problems created by industry, but to find them it needed the leisure gained from the eight hour day: "In the midst of this babel of warnings, Labor only says quietly: 'Give us a little of our time every day to think. You have made us citizens and partners in the Govern-

ment—the greatest co-operative institution society has yet produced. It is our votes must decide war or peace, the tenure of land, the issue of money, the control of trade, the maintenance of justice, the general welfare, the course of society through the threatening future. Give us a little of our time every day to think. Let us have the eight-hour day"(42–43).

B. Labor's Right to Organize: "The Union Forever," "The New Independence," and "The Safety of the Future Lies in Organized Labor"

Both "The Union Forever," a lecture Lloyd gave originally before the Chicago Nationalist Club in 1889, and "The New Independence," an address he first read before the Chicago Sunset Club in 1890, were oratorical arguments that supported the rights and duties of labor unions. He tailored both speeches to a middle-class audience, and he repeated them frequently through 1896 in his efforts to defend labor and to explain its political aims.[11] In them, he presented four similar points. First, the exigencies of modern industry had brought capital into powerful combinations; therefore, labor too had to organize to secure its just claim to the production of wealth. Second, the labor movement was but the logical extension of the principles of freedom fought for in the American Revolution and Civil War. Third, in contrast to the destructiveness of the creed of wealth, Social Darwinism, labor's belief in a Christlike doctrine of brotherhood offered the only practicable possibility of achieving Utopia. Fourth, the key to progress for mankind, therefore, lay in the sympathetic support of labor unions.

The first and second points were interrelated. Though America had abolished Negro slavery, it had not and would not abolish wage slavery until its executive, legislative, and judicial branches sanctioned the rights of labor unions: "It was the essence of slavery that the master made both sides of all contracts in which the slave was interested. The present attempt of the employer to make both sides of the workingmen's contract is an attempt to send him back to his old status of servitude" (139). And that, Lloyd noted, was recognized toward the end of the Civil War by Lincoln, who warned the American people "that class laws placing capital above labor are more dangerous to the Republic at this hour than chattel slavery in the days of its haughtiest supremacy" (70).

The third point, that about Social Darwinism, was newly topical,

but it did echo Lloyd's previous attacks on *laissez-faire* ethics. Andrew Carnegie had just published in the *North American Review* an effective apologia for the doctrine of Social Darwinism, as qualified by private charity, which became well-known as the "Gospel of Wealth."[12] To Lloyd, the inordinate power of wealth made that concept of "free" competition a fraud; and such charity, dictated by wealth, made a mockery of American institutions. It was the labor movement which provided the true means to a better society: "another brotherhood has been born out of the nearness of man to man made possible by modern civilization—this brotherhood is the Labor Movement. It is humble, poor, till yesterday almost inarticulate, with few friends in high places. To all the haughty pretensions of the Money Power it says, No, and it backs up its No as the first Christians back up their No to Roman power, by the sacrifice and martyrdom of the lives of its men, women, and children" (54–55). Thus Lloyd's message in these two speeches was his fourth point—that labor's struggle against the moneyed few should be heartily seconded by the middle class because, "when these few thousands have achieved the power they are now reaching for, of making both sides of all the bargains made in this country, for workingmen, farmers, and the clerks and middlemen, what will become of *us?*" (147). Such a question was expressly aimed at the middle-class Nationalists, whom he was similar to in theory but more radical than in action.[13]

At the invitation of Samuel Gompers, Lloyd delivered the address "The Safety of the Future Lies in Organized Labor" before the thirteenth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Chicago on December 12, 1893. This speech was quickly issued in pamphlet form by authority of the convention at the request of the Labor Socialist contingent, and it was also widely reprinted in labor journals because it gave philosophical support to the call by the rank and file for political action—a call strenuously opposed by Gompers himself. For in the July 1892 issue of the *North American Review*, Gompers had published a short article that publicly proclaimed his reluctance to commit the federation to a partisan position; to do so, he argued, would destroy its primary function as an economic force.[14] But the question of political action was rendered more immediate by the major economic panic of 1893. Lloyd had appealed to Gompers by letter and in person during that year trying to win his endorsement of the People's Party; still, Gompers con-

tinued to resist labor's entry into party politics, though he was willing to endorse specific moderate political issues. His position was clearly contrary to the current wishes of the membership; for the convention, as part of a series of parliamentary battles, passed a far-reaching political reform program proposed by Chicago's Socialist labor leader, Thomas Morgan; and many locals formed political alliances before the 1894 elections.

Amidst that conflict of wills, then, Lloyd presented his address which upheld one main premise: labor unions must organize for political action to achieve a "new democracy of human welfare." He introduced that premise through a rhetorical question: "Workingmen have the undoubted right of organization. The question of the day is: 'What are they going to do with it?' " His answer was that "the liberty of union can be preserved only by using the union to get more liberty" (77); and the rest of his speech was a development of that principle. He suggested that American labor should take its cue from the successful struggle being waged by British labor. Through the newly formed Independent Labour Party led by Keir Hardie, a friend of Lloyd's, "organized workingmen of London have compelled its government to adopt trades-union principles as an employer"(82). And the national government was beginning to respond to the aspirations of the workers, but only because "they used their power of organized labor as a stepping-stone to the greater power of organized citizenship"(88). In the United States, it was axiomatic that labor had a right to share in the produce of its work, but that right was denied daily by an oligopoly-controlled governmental system that was contrary to the most basic principles of its Founding Fathers. Therefore, Lloyd argued, "all cannot remain politically free if all are not economically free. Political freedom is but the first installment of economic freedom. The trade-union, even the federation, is but the initial step in the organization of labor." Then he appealed to the convention, "shall we go on?"(97).

C. *In re Debs*: "Strikes and Injunctions," "Speech at the Reception to Eugene V. Debs," "Boomerang Law," and "Lessons of the Debs Case"

The summer of 1894 witnessed events that would stalemate for nearly a decade efforts by labor leaders to win effective bargaining power for industrial workers. On May 1, the eleven month old American Railway Union, under the leadership of Eugene Debs and

through a favorable arbitration award, settled its three week old strike against the Great Northern Railroad in protest of three successive pay cuts. Elated by this victory, the delegates to the American Railway Union convention in Chicago early in June voted, against Debs's advice, for a sympathetic boycott of Pullman sleeping cars in support of a month long strike by workers at the Pullman Palace Car Company. That boycott, set for June 26, precipitated the inevitable and crucial confrontation between the railway union and the powerful General Managers' Association, a pool representing twenty-four railroads that served Chicago and the Midwest. Ignoring hostility to the boycott by the leadership of the brotherhood unions, many operating and yard crews refused to work trains containing Pullman cars. To force the issue, the association refused to run trains without Pullman cars. By July 2, the strike appeared successful: enough railroad workers had rallied to the support of the railway union that traffic throughout the Midwest had come to a standstill in spite of strenuous efforts by the Managers' Association to break the strike.

But the Managers' Association had a major ally in United States Attorney General Richard Olney, a former corporation lawyer and railroad director of extraordinarily limited social vision. At the request of the Managers' Association, Olney appointed a Chicago railroad lawyer to the post of ad hoc federal attorney with the understanding he would confront the railway union with "a force which is overwhelming and prevents any attempt at resistance."[15] On July 2, this attorney secured from two federal judges a sweeping injunction that they themselves helped write that prohibited any act or speech in support of the boycott. The leaders of the railway union decided to ignore the injunction and to face possible contempt of court proceedings. But, during the next two days, widespread enforcement of that writ began to jeopardize the railway union's organization. Then, aided by overwrought newspaper reports and resulting public apprehension, Olney used a misleading appeal for military intervention from federal officials in Chicago to persuade President Grover Cleveland to order contingents of the United States Army sent the night of July 3 to "protect the mails" in Chicago and at other Midwest railroad terminals without consulting any local or state officials. Immediately, federal attorneys in Chicago added five thousand specially appointed deputy marshals to police the city; and the reaction was quick and hot. Illinois Governor John Altgeld and the governors

of four other states sent vigorous protests to President Cleveland; Chicago, which under local control had remained relatively calm, erupted into three days of mob riots against railroad property; but much of the violence, it now appears, was caused by the hastily deputized marshals.[16]

In the middle of this chaos, Debs tried to keep his organization intact and maintain the boycott; but his arrest on July 7, along with three other top railway union officials, on new charges of conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce heralded the failure of his efforts. Released on ten thousand dollars bond each, the railway union leaders appealed to Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor to call a general sympathy strike in support of the flagging boycott; but, after much deliberation, the federation turned down their request. On July 17, the Debs group was again arrested, this time for contempt of court with reference to the July 2 injunction; and, refusing to post bail, they were jailed. The General Managers' Association had won. In the judicial aftermath, the four indicted union leaders were not convicted on the broad conspiracy count because their jury trial was suspended on a technicality by the presiding judge, who was one of the two who had issued the July 2 injunction; the government never reinitiated proceedings. But jail sentences imposed upon them by that judge for contempt of court were upheld on appeal, in spite of arguments by Clarence Darrow and Lyman Trumbull that the injunction they ignored was grossly unconstitutional and set a precedent for judicial despotism.

Lloyd was very much interested in these events, but he saw them as but pieces in a larger pattern of oligopoly-directed governmental tyranny—a pattern that in Chicago included the earlier Haymarket convictions and the contemporary police harassment of labor assemblies. He had spent the evening of July 3 with Governor Altgeld in his executive office in Springfield and had observed his preparations to deploy state militia whenever local authorities called for help. Lloyd was thus astonished when he learned that President Cleveland had unilaterally ordered federal troops into Chicago that very evening.[17] After the railway union leaders were jailed, he contributed to their defense fund, initiated a correspondence with Debs to offer him advice and encouragement, and conferred about their case with his friends Darrow and Trumbull. Over the next year, he also contributed his voice to publicizing the social issues that he felt were inherent in these events. His point of view was that

of a social activist who was convinced that such events only paved the way for a labor-Populist political revolution, a view he explained in a letter to Darrow on November 23, 1894:

> The conviction of the A. R. U. men I have expected from the beginning. Our judges register the ruling opinion, as judges always do, and that means at all hazards to put a stop to the strike. They will pretend that they are punishing for violence, but that is a pretence. Their real purpose is, and has been, to stop the strike. . . . They will probably send Debs to jail—Olney's recent pronunciamento was intended to pave the way, putting the authorities in the attitude of friends of labor unions, to strengthen their coming claim that they are condemning not labor but violence—and nothing more destructive to themselves could they do. It is only by the aggressions of the enemy that the people can be united. Events must be our leaders, and we will have them. I am not discouraged. The radicalism of the fanatics of wealth fills me with hope. They are likely to do for us what the South did for the North in 1861.[18]

In his speech "Strikes and Injunctions," delivered October 24, 1894, as part of a formal debate before an audience at the Sunset Club that included one of the judges who had issued the July 2 writ, Lloyd hammered at one major point: "philosophically and practically, law and right are not the same"(156). Constitutionally, the determination of that right resided in the people, he pointed out; and, insofar as the judiciary did not reflect the will of the people, it had perverted its principal trust. The previously unprecedented power of injunctions now issued by corporation attorneys turned judges, to be used unchecked by other agents of the people in the service of wealth, augured ill for the future of the republic because "power is always progressive—for power"(162). But, more than that, Lloyd argued, the real harbinger of danger was the president's resort to armed force in order to maintain industrial relations:

> This discontent of the people is more righteous than the spirit which would repress it without remedying the causes. Monopoly has made the army necessary. The more armies you have the more armies you will need and the more monopoly you will get. There is only one way in which the American public in the nineteenth century of Christian civilization, and the one hundred and eighteenth year of the declaration of the equal rights of man, can save its legal or moral right to be served by even one worker, no matter how humble. That sole way is to render equal service for service, and to make it so pleasant and profitable, so safe in love and justice to serve, that all hands and hearts will flow freely into deeds of reciprocal brotherli-

ness. A nation that has to send Gatling guns and bayonets, parks of artillery and major-generals, to drive men to serve each other, and has to use force through the medium of injunctions, however legal they may be, is a nation whose social units have already been driven apart by unpunished injustice. To reunite them by force is impossible; that attempt has often been made, but never successfully.(169–70)

His conclusion had by now become a refrain; the nation could survive and flourish only by granting labor equal justice.

When Eugene Debs walked out of Woodstock jail on November 22, 1895, large crowds cheered him on his way to Chicago and jammed into Battery D Armory for a public reception in his honor. Before Debs spoke to that tumultuous audience, welcoming speeches were given by Henry Lloyd and Colorado Governor David Waite. In that "Speech at the Reception of Eugene V. Debs," Lloyd fiercely attacked government by injunction and declared that to continue on those terms labor faced a cruel dilemma, for it "must be either slaves or criminals"(182). Describing Debs as the "victim of judicial lynch law," he praised him for his courageous decision to be a criminal for the freedom of labor: "In the history of progress tyranny has always been the turnkey, liberty always the convict"(183). But labor could find the remedy for such tyranny in its own maxim that "all must live for all." And it could administer that remedy through the ballot box: "If you can vote public lands and public bonds and public streets and public rights to private citizens for private profit, can you not vote the same to the public for public railroads, telegraphs, telephones, street-cars, gas-companies, for public profit?"(187). If workers would only realize their political power, he argued, they could establish a truly cooperative commonwealth:

The labor movement is another rise of the people—rising to establish liberty, fraternity, and equality as the law of industry, as they already made the law of the republic. The labor movement is the third great historic crisis of democracy. The first abolished the altar monopolist, the second abolished the throne monopolist, the third will abolish the moneybag monopolist. The first made men equal as brothers by the fatherhood of all humanity; the second made them equal as fellow citizens; the third, the labor movement, will make them equal as co-workers in cooperative industry, of all, by all, for all.(190)

The other two selections on this topic were short newspaper articles; both repeated points found in the previous speeches, but each contained a significantly separate thesis. One was a guest editorial Lloyd wrote for the Labor Day edition of *The Railway Times* (September 2, 1895), the official weekly of the American Railway Union, then edited by Debs from his jail cell. Lloyd's theme was explicit in the title, "Boomerang Law," for he predicted the middle classes would deeply regret their present support of government by injunction because it would next be applied to them: "The middle classes of America, who are helping a few thousand plutocrats to take away the working people's rights, are establishing the mischievous precedent by which, when the time comes, their own rights will be forfeited"(177).

The other article was a commentary entitled "Lessons of the Debs Case" that appeared in the November 30, 1895, issue of *The Coming Nation*, a weekly published by the year old Ruskin Cooperative Association at Cave Mills, Tennessee. Several months prior to the printing of Lloyd's article, the well-known Socialist editor Julius Wayland had resigned his management of that newspaper and had left Ruskin Colony in a huff as a result of friction within the community. With that in mind Lloyd addressed himself to a major problem intrinsic to social reform movements, one he was personally confronting within the Chicago labor-Populist coalition—the problem of self-defeating factionalism. Using the "Debs case" as his text—specifically its revelations about the disunity within the labor movement itself—Lloyd preached the need for a new spirit of co-operation. Repeatedly defeated by the power of monopolists united in a negative religion of self-interest, the people had to transcend their mutual suspicions, he insisted, and find strength in organized self-sacrifice, the positive religion of the co-operative commonwealth: "Not until the anti-monopolists, grangers, and workingmen adopted this creed of political Christianity, industrial religion, economic patriotism, organized love of man for man in the world of busy-ness will they be able to unite and conquer"(199).

But that sermon went unheeded. In July 1896, when Debs refused to allow his nomination for the presidency at the People's Party convention, Lloyd's campaign for immediate political reform met defeat because that refusal allowed the Pyrrhic victory of the free-silverites who supported Bryan—a nomination for president

which resulted in the disintegration of a bickering, leaderless party. As Lloyd watched the destruction of his immediate hopes at that convention, he turned sadly to "Mother" Mary Jones, the fiery mine union agitator, and asked, "What is this they are serving us, Mother Jones? Isn't this damnable? This is the funeral of the People's Party."[19] Yet he spent the rest of his life, though disheartened by that funeral, resolutely spreading the word of a coming resurrection and millenium.

D. Contracts and Arbitration: "Illinois Factory Law Speech," "Arbitration," "Argument before the Anthracite Strike Commission," and "Speech at the Mitchell-Darrow-Lloyd Reception"

During 1892–1893, Henry Lloyd had helped draft resolutions and organize public demonstrations by Chicago trade unions, social reformers, and other concerned citizens in support of Governor Altgeld's factory regulatory program that was then before the Illinois legislature. Lloyd also headed the committee of Chicago reformers that went to Springfield to lobby for that factory legislation. Aimed primarily at Chicago's sweatshop garment industry, the resulting Illinois Factory Act of 1893 restricted manufacturing in tenement houses; prohibited the employment of children in factories; fixed an eight hour day for women; and, most important, provided for practical inspection and enforcement of its provisions. On Lloyd's advice, Governor Altgeld appointed Florence Kelley as chief factory inspector and provided her with funds for a staff of twelve. Supported by Hull House and armed with a quickly earned law degree from Northwestern University, Mrs. Kelley made the administration of this law so effective that Marshall Field, the department store magnate, and other sweatshop beneficiaries vociferously attacked it as an unconstitutional violation by the state of the rights of private industry.

Meeting that attack head on, Lloyd participated in a public debate between supporters and opponents of that law before the Chicago Women's Alliance on April 22, 1894. Simply entitled "Factory Law Speech," his remarks focused upon the constitutional question raised—Does the state have the right under its police powers to regulate and supervise industrial contracts? Lloyd's answer was an emphatic "yes." Noting that the Constitution derived its authority from the collective will of the people, he affirmed that the people of Illinois had every right "to take cognizance of the

helpless wretchedness of the women and children connected with the 'sweat-shop' industries, and to throw about them the protecting arm of the Commonwealth, as other civilized communities have done"(113).

He established his case by references to precedents in other countries, in other times, and in other areas of contract law. His corollary was that "modern civilization can be defined with accuracy as the progressive denial by the state of the right of individuals to make contracts inconsistent with the welfare of the community, and, as included in this, civilization more and more denies the right of the strong to make contracts with the weak to the disadvantage of the weak"(115). Turning once again to what he considered the fundamental error of his opponents, their self-serving reliance upon the theories of Social Darwinism, he scored them mercilessly for being purblind worshippers of Herbert Spencer's "doctrine of selfishness" because "evolution upward in the breathing pages of brothers and sisters' lives they have no eyes for"(123). He closed his argument with the now familiar invocation of a "cooperative commerce, and a humanity where men will have learned that they become more 'individual' as they become more brotherly"(130).

Though a decade apart, two of the selections in *Men, the Workers* follow mutually similar arguments about how to achieve equity. The first was the short article "Arbitration" published in the 1892 *Handbook of the National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers*. It demonstrates that Lloyd had explored the arguments for arbitration well before his much-publicized investigation of New Zealand's compulsory arbitration law. Citing the manifold refusals by employers to arbitrate except when forced to, in spite of labor's ostensible willingness and the existence in some states of governmental machinery to facilitate that process, he postulated, as in many of his other essays, that such employers were morally enthralled by the short-sighted doctrine of laissez faire and that they ignored higher ethical demands to humanize the contracts they made with their workers. More pragmatically, he suggested that employers thereby ignored their own larger welfare because, through arbitration, their businesses could function without costly stoppage and disorder.

This central point he developed in his "Argument before the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission" in 1903. Clarence Darrow had asked him to prepare and present the United Mine Workers' case

for the union's fourth demand of the commission—the demand for a "permanent trade agreement." Lloyd opened by observing that President Roosevelt, the public, and the United Mine Workers expected the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission to provide a "permanent" means for administering the contract settlement it would recommend; to do otherwise would only insure a recurrence of the same injustices and the same disruption. He acknowledged that only through voluntary negotiation and conciliation between the parties themselves could an ideally equitable and lasting contract be secured; but, until the mine owners recognized and acknowledged that fact, the duty of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission was to establish an effective system to secure that process.

By 1903, Lloyd had earned a reputation as an expert in the field of industrial arbitration, both from his book *A Country Without Strikes* and from his numerous articles and speeches on that topic. He used that expertise to survey working instances of arbitrated trade agreements in Australasia, Great Britain, and the United States to support his contention that, to be effective, an arbitrated trade agreement must meet three requirements: first, it "should be made with a national organization of employees able to enforce discipline upon local bodies"; second, it should contain "a provision that there shall be no strikes or lockouts pending investigation and decision by the standing committees representing both sides"; and third, it should provide for "an umpire, to be called in only when the parties cannot agree, and his decision to be only on the specific points of disagreement"(227). Lloyd's great hope, he told the Anthracite Coal Strike Commissioners, was that their award would "push forward one step further the evolution of the development of some organic authority in that field of conflict"(235).

On February 16, two days after the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission had concluded its public proceedings, Lloyd, Darrow, and Mitchell addressed an enthusiastic crowd at a Chicago celebration given in their honor by organized labor. Lloyd spoke first. In this "Speech at the Mitchell-Darrow-Lloyd Reception" he compared their situation to that of Debs eight years before to demonstrate how such similar events had brought such disparate results. Their reception was held in the Auditorium Theater, "the finest and largest assembly room in America"; Debs's, in "the dim and dingy old Battery D." Both the 1894 railway strike and the 1902 anthracite strike had interrupted industry and had affected the public interest,

but the public and its agents had learned something in those eight years: "It knows now that, whoever may be responsible for these interruptions, it is not the men, who only ask for reason and arbitration"(254). Consequently, while Debs went to his reception straight from jail, they came to theirs straight from special arbitration hearings. President Cleveland had broken the American Railway Union strike with military intervention and government by injunction; President Roosevelt had settled the United Mine Workers strike with personal intervention and government by arbitration. As a result of such changes, the public and its servants had learned that "between the people and the money-monopoly power—that most dreadful of all tyrannies—there stands to-day but one organization of labor"(259). Then, with an ideological imperative consistent with all his previous calls for social reform, Lloyd concluded by enjoining his prolabor audience to follow the successful example of Mitchell and his men in their fight with the anthracite coal monopoly: "Let us remember how it was done, and go and do likewise—all of us, everywhere"(260).

CHAPTER 5

A Transcendental Pragmatist: Man, The Social Creator *and* Mazzini And Other Essays

AS a social theorist, Lloyd demonstrated a curious blend of the eclectic and the homogeneous, the ideal and the pragmatic. To some extent, he simply mirrored in both his words and deeds the liberal intellectual trends of his day; to some extent, he consistently reflected his own personally developed Transcendental beliefs in a humanistic Socialism. His many and varied public utterances heralded several major reform movements, but to determine how much he influenced or was influenced by those movements is difficult. For the range of Lloyd's correspondence indicates a remarkable acquaintance with the advanced social thinkers of his time. Indeed, the index of correspondents compiled from his voluminous files of letters by staff members of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin represents a comprehensive "who's who" in social reform, especially during the last decade of his life. Conspicuous among the many names were those of leaders of two important reform ideologies: one group represents the historical school of "new economics"—Professors Richard Ely, E. Benjamin Andrews, Edward Bemis, Frank Parsons, and John B. Clark; another group, the influential but amorphous Social Gospel movement—William Salter, William D. P. Bliss, Lyman Abbott, Washington Gladden, and George Herron.[1] Notable among the many other prominent activists and intellectuals were the philosophers Henry C. Adams and William James, the social problem novelists W. D. Howells and Edward Bellamy, the sociologists John Bascom and Albion Small, the Marxists Friedrich Engels and Laurence Gronlund, and the English Socialists William Clarke and Kier Hardie.

Lloyd's collected notebooks reveal his wide acquaintance also with the works of many nineteenth century historians, political

economists, philosophers, and social critics. During the years 1879–1881, for example, he recorded in those notebooks his study of historical and economic treatises by Walter Bagehot, Henry Maine, Thomas Leslie, Wilhelm Roscher, and Leslie Stephen, which he contrasted to works by John S. Mill, John Cairnes, Herbert Spencer, Jeremy Bentham, and Richard Cobden to arrive at his own independent rejection of laissez-faire economics and his recognition of the empirical validity of the historical approach. Consequently, his public attack in 1881–1882 upon the laissez-faire school predates by several years his acquaintance with those academics who were the vanguard of the new economics in the United States. Likewise, during the 1880's, his extensive reading from the works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, Joseph Mazzini, and Thomas H. Green—plus an intensive study with his friend William Salter of the philosophical systems of Immanuel Kant, George Friedrich Hegel, and Auguste Comte—caused him to formulate a somewhat unmethodical and personal approach to social ethics.

David Noble in *The Paradox of Progressive Thought* describes Lloyd's philosophy as a metaphysical "dualism between a real world that had to be conquered and an ideal that had to conquer."[2] That dualism Lloyd superimposed on an ineradicable Christian outlook, one derived from his Dutch Calvinist heritage, to produce a moral imperative similar in its transcendent aims to those of Christian Socialism. His presentation of that ethical ideology in his article "The New Conscience" in the September 1888 issue of the *North American Review* coincided fortuitously with the rise in the United States of the comparable Social Gospel movement. Thus in both economics and ethics he appealed to new but already awakened attitudes, and he exercised an influence upon them difficult to assess because of their very topicality. One fact to emerge clear from any attempt at assessment, however, is that, as a social theorist, he did make a significant contribution to major reform programs of the 1890's and beyond.

In maturity, Lloyd judged social issues by means of a Transcendental idealism as if they were religious or moral questions. Ironically, as a young man searching for a profession, he had written in confidence to Henry Keenan, "I am too unconventionally and unaffectedly pious to be a minister, I can do what ministers can't do, I can be right without being religious. . . ."[3] His later works proved

that his early self-evaluation was partly wrong; for, beyond any other quality, his moral values were imbued with a religious spirit. In fact, the principal postulate of his ethical system, as expressed in *Man, the Social Creator* (1906), derived from Christian morality: "Our special task is to iterate and reiterate to the people that Society is organized love, and the Golden Rule its law" (24). But he was right to describe himself as unconventionally pious, for he eventually professed a creed similar to a Unitarian's, as he informed a ministerial correspondent in 1894: "Christ seems to me of value only as a symbolical figure illustrating the possibilities of humanity; and I think the inspiration of the future will come from the vision to the people that there is in every one of them a possible Christ and an actual God."[4]

Moreover, Lloyd regarded the church as an antiquated, hypocritical institution, as he explained in a letter to the Reverend Quincy Dowd, a Winnetka minister who had asked why Lloyd had refused to join the church: "the Church now appears to me to have become impractical, formal, devoted to the show of creed, doctrine and ceremony, rather than to the exposition of the real truth which though through a glass darkly, I catch glimpses of all through nature and humanity welling up continually fresh and beautiful, ceaseless dawns of new days."[5] Rejecting what he regarded as the self-serving, pessimistic dogmatism of institutional Christianity, he developed instead an optimistic creed of social progress evolving through man's altruism—one acting in harmony with the "good and true" as they emanated from primal spirit through nature. In the idealistic temper of that belief he was very much a disciple of Emerson; in fact, in a letter to Thomas Morgan, the Chicago Labor Socialist, Lloyd recommended that he read Emerson as the mentor of their age:

> I believe his to be the greatest mind of our times—perhaps of all times. He seems to have absorbed all prior learning, and with this to have seen deeper into the mind of man and nature, and farther into the future than any other poet, or philosopher. . . . He has his limitations, of course; he closed his intellectual life a generation ago. There are many contemporary questions on which he would have been glad to be instructed by you. But if you want the guidance of a mind which will lead you over the bridge of culture, and give you from the highest point of view the key to the great thoughts that have made human history, I recommend . . . Emerson.[6]

And Lloyd followed his own advice, for he centered his religious beliefs fully within Emersonian monism, the view that spirit and matter were one, that society organically progressed toward identity with God, the Spirit, the Over-Soul.

Emerson best expressed that belief in the spiritual progress of matter in his essay "Nature": "All things are moral; and in their boundless changes have an unceasing reference to spiritual nature."[7] From that perception of a spiritual principle that organically structured the Cosmos, Emerson derived his conception of man's function in this world: if man performed his role truthfully, he was himself a living expression of that unity of design inherent in the Over-Soul, part of the microcosm (the world) reflecting the macrocosm (the Over-Soul or the Cosmos). One of man's tasks was to widen his perception of truth through meaningful action so that he could satisfactorily express the will of the Over-Soul. As Emerson explained in "Nature," "The central Unity is still more conspicuous in actions. Words are finite organs of the infinite mind. They cannot cover the dimensions of what is in truth. They break, chop and impoverish it. An action is the perfection and publication of thought. A right action seems to fill the eye, and be related to all nature."[8] Actions are an affirmation of the unity of the Cosmos; through action, man relates his being to the material world and gathers the spiritual knowledge necessary to express his being meaningfully upon that material world in order to increase social progress.

But Lloyd did not follow Emerson to a serene acceptance of the timelessness of that progress. In the essay "The Transcendentalist," Emerson asserted that, "Unless the action is necessary, unless it is adequate, I do not wish to perform it. I do not wish to do one thing but once"[9]. And in "Self-Reliance," he affirmed that "not in time is the race progressive"; and he described mankind's advance as a slow cumulative process, metaphorically similar to the timeless, communal action of waves: "Society is a wave. The wave moves onward, but the water of which it is composed does not"[10]. Lloyd was unable to accept such a detached, macrocosmic view of social progress. He wished to express his perception of spiritual truth through immediate political action, even though such action was theoretically imperfect. On the issue of application, then, Lloyd departed from Emerson's teachings to follow the more aggressive idealism of

Thomas Carlyle in his time-haunted spiritual struggle to proclaim an "Everlasting Yea." For Carlyle proclaimed in *Sartor Resartus* that "here, in this poor, miserable, hampered, despicable Actual, wherein thou even now standest, here or nowhere is thy Ideal: work it out therefrom; and working, believe, live, be free. Fool: the Ideal is in thyself, the impediment too is in thyself: thy Condition is but the stuff thou art to shape that same Ideal out of. . . ."[11] With similar Calvinistic zeal for action and for the furthering of a worldly New Jerusalem, Lloyd wished to imprint spirit upon matter without delay.

This dualism between theory and practice, the passive and the active, is revealed in Lloyd's commendation of the impulse to act that was exhibited in Jane Addams's founding of Hull House: "While others speculated and theorized and patented complicated mechanisms for the perpetual motion of social harmony, this simple and living impulse offered itself as a sacrifice to prove that all men needed to do was to live together, and that it was not sacrifice, but delight, and honor, and safety."[12] So, while Lloyd proclaimed the ultimate suasive power of a spiritual idealism, he also advocated immediate social change through adoption of the ethical-political programs of Fabian Socialism.[13] He contended that, through a political application of the Golden Rule to economic forces, man could extend the increasing material benefits of an industrialized world with more justice to all its citizens and thereby grant each one more freedom to achieve his spiritual potential.

In the manuscript of his tentative announcement "Why I Join the Socialists," dated June 1903, he made that political connection between the material and the spiritual explicit:

> The unresting genius of discovery and invention is enabling man to revolutionise his physical environment and make him every year the master of another force that the year before was his master. The same genius of creation is stirring now to revolutionise the social environment. Man has always been modifying in this way his physical and social environment. What is new in our day is that the consciousness of this power over society has almost as by a flash of public intuition become general. In the masses stirs a new born creative social consciousness with its message that all the reforms are one reform, and that that reform is the self-creation of a better individual by putting him to work as his own God at the creation of a better society.[14]

From Lloyd's view, man's social progress inevitably advanced his spiritual progress, and vice versa. But he did not join the Socialists in 1903 because they refused to endorse his Chicago campaign for municipal ownership of street railways. His adverse reaction to their refusal suggests the metaphysical ambivalence of ideality *qua* reality that is manifest throughout his social theories; in other words, he exhibited in his life and works the paradoxical dualism of a Transcendental pragmatist.

I Man, The Social Creator

For years Lloyd had planned a book about his social religion and at various times had prepared materials toward that end, which at his death still remained in manuscript form in his notebooks and in the long, unpublished essay he had written in 1896. Consequently, the first collection of his writings published posthumously at his request consisted of those materials augmented by several of his public statements. Entitled *Man, the Social Creator*, this collection was issued in March 1906; and it was edited by Jane Addams and Anne Withington who, in their preface, acknowledged in general terms the unfinished nature of some of the inclusions and the arbitrariness of their organization. The book itself is arranged in eleven chapters with thematic titles that convey an impression of a coherent, sequential whole. But such an impression is deceptive because the text is very uneven in content, order, and expression. The descriptive note for this volume in the list of Lloyd's writings appended to Caro Lloyd's biography provides an explanation for this uneven quality through a much more specific account of the amount and kind of editorial work that went into the book:

> This volume consists of the "Manuscript of 1896," which in a re-arranged sequence and added to by paragraphs from notebooks of all periods, forms Chapters I, II, III, IV, VII, VIII, X (?). Chapter V consists of "The New Conscience" (*North American Review*, 1888), to the end of which (p. 123, "A Human Catholic Church") are adjoined various notes. Chapter VI is in part his lecture "The New Conscience in Action" (1890). Chapter IX is the Ruskin Corner-stone Address (1897), ending with second paragraph, page 227, and interspersed with notes. Chapter XI is "The Religion of Labour" (Epworth League Address, 1903), together with various notes ranging from 1887 to 1903.[15]

Quite clearly, the book is an extensive rearrangement of Lloyd's finished and unfinished theoretical works as composed over a period of fifteen years.

Because of that, any evaluation must be tentative; for we must recognize *Man, the Social Creator* as a miscellany both in materials and in methods. Nevertheless, Lloyd's major premise for his social theories, one of the tenets of Transcendentalism, is stated clearly at the first: "Man is a creator, and in his province is the creator and redeemer of himself and society"(3). In content, the book breaks into three roughly similar thematic units: the first traces the effects of social love, Chapters I–IV; the second advocates that a new conscience govern society, Chapters V–VIII; and the third describes the religion of co-operation, Chapters IX–XI.

The first unit relative to social love is the most vague and repetitious of the three as it analyzes the qualities of social love as the means through which man spiritually recreates society. Lloyd was optimistically certain that the industrial-financial revolution of the latter half of the nineteenth century presaged a not too distant social revolution that would wrest technological advances from the control of the few to place them in the service of all: "Now, in the century to come, it is the turn of the moral, social Watts, Arkwrights, Stephensons, Franklins, Morses, who will save this wealth by inventing the forms of political Christianity, organised love, economic patriotism, industrial religion" (14). As Lloyd viewed social evolution, Christ—"the Shakespeare of Ethics"—had synthesized the message of social love centuries before in the Golden Rule, but only now had the time come for the application of that message, for the synthesis of deeds: "The deed of saying has been done, and done with a perfection none can hope to rival. What the world waits for is the deed of doing" (20). Central to his faith in man as a creator or a "doer" was his assumption of an ethical progression—"all life is an ethical movement"—which made social evolution inevitable. The history of science confirmed that for him because man's rapidly increasing scientific discoveries dictated his need to create new social institutions in harmony with his expanding knowledge of the Cosmos. Being an anachronism, the church therefore had to change: "The mysteries are fading away, and if they are the capital of religion, or the Church as the habitation of religion, then the Church must be fading away. The conception of religion which makes it the experience of the supernatural in the heart and mind of the believer is but

Witch of Endorism" (30). The church as it was would be replaced by a religion based on "the theory and practice of life," and its habitation would be man, the worker: "The new conception of religion—the service of the upward life—the work of Man as creator, redemption by the redeemed, makes it necessary to give a religious value and recognition as a religious fact to every good man and every good deed" (32).

Lloyd believed this new "extension of Christianity" would be effected through organized co-operation: "The religion of the immediate future is to be an Industrial Religion—one which will expand to the association of men in their common toils, the sacred law of brotherhood . . ." (47). But he recognized the application of that law as a gradual process in which partial reform leads inevitably to additional reform. And he recognized that, within any association of men, the individual must be granted the freedom to achieve his potential:

> The social movement does not seek to cause people to be like each other. One of the great creative acts of society is its opening the path for the emergence of the individual. To stimulate each one to be his utmost, to make each as unlike all others as possible, is the work of society. The peace under which this may be done comes only by the creation of the institutions which permit all to develop free from belligerent selfishness, and which unite in common action powers which, separated, would, like monopolies, produce social war and oppression. Self help is possible only through equality of opportunity. (85–86)

As a consequence, then, he viewed the social movement as a religious concept "too big to be debated or settled in terms of any class movement" (91) and supported the melioristic programs of Fabian Socialism.

A marked change in tone and structure distinguishes the second unit of the book, which begins with Lloyd's 1888 lecture and essay "The New Conscience." As published by the *North American Review* in September (325–39), this essay became one of his most influential public statements. He gave versions of it often as a lecture; and, after presenting it before the Fabian Fellowship of the New Life in London in 1893, he was pleased to have it republished and widely distributed in pamphlet form by that organization. As used in *Man, the Social Creator,* it denotes a shift in emphasis from the theoretical abstract to the theoretical particular. Since Lloyd

assumed that "Civilization is simply applied conscience, and Progress is a widening conscience" (127), he believed that a new consciousness of brotherhood among all men would soon introduce questions of morality and equity into the business world, forcing capital to recognize it was labor's keeper. The old gospel of competition, which regarded labor simply as a commodity, would thus give way to a new conscience that insisted "that every question between men is a religious question, a question of moral economy before it becomes one of political economy, and will make all political, industrial and social activities functions of a new Church—a church of the deed as well as of the creed . . ." (120–21).

The second unit about the new conscience, then, consists of Lloyd's estimate of the changes needed to effect it. After considering the nature and evolution of social morality, he concluded that organized labor was the new messianic force, that only through union and co-operation could man, the worker, shape institutions to new moral perceptions: "The individual alone cannot fabricate the new conscience nor obey it, alone. He must be surrounded, protected, stimulated, co-operated with by associates" (128). Under the influence of the new conscience, labor would apply the rule of brotherhood to politics. That would result in the abolition of political parties because they were but devices used by the devotees of self-interest to control government for their own gain. Instead, government would be made more truly representative through such direct legislative reforms as initiative and referendum.

Lloyd was enough of a realist, though, to recognize that an ideally representative government was impossible without an informed and secure electorate: "The real universal suffrage will come only when education is universal and complete, when employment is universal, and freedom to choose any livelihood is universal" (173). He argued, therefore, that a better government was contingent upon a better education. He envisioned a political system administered entirely by civil servants elected by examination, "the beginning of the election by education, which Emerson prophesied" (173). With the evolution of a new world of industrial brotherhood, education would be made "co-extensive with life." Universities would then reflect the needs and values of the people instead of the wealthy few, and the schools would "offer every child the opportunity of instruction—theoretical and practical, mental and manual—to fit it for the public service" (185). Working in these ways through indus-

try, politics, and education, the new conscience would usher in the new commonwealth.

In the third unit about the religion of co-operation, Lloyd celebrated the advent of that commonwealth through the imminent emergence of the spirit of brotherhood as witnessed by the currently successful activities of co-operative movements and organized labor. First, though, he repeated his affirmation of the coming of a new religious conception of political economy: "That economic era which found a soul in the common man has for its next step the spiritual era now rising to guarantee that soul a body and a society fit for a soul's habitation. Christianity gave him a place in the congregation of the righteous; humanity will expand that congregation into the commonwealth for which the republic has been an initiation" (204). To Lloyd, it was self-evident that the rights of the common man took precedence over the rights of private property: "The public good is the only warranty deed for any property" (218). When society recognized the truism that the rights of property were subordinate to the needs of humanity, then man could take his next step toward an ethical political economy. But Lloyd, of course, was not a radical Communist; as an empirical economist and as an Emersonian individualist, he understood both the practical necessity for private venture capital and the psychic necessity for personal and home property. He recognized that an ideal industrial society must achieve a balance between the needs of the individual and the community: "Private property being individualism, and its abolition being socialism, the two are correlative and must yield to each other just as rapidly as experience and necessity dictate. Civilisation is a growth both ways—an intensification of private property in certain ways, an abolition of it in others" (252).

The last two chapters, then, present a survey of contemporary social trends that he believed signaled the dawn of a universal, democratic commonwealth. The rise of many successful co-operative associations in Europe and Australasia, the effective functioning of direct legislation in Switzerland, and the development of a planned economy in New Zealand were all preliminaries pointing the way for man's next social step. Likewise, the spirit of fellowship manifest in the rise of organized labor was another facet of that catalytic religious force that would create the new social synthesis. Since the only prerequisite, from Lloyd's point of view, for man's realizing that synthesis was his application of that spirit of brother-

hood consciously and fully to all his deeds, such widespread social experimentation meant that the coming of the new age was near. Thus *Man, the Social Creator* concludes with words of hope: "The religious adventures of one era become the habitual virtues of another. The sore consciousness of our world to-day, of its evils of greed and selfishness, is the sure sign that we are travailing into a new conscience, and through it into a new and finally unconscious happiness of brotherliness in labor" (278–79).

In a review for the *Arena*, Eltweed Pomeroy, a ubiquitous American Fabian leader of direct legislative reform, praised Lloyd's book as "germinal" and as "thought-provoking."[16] His pointing to its generative qualities suggests the kind of influence its message exercised: it was the gospel of a secular evangelism that contributed to the revival of reform at two different times. Issued in 1906, *Man, the Social Creator* appeared at the midpoint of the progressive movement, that period of reform activity from circa 1890 to 1917. If we accept the distinction in emphasis made by Allan Nevins in his biography of Grover Cleveland—that, during the half century following the Civil War, the earlier reformer was a traditionalist intent upon purifying existing processes of government and the later progressive was a radical intent upon achieving new aims through new processes of government—then Lloyd's book in its religious call for a commonwealth based on brotherhood was indeed "thought-provoking" to an audience of progressives.[17] And, judged by the enthusiastic tenor of contemporary reviews, it contained for that audience a generally coherent, influential message; for it was praised as "deeply suggestive writing" *(The Nation)*, as "of exceptional clarity of vision" *(Annals of the American Academy)*, and as "a precious contribution to the thought of the new century" *(Charities and the Commons)*.[18]

The more important period of its influence was earlier, though, when Lloyd first presented its message in February 1888 in his lecture "The New Conscience or the Religion of Labor" before the Chicago Ethical Culture Society. Then, according to the ethical religionist William Salter, Lloyd's method of judging political economy by the moral standards of a Christian Socialism was "the best word" spoken "on any platform this year."[19] Later that year, as an article in the influential *North American Review*, that word reached a much larger middle-class audience. And Lloyd continued to preach his message to that audience through the rest of his life,

explicitly or implicitly. Henry May, one of the historians of the Social Gospel movement, acknowledges the early effectiveness of that message, remarking that Lloyd was probably "closer to liberal church circles than any other American radical" and that through him "Christian radicalism played a considerable part" in influencing American Socialism during the 1890's.[20] But perhaps the most emphatic testimony to the early enthusiasm Lloyd's message evoked was in a letter dated June 3, 1890, from then Judge John Altgeld to Lloyd, in which Altgeld reported that having just read "The New Conscience," he could not resist saying he "would rather be the author of one such article than to hold any office in the gift of the American people" because it would "do more for the cause of humanity . . . than would a life-time of the average high office-holding."[21] To progressives early and late, Lloyd's religion of social brotherhood was provocative.

II Mazzini and Other Essays

The last published of the several posthumous anthologies, *Mazzini and Other Essays* (1910) is also last in importance to anyone familiar with Lloyd's other works. Consisting of nine public lectures and speeches, this collection has no central thematic unity and presents ideas developed more thoroughly elsewhere. Although it is very much a miscellany, we cannot ignore it if we wish an accurate analysis of Lloyd as a publicist because it does represent separately one phase of his career—that of a public speaker for ethical action before middle-class audiences. And several of the included speeches are of some intrinsic historical or topical interest inasmuch as they were so popular that he was asked to repeat them often. We should, therefore, take at least a brief look at these selections.

A. Man Acting: "Mazzini: Prophet of Action," "A Day with William Morris," and "Sir Harry Vane"

Of the three speeches in this category, "Mazzini: Prophet of Action" is the most substantive. Lloyd originally presented it February 17, 1889, before the Chicago Ethical Culture Society, then at a weekly assembly called the Economic Conference, then repeated it elsewhere numerous times during that and later years. In it, he lauded the ideology of the Italian revolutionary Joseph Mazzini and thereby developed more particularly the theoretical *qua* practical basis for his own ethical imperative announced in "The New Con-

science" the year before. That theory was clearly founded on Transcendentalism. Spirit and matter were one: "Earth, matter, is the embodied thought of God, and sacred" (15). Social development was melioristic insofar as man was able to discern spiritual truth from matter and apply it to life: "All men are free to declare the thought of God, or what they think to be the thought of God, as it flows into their minds. Out of this medley of intuitions and revelations the truth emerges by its verification in the experience of individuals and mankind. This union of science and conscience, of intuition and experience, of aspirations and fulfilment, of the people and the person, is the source of the new and real authority which will govern mankind" (14–15).

As Lloyd viewed him, Mazzini was an example of Emerson's Man Acting: "A truth uttered was to Mazzini but half the truth: the other half was to execute it" (3). In his revolutionary activities, Mazzini recognized that "religion represents the principle; politics, the application" (16); consequently, he carried into government "the principles which Christianity had proclaimed in religion" (4). And, according to Lloyd, Mazzini understood that "political democracy must be backed up by industrial democracy, or all democracy becomes impossible" (23). Reflected in the sentiments and acts of that revolutionary, then, Lloyd saw his own image of the pragmatic Transcendentalist.

The other two speeches are of minor note. "A Day with William Morris" was a eulogy delivered before the Chicago Literary Club on December 7, 1896, shortly after Morris's death, then repeated on other occasions. Recalling his acquaintance with Morris in England years before, Lloyd synthesized a social theory from the renaissancelike activities of that artist-factory owner-poet-Socialist: "Morris believed that we could realize our destiny of social progress only by setting all to work—rich and poor alike—and by seeing to it that the work should be only such work as was worth doing and as could be done under circumstances healthful and hopeful. He held that we must all be workers, and these workers must all be their own masters, if not in the old individual sense, then in the social sense of the higher individualism, in which all citizens in free countries are their own masters" (63).

Lloyd's editors were unable to identify the occasion for "Sir Harry Vane," a brief speech commemorating the republican principles of that seventeenth century English statesman.[22] In Vane's support of freedom of religion while governor of Massachusetts Colony and in

his conscientious opposition to Charles I and later to Oliver Cromwell, Lloyd detected historical precedents for his own ethical Socialism: "The ordinances of property, business, capital are certainly not more sacred than those of Church and State. Sir Harry Vane would put his freedom of conscience as bravely through these as through those, when he found them shutting off room and light from the spirit seeking to realize its destiny in his fine phrase of 'intercourse, high, intuitive, and comprehensive with the divine' " (107–108). Mazzini, Morris, and Vane—Lloyd valued each for his ethical activism.

B. Man Thinking: "Free Speech and Assemblage," "The Scholar in Contemporary Practical Questions," and "Emerson's Wit and Humor"

On the evening of November 12, 1891, a troop of over a hundred Chicago police broke into a large but peaceful meeting called by the painter's union at Grief's Hall; dispersed the assembly with billy clubs; and destroyed union banners, records, and publications. With no other warrant than a fear of "anarchists" by police officials, that illegal action became a local cause célèbre. As part of the many public objections, Lloyd read his address "Free Speech and Assemblage" before a mass protest meeting held the next month by organized labor at Battery D Armory.

With reference to the basic liberties granted by English common law and those guaranteed by the American Bill of Rights, Lloyd called upon the mayor and the city council to bring legal charges against the police officers who ordered the attack, rather than to cover up for them. From that context of arbitrary misuse of governmental power, he then developed the social consequences: "Our peace, prosperity, and honor crumble at the very corner-stones when the sacredest agreements of the social compact are thus broken by the government which has no right to exist except to maintain them. The crime of using the powers of the government to shield the authors of the crime is a greater wrong than the original offence; every day this immunity is prolonged the wrong is repeated, and grows too heavy to be borne in silence by a people fit to be free" (129–30)

Because of the many immediate protests, city officials had paid the painter's union for its destroyed property but had refused any disciplinary action against the police. Lloyd deplored such compensation as a sop that implicitly rejected the fundamental question of

violated civil rights and attributed such official reaction to the morality implicit in the doctrine of laissez faire, that everything has its price: "Such atonement could satisfy only the modern prophets of Moloch who are supplanting the Gospel of Christ by the newer—The Gospel of Wealth" (138). Consequently, his protest was based upon the corollary that such rights as those of free speech and free assembly were priceless; that, unless they remained unimpeded, "a greater breakdown threatens our fair modern world than any which have made of all the civilizations before ours mere mounds of dust on the pathway of progress" (145).

"The Scholar in Contemporary Practical Questions" was a commencement address presented to the graduates of Iowa College on June 12, 1895, at the invitation of the senior class, most of whom had studied *Wealth Against Commonwealth* under the influence of Professor George Herron. Lloyd wrote this speech with implicit reference to the dismissal that year of the "new economist" Edward Bemis from his tenured position at the University of Chicago, a recipient at that time of large grants from John D. Rockefeller. Bemis's political activism had antagonized his conservative department chairman, J. L. Laughlin, and had embarrassed the president of the university, W. R. Harper. Consequently, Lloyd's thesis was that of Emerson in the "American Scholar" address; the scholar is Man Thinking and must be granted the freedom to exercise that function and to announce the results: "Scholarship has no function, no excuse for being, except to stand as the uncompromising utterer to its day of all revealed truth, and of all intimations of truth that may be revealed" (152). Lloyd's argument in support of this thesis was essentially a precis of his "gospel of social sympathy" in which he called upon those graduating to affirm the truth of scholarship by walking the ideal "path which will lead to that Commonwealth where the people have the will and wit to live the life together, and where the will and wit have fitted themselves with the institutions that make that life possible" (174).

This speech reveals further Lloyd's dependence upon Emersonian idealism, in that he viewed evil as but a temporary interruption of man's progress. For Emerson, evil was an inactive force; though it existed, it did so only as a Thomistic absence of good, as a negation that in fact ultimately contributed to the good. Likewise, Lloyd declared, "our pauperisms, vulgarities of avarice, reigns of terror are revealed because they interrupt the light of the love of man for man which radiates through society. These cold worlds of evil begin

a new life by the help of the light and heat they intercept" (177). To Emerson, virtue was an active, affirmative force; it was this force that Lloyd appealed to when he asked the graduates of Iowa College to translate the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence into social and political performance.

Lloyd presented "Emerson's Wit and Humor" on May 27, 1895, before the Chicago Literary Club, then published it in *The Forum* of November 1896 (346–57). The text printed in this anthology was from a revised version that he read in 1903 at the Emerson centennial celebration in Boston. It is an entertaining review of Emerson's "frolic health of mind" as demonstrated by his life and works. In terms of Lloyd's own social theories, though, this speech reveals little except a very high regard for Emerson's ability to discern social truths: "From this sublimer wit came the illuminated vision with which Emerson saw and reported realities where others saw only mysteries, and mysteries where others thought they saw realities" (100).

C. Man Perfecting: "Is Personal Development the Best Social Policy?" "No Mean City," and "Some Dutch Notions"

In the other three speeches of the anthology, Lloyd traced his optimistic vision of man's advance toward a cultural ideal in which the needs and values of both individual and society harmonized. Once again he took issue with the Social Darwinists by insisting that true individualism was possible only within the matrix of society, that personality was indefinable except in relation to others. That was his point in the brief address "Is Personal Development the Best Policy?" given before the Boston Browning Society on February 25, 1902. He suggested that, in contrast to *laissez-faire* capitalism, the form of society most compatible with individualism was social democracy because it alone made "use of all the resources of nature by all the faculties of man for the good of all the people" (198). Basing his explanation upon an Hegelian interpretation of history, in which spirit manifests a progressive ebb and flow of self-creation, he identified the move of Western civilization toward a "collective individualism" as the next inevitable step in the development of man. Then he invited his audience to embrace the tenets of that Western creed—"to work, not to worship; to produce, not to pray; to create, not to obey" (199)—or, in his rephrasing of Emerson, to hitch their wagons to that rising star.

The lecture "No Mean City" was Lloyd's contribution to the late

nineteenth century fad for projecting Utopias. In November 1894 he read it before the Winnetka Town Meeting, then repeated it many times afterwards, sometimes placing it within the framework of a dream-vision that was imitative of Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. In it Lloyd saw Chicago transformed into an "Imperial City." Motivated by the startling contrast in spirit between the World's Columbian Exposition and the succeeding financial panic, the citizenry revolutionized the city by incorporating into its social structure all reforms successful in any other city in Europe or in America. With brotherhood and sexual equality as working principles, the citizens also achieved a moral evolution that greatly reduced crime and that softened relationships between employer and employee, rich and poor. But their progressive use of technology created large numbers of unemployed. To counter that problem, they set up a nearby community for the unemployed based on co-operative principles that guaranteed the individual an equitable share of the commonwealth. They platted a scheme of life "in which were embodied all the latest and best results of sanitary, industrial, and artistic experience" (220). Using for its name St. Paul's term "no mean city," that community synthesized those principles and improvements so successfully that it became a world trade center. Through the success of its industrial unity, caused in part by its learning-by-doing educational processes, it expanded to include Chicago itself, which was then torn down and transformed into a large park because it was so antiquated.

Judged as imaginative literature, this lecture demonstrates that Lloyd's strength was not in belles-lettres: in style, in conception, and in structure it was too often vague and trite. But it does demonstrate the fundamental pragmatism of his social message, for even in fancy he envisioned reform as an eclectic, practical embodiment of experiments successful elsewhere. And it demonstrates in its specifics his interest at that time in the co-operative and communitarian movements, in feminism, and in progressive education.

As an after dinner speech at a Holland Society banquet in Chicago on April 22, 1897, Lloyd read "Some Dutch Notions." Reviewing the qualities of moderation intrinsic to the Dutch people, he praised Holland's brave role as the moderator of Europe, as its historical haven for political, economic, and religious freedom. Because America was founded on those very principles and had since built its strength upon European immigrants seeking a comparable haven,

he believed the time had come for it to proclaim its manifest destiny as moderator of the world. He beheld America entering upon an altruistic imperialism, "the mission to which suffering humanity and its inheritance call it from every quarter," to become "an emancipating, a redeeming nation" (123–24). Seen by the blinding light of the jingoism that propelled the nation into the Spanish-American War, this vision faded for Lloyd when he observed the many shadows soon cast by war profiteering and procurement scandals. Ruefully, he recognized the truth of his own message: America could not lead the world morally until after it replaced oligopoly with social democracy.

CHAPTER 6

A Democratic Traveller: Labor Copartnership, A Country Without Strikes, Newest England, *and* A Sovereign People

I Labor Copartnership

AFTER the wreck of the People's Party in 1896, Lloyd drifted for a time, buoyed up by his faith in the objectives of social reform but checked in his quest for a means. Influenced by the World's Congress of Co-operation during Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition and, more immediately, by the National Co-operative Congress at St. Louis in 1896, he began to consider co-operatives as potential means and turned to a study of their history and to tours of such communitarian settlements as the Mt. Lebanon Shaker Colony near Albany, New York, and Julius Wayland's new Ruskin Colony at Cave Mills, Tennessee. In this response to political frustration, he was not alone; for other moderate Socialists, stranded by the fusion of the Populists with the free silver Democrats, regarded the co-operative movement as a likely answer to their felt need for political and economic change. In this they were also responding, perhaps, to the spirit of Utopianism inherent in the very popular Nationalist movement, though Bellamy himself considered co-operative colonies ineffectual.

As one result of his study, Lloyd joined with Debs, Wayland, George Herron, and others in organizing the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, a group planning to establish labor-backed co-operative colonies in the West. Eventually, through such colonies, they hoped to obtain a solid political footing on the local and state level. But, early in July 1897, Lloyd dropped his support

of that scheme when, phoenixlike, it turned into a new political party, the Social Democracy of America, dominated by the leadership of the defunct American Railway Union. Still, this withdrawal did not cause Lloyd to drop his interest in co-operatives as a way to reform. In a letter of July 21, 1897, to Isaac Hourwich, a New York lawyer and labor economist, he insisted he had "nothing to do with the Social Democracy"; and he suggested that true reformers could do very little "for the moment, but keep on laying our eggs in the sand, and waiting for the sun of some future spring to hatch them out."[1]

He decided, therefore, to promote that future springtime by following a systematic program of travel to study and report about social reforms in other countries; for, as he wrote to James Rhodes, editor of the *American Cooperative News*, "I want to help to make the American people acquainted with the best results of social movements of emancipation abroad."[2] On his way to investigate direct legislation in Switzerland and people's banks in Germany that September, he stopped at Delft, Holland, to represent Ruskin Colony at the Third International Co-operative Congress. There he learned of British co-operative and profit-sharing industries; and, fascinated, he dropped his immediate plans to study Continental Socialism to accompany Henry Vivian, an official of the English Labour Association, to the Midland Co-operative Festival held on the campus of Rugby School. Impressed by the seriousness of the delegates and by the variety of their ventures, he spent six weeks touring British co-operative societies to determine for himself how effective the movement really was. As a middle-class Socialist, he was especially interested in co-operative production in which labor and management shared ownership and results—labor co-partnership was the British term for that system. Yet he found that the best-known contemporary study of co-operative societies, Mrs. Beatrice (Potter) Webb's *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*, dismissed such co-partnerships as transitory and as false to the true theory of co-operation in comparison to consumer co-operatives as represented by the English and Scottish federated wholesale societies. Lloyd believed her analysis mistaken, that the spirit of those consumer federations was in fact too capitalistic, and returned home determined to explain how and why.

The result was his book *Labor Copartnership* (1898), published both in the United States and in Great Britain by Harper &

Brothers. It was an informal report of his personal impressions and factual discoveries about the production side of the British co-operative movement. In keeping with Lloyd's status as an outside observer, his attitude was professedly "scientific." Thus the text was crammed with data, illustrated with photographs of various co-partnership works, and accompanied by a full appendix of statistics. As the reviewer for *Harper's Weekly* remarked, "Mr. Lloyd does not conceal his sympathy for the co-operative experiments, or his desire for their success, but he indulges in very little argument or reasoning and lets the facts speak for themselves."[3] In marked contrast, then, to his vitriolic indictment of Standard Oil in *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, his stance in this book was that of a sympathetic investigator simply presenting the facts.

One of his objectives, though, was to refute Mrs. Webb's contention that co-partnerships were ephemeral and outside the mainstream of the British co-operative movement. He did so by concentrating his report on successful examples of co-partnership, by placing them firmly in the history of British co-operation, and by referring obliquely throughout his text to the capitalistic, competitive nature of the English Wholesale Society. Actually, he and Mrs. Webb simply followed different phases of the development of the British co-operative movement. In her history of the movement, Mrs. Webb downgraded Robert Owens's unsuccessful attempts to establish co-operative communities in the 1820's in favor of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' founding in 1844 of an eventually successful co-operative store. She viewed the Owenite Christian Socialists' leadership of the movement in the 1850's and 1860's as an organizational contribution, not as a theoretical one.[4] In contrast, Lloyd traced Owens's ideas through the Christian Socialists' advocacy of self-governing workshops in the 1850's and on to the "mushroom growth" of co-partnerships in the 1890's. He admired the Rochdale Pioneers' original plan of a self-supporting home colony, but he questioned the development of their co-operative store into that large federation, the English Wholesale Society, "a huge working-class capitalism." He thought that the Christian Socialists' ethical theories of brotherhood, as represented in profit-sharing and co-partnership industries, were truer to the ideals of cooperation; and he aimed to demonstrate this belief in his report.[5]

But Lloyd maimed the logic of his case by concentrating first on

farming co-operatives, the least successful examples of co-partnership. As the reviewer in *The Outlook* observed, "this agricultural movement (which, Mr. Lloyd frankly states, has had nearly as many failures as successes) seems to be co-operation in which the workingmen have done singularly little co-operating."[6] At the start of his tour, Lloyd was influenced by the preponderance of agricultural delegates at the Rugby conference and by the atypical success of Horace Plunkett in establishing co-operative creameries in Ireland where, at the time, any success seemed wonderful. Thus Lloyd's first five chapters surveyed English and Irish co-operative agriculture, and much of the data was culled from published reports and speeches presented at various co-operative conferences.

Lloyd did tour one successful co-operative farm at Woolwich, England, and went into much firsthand detail about its methods of crop rotation and pig production, its number and kinds of outbuildings, its profits and losses, etc. He also visited Ireland and was impressed by Plunkett's organization of marketing co-operatives—he described him as an "economic Parnell"—but he deplored as "un-cooperation" the recent establishment of rival creameries by the English and Scottish wholesale societies. All in all, while admitting the many failures in farm co-operatives, he came away with the optimistic conclusion that they were just in the first stages of "buying experience" and that they held real possibilities.

In descriptions of industrial co-partnerships and profit sharing, Lloyd was on firmer ground. When he visited the Midland manufacturing town of Kettering, he found it "especially interesting to the co-operative traveller because here co-operation has followed a normal course from distribution to production . . . first, a distributive store; second, workshops, in which the workers are part owners and directors; third, homes for co-operators; and fourth, a farm" (121). Hence he gave a full chapter to the Kettering co-operatives, particularly to the co-partnership shoe and clothing factories; and he recited voluminously the facts and figures of their organization and production. Then north of Manchester, not far from Rochdale, he toured the Hebden Bridge Fustian Works before going on to Scotland to observe the Paisley Co-operative Weaving Mills. He reported their respective stories, explained their methods of co-operative management, and itemized their financial data with all the minuteness of an accountant. Always, though, his description was

leavened by anecdotes, fragments of conversations, references to official reports about other co-operatives, and allusions to the theory and history of the movement.

Near Paisley, in a suburb of Glasgow, at the Scottish Wholesale Society's factory park at Shieldhall, Lloyd discovered co-partnership principles applied to a fairly large industrial population. For the Wholesale Society tried to elicit worker involvement in the management of its production facilities and supported co-operative farming. Yet its stock-purchase plan was a failure, with only a six percent participation. Lloyd regarded the Scottish Society, therefore, much like the English Wholesale, as a federation of co-operative distributing companies operating on benevolent joint stock principles. And, while he admired the Scottish Society's many provisions for its workers—such as its profit-sharing bonuses, its well-designed factories, and its seaside vacation resort near West Killbride—he also cited the objections of Thomas Hughes, the novelist and Christian Socialist, to the "purely commercial spirit" of such a federation.

Lloyd found London a "great co-operative desert," despite a history of many attempts, because its composite population and kaleidoscopic market conditions did not inspire the mutual confidence and the long, steady dedication necessary for successful co-operation. Yet it was in London that he discovered what he thought the most novel experiment in co-partnership: the policies of the large South Metropolitan Gas Company. In 1889, its manager, George Livesey, had instituted a profit-sharing plan in which its workers received a bonus tied to decreasing costs of production; in 1894, he had increased that bonus if the workers invested it in the company's stock. Then, in 1897, he persuaded the company's shareholders to allow him to petition Parliament for enabling legislation to permit several workmen shareholders to be on the board of directors. Parliament approved the necessary change in the company's bylaws and "workmen directors" had just been elected.

Recognizing that the Metropolitan Gas Company started its profit-sharing plan partially to counter union-organized labor unrest, and noting that many Socialists distrusted it because it set "a formidable barricade in the path of municipal ownership," Lloyd nevertheless seconded Livesey's view that it marked a new departure in the relationship of capital and labor: "When every employé is an actual shareholder in his own name; when the men who have entrusted almost all their entire savings to the company are them-

selves trusted by the company with a share in its responsibilities, . . . the beginning will have been made of the introduction of the new order in the industrial world" (210).

Thus the subject of *Labor Copartnership* was just that—an account of the production side of the British co-operative movement. Lloyd addressed it to an American audience and for an immediate purpose. In his final chapter, "Beginning at Home," he recommended the principles of co-partnership to his fellow citizens as "applied brotherhood"—"the Golden Rule realized"—and contrasted it to "unscientific individualism which preaches that selfish interest is the only actual and practical motive in the world of values" (327). And, for the interested reader, he provided in that chapter a bibliography and a list of British co-operative associations and officials to write to for more information. But he warned that the United States, much like London, had a shifting population and volatile economic conditions; and, to be successful, co-operatives needed leadership, not philanthropy; initiative, not endowment. For, at heart, he believed in political rather than voluntary collective action; he was still a Socialist, not a co-operative: "Co-operation has won the right to be accounted the most important social movement of our times outside of politics. It is, of course, only a half truth. It is the voluntary or domestic expression of the same resurgent spirit of self-help by each-other-help of which the republic, democracy, and the hopes of socialism are the political or public expression. Each of these—the private or voluntary, the public or political—is a half truth; but the world needs half truths to make up its whole truth" (328).

II A Country Without Strikes

During the first half of 1899, Lloyd toured New Zealand and Australia to study their little-known recent experiments in social democracy. Armed with numerous letters of introduction and with a quasi-official warrant from C. C. Wright, United States commissioner of labor, to gather labor "facts," Lloyd was warmly received in the several colonies by prominent officials and by citizens of all classes. Flattered by Lloyd's interest in their institutions, the New Zealand and Australian press publicized his visit and reported his impressions in a number of interviews. Then, by chance, his return to Boston received attention in the American press. Trying to get home in time to attend his son Hal's graduation from Harvard Uni-

versity, he enlisted the sympathy of his ship's captain, who accommodated him by setting a steaming record from Sydney to Vancouver. There Lloyd caught the first train on the Canadian Pacific's new express run from Vancouver to Montreal. Like Phileas Fogg in *Around the World in 80 Days*, Lloyd arrived at Boston two hours before his son's graduation. Though he was somewhat embarrassed by the resultant publicity—he wrote a friend that he wished not to appear as "merely a globe-trotting fakir"—the newspaper accounts of his trip and his record-setting return helped him place enthusiastic magazine articles later that year about New Zealand's social innovations in *The Outlook*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Ainslee's*.[7] At the same time, he devoted much of his attention to writing and publishing two books about his findings at his own expense through Doubleday, Page & Co.: *A Country Without Strikes* (1900) and *Newest England* (1900).

The first to be published, *A Country Without Strikes*, was a short monograph about New Zealand's compulsory arbitration system. As we have already noted, Lloyd had been interested in voluntary versus "forced" labor arbitration and in Australasian legislation in that area, as demonstrated by his 1892 article "Arbitration" (see Chapter 4, II, D). That interest was piqued in 1898 by his friendship with Hugh Lusk, then the New Zealand consul in New York City, who warmly espoused his colony's new industrial court, and by public controversy in the United States over the compulsory features of the 1893 Erdman Arbitration Bill, which was strenuously opposed by Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor but supported by the railroad brotherhoods. With reference to this controversy, Lloyd wrote *A Country Without Strikes* as a topical, polemical tract and intended it to be read as such; but, since he also wished to provide an authoritative description of a working example of compulsory arbitration, he obtained an introductory endorsement by William Reeves, the minister of labor who had written New Zealand's arbitration law and secured its passage.

The book was brief—around forty thousand words—and enthusiastic, for Lloyd heartily approved of the empiricism that guided New Zealand's many new social programs. As he explained in his first chapter, the legislative experiment he thought most significant was that colony's attempt by instituting the machinery of state-sponsored labor arbitration to prevent any recurrence of such labor disturbances as those that had devastated it during the maritime

strikes of 1890. His review of the many attempts at voluntary conciliation—the Conseils des Prud'hommes of France, the Arbitration Act of New South Wales, the Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration, the Industrial Court of Germany—revealed a pattern of universal failure. In contrast, he found that the New Zealand Court of Arbitration had succeeded in averting all but one strike during its five years of operation precisely because it had the power to impose its decisions on all affected by the litigation. That successful use of compulsion Lloyd considered most suggestive and upon that he focused his argument in favor of the law.

The law especially appealed to his sense of social brotherhood, for it was based on the assumption that organization of labor and capital was not only natural but potentially beneficial in an industrial age. Thus government intervention could be invoked by either party to a labor dispute, but only if organized and officially registered. That way the act fostered the formation of labor unions which, under its provisions, had to meet certain criteria of financial responsibility; and it also promoted trade associations of employers so that they could respond collectively either to their workers' demands or to court awards. For the principal object of the law was to set up a means by which government could enforce industrial peace but also mediate disputes as equitably and with as little coercion as possible. To that end the act created boards of conciliation, whose awards were advisory, as the necessary first step to an appeal to the court of arbitration, whose awards were binding. As soon as a dispute was referred to one of the boards of conciliation by either party, no strike or lockout (retroactive to six weeks) was lawful, under penalty of imprisonment and/or fine.

As of 1900, all disputes had been argued by representatives from the parties involved, without benefit of legal counsel; all assertions about labor and trade conditions had to be authenticated by those representatives, the court having subpoena power. Proceedings were public unless the board or court ruled that publicity about "trade secrets" would unfairly injure the business involved. This procedure, Lloyd felt, was an exercise in moderation; for the parties concerned were forced to conduct themselves with decorum and present their cases with facts and figures, not with passion and opinion. And, he believed, it provided a true education for the public, enabling it to make a much better informed judgment about the respective merits of the dispute. Consequently, Lloyd was em-

phatically enthusiastic about the system: "Instead of strikes, riots, starvation, bankruptcy, passion, and all the other accompaniments of the Homestead method, there has been—debate! The total loss is only a few weeks' time of only a dozen men. The manufacturers have not been ruined; they have not had to shut down their works; they have not fled the country. The workingmen have gone on working, buying land and building homes and paying for them, rearing children, and building up industry and the state as well as their homes" (60).

To document these benefits, Lloyd traced two trade disputes—the shoemakers and the garment workers—through the conciliation process to their conclusion in the final decision by the court of arbitration, and then referred briefly to others—the iron workers, printers, painters, furniture workers, etc. From these he detected a consistent pattern of resolution. Few accepted the voluntary findings of the conciliation boards but appealed instead to the arbitration court to obtain a final, compulsory decision. Although those disputes had been decided generally in favor of labor (it was a time of returning prosperity when wages were on the rise), most employers he interviewed were pleased by the compulsory feature because that meant all had to compete on the same basis. Workers were pleased because, in addition to granting many of their wage requests, the court enforced recognition of their unions, implemented antisweatshop agreements, and eliminated retaliatory lockouts.

After presenting these examples of the arbitration system's function and reception, Lloyd reviewed arguments for and against the law, concentrating especially upon the effects of compulsion. Then he summarized the results and tendencies of the act, as he viewed them, in twenty-two numbered, affirmative points—a ringing endorsement that undercut his ostensibly modest parting statement of purpose: "The object of the writer has not been to enforce his views, but to present the facts of an interesting social experiment, on which the public could, if it chose, build views of its own" (180). And, because of its topicality, the book did evoke quite a bit of public interest. For example, as the lead article in its November 1900 issue *The Catholic World* ran a lauditory thirteen page summary of the book.[8] Even *The Dial*, at that time very conservative, commended it for its "timeliness and practical wisdom," and *The Nation* acknowledged that the public owed "a debt of gratitude to the au-

thor for taking the trouble to go to New Zealand and examine the situation for himself," but it also observed that his enthusiasm impaired the worth of his testimony.[9]

Without doubt, Lloyd's book contributed to contemporary interest in compulsory labor arbitration by providing a sympathetic description of New Zealand's recent experiment, but its value was limited by that very topicality and uncritical sympathy. Furthermore, he composed it in a hasty, journalistic style of descending emphasis, curt paragraphs, and loose syntax—a style that conveyed well a reporter's immediate, affirmative impressions of the effects of the law. But that style did not lend itself to a thorough explanation of technical features of the law, which would have given the book some value beyond the topical. As a result, *A Country Without Strikes* is of interest today only as a minor period piece in the history of reform propaganda.

III Newest England

In contrast to the intense, argumentative unity of *A Country Without Strikes*, Lloyd provided in *Newest England* a more relaxed, more objective survey of various legislative reforms he considered significant among the many being tested in New Zealand. His subtitle, "Notes of a Democratic Traveller in New Zealand, with some Australian Comparisons," conveyed that change in tone and purpose, as did his introductory chapter of historic, topographic, and demographic description, along with his use of numerous scenic photographs. Unlike the systematic survey of *Labor Copartnership*, the organization of *Newest England* was purposely discursive; in fact, most of its fifteen chapters function as separate essays, or "notes," about specific legislative programs. And, while very much an advocate for those programs, Lloyd made an attempt here, as he had earlier in *Labor Copartnership*, to be impartial, to present arguments con as well as pro, failures as well as successes. That gave the book a balance noticeably lacking in *A Country Without Strikes*, though, to be sure, his unblushing enthusiasm about New Zealand was still obvious.

The introductory chapter was a slightly revised version of his *Atlantic Monthly* article "New Zealand Newest England" in which he described that colony as "the 'experimental station' of advanced legislation." Assuming an attitude of moderate Anglophilia, noticeable throughout the book, he explained that he went there "to see

what had been done for a higher social life, by the methods of politics, in the country in which those methods have been given the best trial" (1). The rest of the volume is simply an extended exposition of those methods; but the first two—a state insurance agency and an office of public trustee—establish what Lloyd felt was the basic assumption New Zealanders made about democratic government, that it should be "Our Mutual Friend." That assumption about the duties of the state was singularly functional: "This novelty of insurance by the government was not the creature of a theoretical socialism. It was . . . a practical answer of a practical people to a practical difficulty. The people wanted insurance, but they were so far from the world and so insignificant that private capital thought them hardly worth its notice. Since private capital would not undertake it, the people used their government to insure each other" (14). Likewise, the office of public trustee met a practical need in a country so isolated. As a disinterested mediary, that officer administered estates and trust funds honestly, efficiently, and humanely—qualities often not found in the quagmire of English probate law, a point that interested Lloyd the lawyer very much.

Another governmental function that Lloyd found of special interest was the state-owned-and-operated railway system. Using the post office as an analogous agency, he devoted two chapters to an explanation of New Zealand's public railroads, with some reference to those in Australia. He admitted from the outset that the many contrary demands of politics sometimes undermined the efficiency of government ownership, but he believed the dictates of political expediency preferable to the selfish ambitions of "railroad kings" who had undermined democracy in the United States. While he noticed that in equipment New Zealand railroads were primitive by American standards and that freight rates were high, due largely to differences in demographic conditions, he insisted that such deficiencies were more than offset by the lack of chicanery:

> There are no air brakes even on the express trains in New Zealand—but there are no railroad wreckers in the boards of directors. There is no cord between the passenger cars and the conductor and engineer—but there is also no private wire between the president's office and the brokers in the stock exchange to the ruin of the stockholders. There were no dining-cars when I was there, though they have since been put on, but there were no Credit Mobilier nor construction rings feeding on the corporation. The rates are high, but what the traveller or shipper pays the treasury gets.

There are no rebates to favored shippers, no discriminations in charges to shunt the business of merchants or manufacturers, who do not happen to be pets of the traffic manager, into the hands of those who do have that lucky preference. (66–67)

To his delight, Lloyd found the use of workingmen's co-operatives for railroad construction one of the results of government ownership. Organized by the Ministry of Public Works, these co-operatives, starting in 1893, had eliminated the sweating system of private contractors and subcontractors. At the same time, the Ministry of Lands had changed its policies to allow those workers the opportunity to settle on public lands near the railways they were building. But Lloyd acknowledged that this successful use of labor co-partnerships was "especially noteworthy in comparison with the failure of the more ambitious co-operative villages attempted by South Australia and New South Wales—failures perhaps because more ambitious" (92). Thus he commended the railway system in New Zealand. Through government ownership, the people had avoided the American pitfall of large land grants as incentives to private railroad interests and had organized instead a policy of land settlement that was co-ordinated to railway construction for the benefit of the entire colony.

The social problems inherent in land monopoly and in the excessive political power of large private fortunes had emerged in New Zealand, as elsewhere. Before the elections of 1890 brought the Progressive Liberal Party to power, public works—railways, wharves, roads, and bridges—inordinately benefitted the owners of great estates. This benefit, Lloyd noted, was due to most of the arable land being controlled by a few large landowners or by absentee corporations, much as in Ireland: "In the settlement of the colony, the frontages along the roads and rivers, and around watering places, and at the heads of valleys, were all taken up under laws made by the great landowners for the great landowners. All the river flats and gullies and every stream and highway had been picked up. This rendered access to the lands in the rear impossible, and made them useless even with access, since they were cut off from water" (133).

Would-be settlers found desirable farm land unavailable and had to take up unproductive or inaccessible parcels still within the public domain, or emigrate from the colony, as some were doing. Meanwhile, fertile and well-located tracts of tens of thousands of

acres were used by their owners for sheepruns. To combat this monopolistic hoarding of land, the government instituted a Socialist program of graduated land and income taxes in 1891. It pleased Lloyd to describe such a public policy in which the rights of the people transcended those of capital, in which excess wealth paid a progressive share of the cost of public services. Consequently, he devoted more than a quarter of the book to highlighting the results of that policy.

The most important result of these new taxes was the reversion by purchase of some of the largest estates to the Ministry of Lands. Within these tracts, villages were platted, roads constructed, and the land divided into homesteads of various sizes that were then sold by means of a lottery to qualified settlers. Lloyd toured Cheviot, the first of the big estates to be reclaimed, and reported in detail the general success of that pilot project. He also visited the Waikakahi estate, which was just being resettled, where he observed administrative procedures firsthand, attended interviews with prospective purchasers, and presided over the lottery, a compliment extended to him by vote of the citizens present. But he also described the much less successful governmental attempts both in New Zealand and Australia to establish suburban communities for workingmen. Because he had envisioned such a suburbia as an answer to America's slums, that failure was to him a special disappointment.

The one feature of the New Zealand land settlement program that impressed him most was the type of title conveyance used. Rather than grant outright freeholds, as it did with other public lands, the government offered only 999 year leaseholds on any reverted land; but all subsequent improvements, such as buildings or fences, remained private property. By that means the government retained an interest in the land, which allowed it to enforce conservation measures, to control sales and foreclosures, and to prevent any future aggregation. Lloyd admired the social insight of this provision. But he criticized the government's continued dependence upon a very high revenue tariff because it lacked that same social insight: it taxed the people "not according to their ability to pay, but according to their necessities" (122).

On the other hand, Lloyd very much approved the government's use of that revenue to finance a program co-ordinated through its ministries of land, works, and labor to offer the unemployed public

jobs that were so organized as to enable them to settle on nearby public lands, an extension of its policy toward labor co-operatives. At some length he contrasted New Zealand's successful policy of government-organized self-help to the decided failures in Australia of publicly organized and subsidized co-operative and Communistic colonies of the unemployed. After visiting several of these settlements and talking with both inhabitants and officials, he reported that such an approach was very impractical; to Lloyd, "the result of this method of establishing co-operation is pithily summed up in the phrase current among English co-operators that 'to subsidise co-operation is to kill it' " (227). And his enthusiasm for co-operative colonies waned markedly after these Australian observations. But his observations of New Zealand's success with its compulsory arbitration law, particularly as contrasted to an ineffectual experiment with a minimum wage in the Australian colony of Victoria, increased his enthusiasm for that reform. Therefore, though he had just published *A Country Without Strikes*, he repeated his findings in a separate chapter in *Newest England*, using updated statistics to demonstrate its further achievements.

He was also enthusiastic about the government's program of low interest, long term treasury loans to farmers to free them from an expensive and arbitrary money market. Yet he did not let his enthusiasm overwhelm his critical judgment because he also reviewed the government's nearly disastrous support of the Bank of New Zealand. Relying upon false financial reports from the bank's directors and bowing to political expediency, the ministry and Parliament had hastily pledged the colony's credit to that bank during the panic of 1893–1894. When a full audit in 1895 revealed to an embarrassed ministry that the bank was near collapse, and had been for several years owing to the misjudgment and dishonesty of its directors, Parliament had to acknowledge a large loss in order to reestablish the colony's financial system. Lloyd felt the government had escaped fiscal catastrophe only through the naive trust of its people and the good luck of a resurgent economy. Paradoxically, in view of his praise otherwise, he deduced from this lucky escape that existing political methods were grossly inadequate to administer an industrial democracy: "What we know as 'politics' and socialism are incompatible. Democracy itself will see that democratic industry must not be at the daily mercy of majorities of one and of 'all-night'

sessions, nor of officials appointed to please politicians" (296). His answer, the same as that in *Man, the Social Creator*, was an ideally effective civil service selected through education and examination.

The last two programs that Lloyd described, he very much approved of. One was the various Australasian governments' extensive support of agricultural exports. Far from the world's markets, that colonial trade was organized and promoted by coordinated governmental planning effected through subsidies and loans; through strategically located cold-storage warehouses; through grading, packing, and shipping services; and through a supervision of London marketing agents. The result, he demonstrated, was that the producer received a fairer share of the market price and the state benefitted from a stabler economy. The other program was New Zealand's experimental extension of its welfare policy to include old age pensions. He believed that program an admirable application of the democratic principle, government for the people.

In his summary chapter, Lloyd reviewed the history of political change in New Zealand and drew two rhetorically contradictory conclusions. On one hand, he eulogized the people's endorsement of the Progressive Liberal party's programs as a social insurrection which had overturned a corrupt *ancien regime* and had accomplished far more than any other revolution, political or violent, in modern times: "This uprising of the people was called an election, but it was in truth a revolution—just such a revolution as it is the intent of democracy an election shall be when revolution is needed" (364). On the other hand, he praised the people for their ethos of moderation, their "conscious and unconscious middle class absorption" of class demands: "We see the state giving its principal efforts to the stimulation, as a silent partner, wise counsellor and democratic co-operator, of the enterprise and industry of the individual. While theorists invite the world to choose between the catastrophes of state socialism and trust socialism, New Zealand finds a way out between these extremes" (375).

The disparity between the rhetoric of revolution and praise of moderation—apparent here and, to a lesser extent, elsewhere in *Newest England*—was seized upon by the reviewer for *The Nation* to criticize Lloyd for being too rhapsodic a Democrat to report dispassionately about New Zealand's social experiments.[10] But that criticism was unfair since Lloyd, throughout the book, had described many difficulties and imperfections. Perhaps a more just

reaction, certainly a more sympathetic one, was that of the reviewer for *The Outlook*; he approved Lloyd's manner of expression because it held "the attention of readers who are not commonly interested in the discussion of 'problems,' " and he commended the usefulness of the book because it offered so much "practical suggestion respecting the problems pressing in upon our country."[11] And that seemed the general opinion; for *Newest England*, according to sales receipts, was the most popular of his books about his "democratic travels."[12]

IV A Sovereign People

Published under Henry Lloyd's name in November 1907, *A Sovereign People, a Study in Swiss Democracy* was actually written by its "editor," the well-known English ethical economist John Hobson, who had been Lloyd's good friend and correspondent for many years. Using Lloyd's notes from his trips to Switzerland in 1901 and 1902, Hobson put together a sizeable (260 pages), detailed, but not very readable survey of the development of Swiss grassroots democracy. In the preface, he stated clearly that the composition was his; but he maintained that the thesis, plan, and much of the research was Lloyd's:

> Following the general ground-plan, as I gathered it from his notes, I have built into the chapters of this book a mass of the facts recorded in his notes, amplified by references to the documents he had collected. In doing this I have been compelled to fuse fragments of material scattered through the note-books, supplementing them from other sources, in this way losing much of the personal qualities which the individual notes conveyed. Wherever it has seemed practicable, however, I have introduced phrases and sentences taken verbatim from the note-books, and in a few places large passages comprising several pages each have admitted of transcription with scarcely the alteration of a word. (vi–vii)

That statement puts this book in limbo: it is not precisely Hobson's, nor is it exactly Lloyd's. A close reading reveals that in significant ways it is in fact quite unlike Lloyd's work. In style, it is complex, even ponderous, with no attempt at allusiveness or informality; in method, it relies upon detailed analysis of the historical development of Swiss democracy, with a dry emphasis on names, dates, and sources; and, in theoretical speculation, it confines itself to rather carefully qualified generalization instead of dramatic, optimistic prognosis. As a composition, then, it mirrors Hobson's

work, not Lloyd's. But the subject matter seems to be Lloyd's and, to some extent, so does the emphasis. Thus, for our purposes, *A Sovereign People* is of interest insofar as it reflects, in general, a continuance of Lloyd's reports about applied democracy.

The principal subject of the book is the practical workings of Swiss direct legislation through the formulas of initiative and referendum. In the United States, the Omaha Platform of the People's Party contained a resolution supporting such direct legislation; and, during the 1890's, that reform increasingly interested such independents as Edward Bellamy, Samuel Gompers, and Oliver Wendell Holmes. By 1902, direct legislation was so popular a political panacea that it had been endorsed by the Democrats and constitutionally adopted in three states—South Dakota, Utah, and Oregon. But Lloyd's interest predated all this activity, according to W. G. Eggleston: "It was in 1888 or 1889 that I spoke to Lloyd about the Swiss system of initiative and referendum, believing I was telling him something he hadn't heard of. 'Yes,' he said. 'I've read the Swiss Constitution, and I'm going to look into that.' "[13] When he did, his observations were not limited to that particular reform. In visiting Switzerland more than a decade later to "look into" that system, he adhered to the antimonopolistic slant that underlay all his other political observations, as indicated by a comment, clearly his, appended to Chapter 13: "Switzerland tells us how our race evolves when not overcome by monopoly. New Zealand tells us how it behaves when bound hand and foot by the monopoly. From the two many of the lessons of the immediate future can be learned" (207).

The specific topics covered by the book indicate the lessons Lloyd had in mind. After devoting the first six chapters to a discussion of the background and structure of Swiss democracy, Hobson allotted separate chapters to Switzerland's nationalization of its railroads and alcohol trade, to its factory and labor legislation, to scattered instances of municipal ownership, to its welfare legislation and cooperative movements, and to its political system. Thus, in terms of contents, the book was analogous to *Newest England.* In covering these topics, Hobson also pursued a thesis question that very much reflected Lloyd's interests—How can a democracy function in a densely populated, urbanized, industrial age? Or, to put it in Hobson's words: "The supreme test of democratic institutions in the future will be their aptness for the task of displacing the tyranny of private industrial commonwealth which shall own and administer by

public employees all the industries producing goods and services the sufficient and secure supply of which is necessary to the health and fundamental well-being of all citizens" (126).

The question crucial to that issue—as explored in *A Sovereign People* and in Lloyd's works after the death of the People's Party—was how a representative form of democratic government could work without being entrapped and corrupted by the machinery of party politics. It was assumed in the book that Swiss democracy represented a viable, workable form: "It is not a representative system with popular checks, but a system of direct popular government with a representative machinery" (84). The demonstration of the success of that system supported a rejection of party: "If we are to have a really educated live democracy, responsibility must be brought home to the individual citizen, and this is impossible so long as he is taught to lean on and defer to party" (231).

The Swiss example, then, led to the Hobson-Lloyd conclusion that, for industrial democracy to survive and function, it had to do so in terms of small governmental units "in which the citizens know one another; in which their affairs are within their comprehension, imagination, and control; in which the centre is not out of reach of those on the circumference; in which the machinery is not so massive that the mind and the hand of the common people cannot grasp it" (258). In Lloyd's plans to report about just such a practical experiment in representative government, he hoped to contribute to the education of the American people and thereby to promote the future realization of a truer democracy in the United States. By "editing" *A Sovereign People*, Hobson attempted to promote those hopes.

CHAPTER 7

An Assessment

AFTER reflecting about impressions of the World's Columbian Exposition, historian Henry Adams declared in his autobiography that in 1893 Chicago had asked "for the first time the question whether the American people knew where they were driving."[1] Fascinated yet appalled by the intellectual chaos of the exhibition, that Proper Bostonian, previously secure in his humanistic eighteenth century education, suddenly realized in all its immensity the revolutionary impact of the Industrial Age upon American society and culture. His reaction was one of acute intellectual catatonia. Also in Chicago, some years before, Henry Lloyd experienced the same confrontation of humanism with materialism. Not as morbidly sensitive as Adams, he was not overwhelmed; instead, he vigorously questioned the values of that industrial age. Thus, seemingly unknown to Adams, Lloyd had asked since the early 1880's—in newspaper and magazine articles, in speeches, and in books—if the American people really knew where they were heading.

Because Lloyd posed that question so persistently, he was labelled by many of his contemporaries as a social radical; but that label is misleading. In political theory, he was a conservative; he was true to the social and ethical values of the nation's Founding Fathers. In practical politics, he was a pragmatist, determinedly following the empirical method. By calling attention to the conflicts inherent in America's industrialized democracy, and by suggesting ways to resolve those conflicts, he was in fact attempting to synthesize an equitable commonwealth for the future from the nation's seventeenth century Puritan morality, eighteenth century Lockean political philosophy, and nineteenth century commerce, science, and industry. He recognized that in his time the fusion of big business with party politics had created a Frankenstein's monster of sinister proportions. He sought to meliorate that fusion by evoking

the principles of a "new conscience" founded on the concept of brotherhood as expressed by the Golden Rule (his unpretentious translation of Kant's categorical imperative). And he sought to apply those principles through an analytic investigation of the evolution and everyday functions of big business (his journalistic utilization of the methods of the historical school of political economy). In his many efforts at reform, then, he was simply expressing through the intellectual media of his era an unwavering faith in the American democratic experiment.

Because Lloyd's social and ethical pragmatism found an audience among progressives, Lloyd became, according to the social historian Joseph C. Furnas, "one of the most catalytic Americans of his time."[2] He made his most lasting impact upon American history as a pioneering theorist and publicist of modern "social science." For he was the first to spell out with documented clarity to the general public the profound changes in American business methods, and he was the first to focus public attention upon the full implications of those changes. His moderate, nondoctrinaire attempts to use politics to channel those changes into socially beneficial courses marked him as one of the principal intellectual leaders of American reform.

Lloyd provided the American reformer with "a native, non-Marxian, essentially conservative socialism, with none of Bellamy's regimentation or George's panaceas, a link between collectivism and traditional democratic individualism," according to Russel Nye in a history of Midwestern progressivism.[3] Because Lloyd had no appeal for the "enthusiast," however, he never attained the extraordinary popularity of Bellamy or George. But he made a contribution perhaps far more important to the development of social democracy in the United States. In his theoretical insistence upon the inalienable rights of man, in his intellectual distrust of a priori methods and "systems," and in his pragmatic use of "Fact-Official adjudicated, massed in avalanche," he blazed a trail to be pursued successfully by the Muckrakers and reformers of the later Progressive Era. And, as an advocate of an eclectic, moderate Socialism, he pointed out repeatedly to those who followed the quintessential lesson of a true intellectual—that there are no easy social solutions; that no one has a monopoly on political truth, not even the most dedicated social reformer, for today's reform may be tomorrow's tyranny.

In Lloyd's reply to a request in 1899 by the editor of a cooperative newspaper, the Fairhope *Courier*, to define Socialism as

he understood it, he responded with a heterodox ethical definition coupled with a warning to rigid Marxists:

> To me, socialism represents itself not so much as a new doctrine as the entrance of the doctrine of mercy, justice and the common good, into the new fields of modern wealth. Social evolution, as I look at it, is a continual struggle for equilibrium between the individual and society, between power and the people. The economic individual has now become greater than society; the power of money is overshadowing that of the community. Our task is to apply to this economic tyrant and this money power the same social restraints that in previous ages we have applied to the power of the church and the power of the kings. But let us beware, lest in doing so we create a new power to oppress."[4]

Clearly, he founded his version of Socialism, with the caution of a political moderate, upon the values intrinsic to the American heritage.

Yet Lloyd's intellectual leadership was not provincial. As Norman Pollack observed in *The Populist Mind*, Lloyd demonstrated "a breadth of understanding and interests almost without parallel in our society at that time."[5] Through his education, profession, reading, personal friendships, correspondence, and travels, he acquired a truly remarkable cosmopolitan acquaintance with the economic and social thought of his era. Obviously, he regarded his primary mission as a leader of reform to act as a publicist for that economic and social thought and for what he conceived were the verities of social democracy. And he pursued that mission with unusual consistency for more than thirty years. Equipped by his law training and journalistic background, he was able to transmit his message clearly and analytically to middle- and working-class liberals.

But he attempted on occasion to translate that message personally into social action. His most notable role as an activist was as the chief organizer of Midwestern labor Populism. Here, too, he made a lasting impact on American history. As the leading spokesman for that coalition of liberal labor unions and urban Populist reformers, he expressed better than any other individual in the ill-starred People's Party its positive goals to democratize the American industrial system. Thus, according to the social historian Wilson C. McWilliams, "more than any other spokesman, [Lloyd] gave Populism the coherence of an ideology."[6]

He was also active as a public apologist for the labor movement, eliciting favorable publicity for the cause of the worker and helping to bring respectability to labor unionism. Garbed as a "patrician" but standing stalwartly among the cast of workers during major acts of the American industrial drama—the Haymarket riot, the Pullman strike, the anthracite coal strike—Lloyd was an effective middle-class champion of the workingman when he desperately needed such a champion. And in that role Lloyd earned a secure place in the annals of American labor history. For example, Samuel Gompers reported in his autobiography that "several times I have been asked what in my opinion was the most important single incident in the labor movement of the United States and I have invariably replied: 'the [1902] strike of the anthracite miners in Pennsylvania.' " He explained it was because that strike demonstrated for the first time "the effectiveness of trade unions even when contending against trusts."[7] Representing the anthracite miners before the court of public opinion and before the presidential commission that resolved the strike, Lloyd helped establish a public attitude and the legal precedents that led eventually to a more general recognition in the United States of labor's right to a fair hearing and to an equitable contract.

In the history of American literature, Lloyd is not of first importance. As judged by literary conventions, he is a tertiary figure, a journalist who usually wrote well and who made a lasting impression upon American social and intellectual history. He is remembered for his contribution to American letters as the first Muckraker, as the one who established for those who followed a mutual touchstone—a firm belief in democratic values—and several standard techniques—sincere outrage, dramatic exposé, overwhelming documentation, and perceptive inferences. At his best in journalistic exposition, he exhibited clarity, coherence, and abundant concreteness. With a journalist's sense of audience he sought the well-turned phrase within an explicit cause-effect structure, both necessary ingredients for palatable exhortation. After reading several of Lloyd's early magazine articles, Robert Louis Stevenson wrote a mutual friend that Lloyd "writes the most workmanlike article of any man known to me in America, unless it should be Parkman."[8] But in his polemics Lloyd often cultivated a nineteenth century prose style that does not appeal to the taste of a twentieth

century audience, particularly when he was involved with abstractions rather than with straightforward demonstration. For—true to his literary mentors Emerson, Carlyle, and Ruskin—he employed the aphorism, the antithesis, the apt literary or historical allusion, and the *sententia* when he wished to "elevate" his style to his subject.

At its worst, most noticeably late in his career, his prose became strident and splenetic, its tone too much that of a zealous dissident. In the words of Joseph Furnas, "sometimes he sounded like just another enthusiast throwing soggy epithets as if they were tomatoes."[9] But that was only sometimes and mostly in the topical, reform-oriented journalism of his last years, such as his commentaries in *Boyce's Weekly*. And even these exhibit the flair of an accomplished journalist; a typical example is his contribution of April 8, 1903, entitled "What the Miners Really Got":

> Fountain pens are playing large streams of ink upon the fuming conservatives all over the country to explain away the award recently given in favor of the anthracite coal miners by the Arbitration Commission. Railroad, mining, capitalistic scribblers vie with one another in ingenious accentuation of this, that, and the other thing which the miners did not get. This is a laudable endeavor to earn their money, by "saving the face," as the Chinese say of their class. . . .
>
> Now, the fact is that the miners have got precisely what they asked for.
>
> They did not make any hard and fast demands for 20 per cent increase in pay, an eight-hour day, recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, nor for anything else.
>
> What they did ask for was such increase of pay, such shortening of hours, such weighing of coal, and the like, as they might be found entitled to by collective conference, and arbitration.
>
> When the strike was ordered this was the naked issue. The billion-candle-power geniuses who "shine for all"—of themselves—in the business world, declared that collective conference and arbitration were impracticable in such questions and inconsistent with good business methods. After paying about fifty million dollars for a lesson in what the best and most practical methods are in modern civilization, they surrendered and arbitrated.
>
> This was what the miners had asked for, first, last, and all the time, and this is what they got.
>
> A greater victory has not been won in the social history of our race, and the very persons to whom it is of the most vital importance are the very class who are now busy in belittling it, and who hoped to settle the strike by

force. If there is one class more than another that should pray that social disputes should always be ended by reason, it is the parasites of the minority who do not know how to use their hands. (6)

In one of William Allen White's novels, he, the Progressive Republican editor, made a comment that may explain why Lloyd's later prose sometimes spluttered: "The history of reform is a history of disappointment. The reform works, of course. But in working it does only the one little trick it is intended to do, and the long chain of incidental blessings which should follow, which the reformers feel must inevitably follow, wait for other reformers to bring them into being."[10] Undoubtedly, the frustration of such continued disappointment drove Lloyd to throw an occasional epithet. For he had dedicated his life to social reform. Many who knew him well testified to that dedication—to his great compassion and generosity—to his perception and humility. His home, for instance, reflected those qualities: "One always meets at that home, and gathered around a table which accommodates from twenty to thirty people, rich and poor, white and black, gentle and simple, college president and seamstress, artist and mechanic, divine and layman—all on a basis of liberty, fraternity and humanity."[11]

But, in spite of his dedication and strenuous personal efforts, Lloyd knew that no one man ever built a millennium; and he recognized his role realistically as that of a precursor. When a correspondent asked him to define his position in 1898, he replied: "As to what I am, I only know that I am doing the best I can to expose the evils under which we suffer and to make known all the facts that seem to come within my province that indicate the lines of evolution towards the remedy. I have never interested myself in any question of label or intricacies of creed. . . . Sometimes when I am asked to define myself, I say that I am a socialist-anarchist-communist-individualist-collectivist-co-operative-aristocratic-democrat, for, as I survey the world, the very complicated thing we call society is rolling along all these lines simultaneously."[12] In many ways, Lloyd was Emerson's Man writ large.

Notes and References

Chapter One

1. Because Lloyd passed the bar exam, he did not complete the traditional two year law course; nevertheless, Columbia granted him a pro forma master of arts degree at spring commencement, 1870. For a circumstantial account of his college career, see Chester M. Destler, "A 'Plebian' at Columbia: 1863–1869," *New York History*, XXVII (July 1946), 306–23.

2. Autograph letter signed from Lloyd to Henry Keenan, June 25, 1872, in the Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; all subsequent manuscript citations from this collection are designated "State Historical Society of Wisconsin." A portion of this letter also cited in Caro Lloyd, *Henry Demarest Lloyd* (New York, 1912), I, 38.

3. Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), III, 9 *et passim*; Carl Sandburg, "Chicago," *The Complete Poems* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), p. 3.

4. Lloyd's repeated pattern of failed negotiations suggests either an inexplicable ambivalence on his part or a continued lack of liquid capital because other newspapers he considered buying included Chicago *Mail and Post* in 1874; Chicago *Daily Telegraph* in 1881; Chicago *Journal* in 1885; Chicago *Times* in 1889, 1891, 1894; and Chicago *Globe*, 1890.

5. In a letter to Charles Eliot dated May 22, 1901, quoted by Caro, Henry estimated the worth of that property at "several hundred thousand dollars (three, or more)," II, 175; but in 1904 in probate court his personal "estate was conservatively appraised at $282,235.00," Chester Destler, *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform* (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 605. Several times in the 1890's he felt temporary financial pressure when the *Tribune* suspended dividends for capital purposes, even though most of his fixed expenses were covered by annuities from the Bross estate.

6. He served as vice-president of the council, 1884–1886; village treasurer, 1887–1888; and president of the Town Meeting, 1898. He was also a member of the local board of education for several terms.

7. Three of the Lloyd's four sons earned positions of some note in their own times: William B. (1875–1946), as a lawyer and erstwhile American Communist party supporter; Henry D., Jr. (1878–1952), as a prominent Massachusetts dermatologist; Demarest (1883–1937), as a well-known New

York City journalist; and John B. (1886–1965). Each was a graduate of Harvard.

8. For example, Edwin Cady, *The Road to Realism* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1956), p. 181, describes "The Story of a Great Monopoly" as "one of the most explosive antibusiness articles of the entire Gilded Age" and suggests that "with it the decisive Muckrakers' movement was begun."

9. C. Lloyd, I, 73.

10. Destler, *Lloyd*, p. 148.

11. Typed copy dated September 2, 1885, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; *cf.*, C. Lloyd, I, 78.

12. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Henry Huntington, July 20, 1888, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Chester Destler traces the influence at this time of Stewart on Lloyd with publication of their letters in "A Coffin Worker and the Labor Problem: Ethelbert Stewart and Henry Demarest Lloyd," *Labor History*, XII (Summer 1971), 409–34.

15. Destler, *Lloyd*, p. 157.

16. C. Lloyd, I, 86.

17. William Bross died in January 1890; by the terms of his will, his fortune was left in trust to the Lloyds' sons under the exclusive administration of A. T. Galt; when the grandsons assumed control in 1910, the estate totalled over six million dollars. From that trust, Jessie received a $10,000 annuity and Henry was granted Bross's interest in "The Wayside" and $4,000 annually toward the everyday expenses of his sons, in addition to the costs of their college and professional educations; Destler, *Lloyd*, p. 218. Former lieutenant governor of Illinois, pioneering Chicago journalist, land speculator, historian, natural scientist, and college philanthropist, Bross is interesting in his own right: see the brief eulogy by Charles Young, *William Bross 1813–1890* (Lake Forest, Illinois: Lake Forest College, 1940). Ironically, Bross's namesake and favorite grandson became much more radical than his father, H.D. Lloyd. W. B. Lloyd used part of his share of Bross's fortune to aid members of the American Communist party; was arrested in January 1919 under the war-time Sedition Act for "conspiracy to overthrow the government"; and was sentenced to prison for two years, though defended by Clarence Darrow. See Irving Stone, *Clarence Darrow for the Defence* (New York: Doubleday, Doren & Company, 1941), p. 368 and pp. 375–379.

18. Manuscript dated November 11, 1887, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

19. Letter from Lloyd to Huntington, July 20, 1888.

20. C. Lloyd, I, 121.

21. In addition to his secretary's research efforts, Lloyd kept files of current press reports compiled by a commercial clipping service. After his death, many of those materials were deposited in the archives of the State

Historical Society of Wisconsin and his extensive collection of short-lived reform and labor papers was given to the John Crerar Library in Chicago. During his lifetime, Lloyd actively circulated reform data among his many correspondents and opened his library to researchers. Sometimes his collection was indispensible; for example, some of the court records he used for his analysis of Standard Oil were missing by the time Ida Tarbell did her research, and his certified copies were the only ones available.

22. *Men, the Workers* (New York, 1909), p. 18.

23. Lloyd underwrote publication of the book with a loan of three hundred dollars to the Belford-Clarke Co.; it is doubtful he was reimbursed because the firm went bankrupt the next year. Two thousand copies of the first edition and one thousand of the second were printed.

24. A thorough analysis of the labor-Populist alliance in Illinois during 1894–1895, and Lloyd's interest in it, is provided by the last four chapters of Chester Destler's *American Radicalism, 1865–1901* (New London, 1946), pp. 162–254.

25. Howard Quint, *The Forging of American Socialism* (Columbia, 1953), pp. 227–230.

26. George Gunton, "Integrity of Economic Literature," *Social Economist*, IX (July 1895), 11–25.

27. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Andrew Adair, October 10, 1896, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

28. Quint, pp. 233–237.

29. Facsimile letter from George Baer to William F. Clark in C. Lloyd, II, between 190–191.

30. Chester Destler has published excerpts from Lloyd's correspondence during this period in "On the Eve of the Anthracite Coal Strike Arbitration: Henry D. Lloyd at United Mine-Workers Headquarters, October-November 1902," *Labor History*, XIII (Spring 1972), 279–295.

Chapter Two

1. Cornelius Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), p. 1.

2. Autograph letter signed from Lloyd to Mrs. Aaron Lloyd, March 27, 1891, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; also cited as a facsimile letter in C. Lloyd, I, 188–189.

3. Manuscript, dated 1867, pp. 6–7, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

4. New York *Evening Post*, *passim*, May 28, 1869, through June 28, 1870.

5. "Political Economy Not a Failure," *Phrenological Journal*, LIV (January 1872), 53–55.

6. Destler, *Lloyd*, p. 98.

7. Autograph letter signed from Lloyd to Henry Keenan, February 11, 1878, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

8. Destler, *Lloyd*, p. 93.

9. John J. Lalor, ed., *Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1881), I, 493–497.

10. Destler, *Lloyd*, p. 98. My brief and general account of Lloyd's editorial activity during the 1870's and, to a lesser extent, during the 1880's is based necessarily on Destler's analysis. For I have found it impossible to identify with confidence any *Tribune* editorials as Lloyd's unless they were signed, in spite of Destler's statement in the typewritten bibliography that he placed in the files of the Library of Congress that "Lloyd's numerous Chicago *Tribune* unsigned editorials can be identified by his peculiar style, October 1872–February 26, 1885" (p. 25).

11. Destler, *Lloyd*, p. 117.

12. Lloyd's newspaper campaign against railroad abuses did have its cumulative effect; as John Clarke points out in *The Federal Trust Policy* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1931), p. 17, it dovetailed with his journal articles to earn for him "much of the credit for crystallizing the growing sentiment for federal regulation of . . . railroads."

13. Charles E. Russell, "Introduction," C. Lloyd, I, vi–vii.

14. Clarke, p. 17.

15. Allan Nevins, *Study in Power* (New York, 1953), II, 140. It is surprising to find Nevins accusing Lloyd of "twisting statistics" (p. 143) in his interpretation of cost-price figures, which were based on Chicago and Cleveland data, by reference to New York Chamber of Commerce figures, when Lloyd himself pointed out in the sentence immediately before the quotation that Nevins cited that New York prices were atypical (10½ as opposed to 19¾ and 17¢, respectively), because, as Lloyd had mentioned earlier, competition still existed there. A close comparison of the article itself to Nevins's references to it reveals several such discrepancies. See the "Assessment" section of Chapter 3 for more information about Nevins's attack.

16. Russel Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1959), p. 101.

17. C. Lloyd, I, 62.

18. Edwin Godkin, "Notes," *The Nation*, XXXIV (June 22, 1882), 522.

19. "Political Economy and the Goulds," *The Nation*, XXXIV (June 29, 1882), 543.

20. Autograph letter signed from R. R. Bowker, an editorial assistant at *Harper's Monthly*, to Lloyd, February 12, 1884; manuscript and galley proofs at State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

21. L. S. Metcalf, an editorial assistant to Rice at this time, wrote Lloyd June 2, 1883, about this commissioned reply, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

22. Margaret Cole, *The Story of Fabian Socialism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 18.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

24. Letters to Lloyd from both L. S. Metcalf of the *Forum* (October 6, 1888) and T. B. Aldrich of the *Atlantic* (October 14, 1888) warmly solicit contributions from him on the trust question and suggest how emphatic their rejections must have seemed.

25. This address was published in part in a reform monthly, *The Pilgrim*, VII (August 1903), 10 and 30, as "The Public and the Coal Question."

Chapter Three

1. Herman Teufel, in "Henry Demarest Lloyd" (Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1935), p. 48, cites this figure from a letter to him by Harper & Brothers dated April 11, 1935.

2. Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (New York: The New American Library, 1960), p. 317.

3. C. Lloyd, I, 184.

4. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Harper & Brothers, July 17, 1893, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; *cf.*, C. Lloyd, I, 187–88.

5. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Henry Bascom, May 1, 1895, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; *cf.*, C. Lloyd, I, 194.

6. Responding to a request for a personal sketch to be included in Henry Latchford's article about him in *The Arena* entitled "A Social Reformer" (X [October 1894], 577–89), Lloyd wrote about himself:

> Though he has never practiced law, Mr. Lloyd has had a lawyer's education and has a lawyer's mind. There is nothing violent or eccentric about his philosophy, his methods or his language. His first step was to ascertain the facts of the economic and social situations in this country by such personal investigation of the facts on the ground, and of official records as are to be seen in his two first books, "A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners," and "Wealth Against Commonwealth." When with this grasp of the problem he turns to seek a remedy, he does not go to building Utopias nor dreaming dreams of Cooperative Commonwealths thousands of years distant. Knowing as a constitutionalist and an evolutionist that if a better order is to succeed that in which we live, the new must be growing within the old, as is the way of all organisms, he sets himself to discover this new in the actual life of our world today.

Typed manuscript, State Historical Society f Wisconsin. Unfortunately, Latchfield did not use this material in the article. If he had, he would have provided the readers of *The Arena* with a clearer insight into the method of *Wealth Against Commonwealth* and at the same time have allowed Lloyd to make an oblique thrust at Edward Bellamy's Utopian Socialism, which Lloyd never espoused, because in his view it offered no viable program for achieving social reform and it negated his theoretical stance in Emersonian individualism.

7. C. Lloyd, I, 197.

8. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to William J. Skillman, October 7, 1895, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; *cf.*, C. Lloyd, I, 201.

9. Autograph letter signed from John Burroughs to Lloyd, November 2, 1894, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

10. Mildred Howells, ed., *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1928), II, 46.

11. Charles and Mary Beard, in *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 428, proposed another explanation for a lack of immediate response to Lloyd's book: his effect "would have been more terrifying if he had not offered social democracy as the answer to the questions raised by his analysis—a particular solution no more palatable to the American middle class than the doings of John D. Rockefeller's South Improvement Company."

12. [Anon.], "Recent American Publications," *Review of Reviews*, X (November 1894), 571; [Anon.], "Notes," *The Nation*, LIX (November 8, 1894), 348. Destler, in *Lloyd*, p. 308, identifies the first reviewer as Shaw; Roger Sherman identifies Scheide as the author of the second review in a letter to Lloyd, January 11, 1895, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

13. Unfortunately, for many readers the two later editions of *Wealth Against Commonwealth* compound that misunderstanding in that both are extensive abridgments, without clear editorial indication of how much or where, which thereby distort Lloyd's presentation.

14. Thomas C. Cochran, "Introduction," *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963), p. 4.

15. Daniel Aaron, *Men of Good Hope* (New York, 1951), p. 155.

16. Ralph and Muriel Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882–1911* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), p. 644. It is mildly ironic that the Hidys accused Lloyd of "unconscious misrepresentation" when they themselves used as their text the National Home Library edition; for its editor, Charles C. Baldwin, had silently cut portions from throughout the text, had omitted one-half of Chapter 22 and all of Chapters 23 through 26 (pp. 305–368 of the 1894 edition), and had retitled Chapter 22 and renumbered the latter chapters to cover the major omissions. Joseph Pusateri analyzes, with specific reference to Lloyd, the development of "Business Revisionism" in "The Rehabilitation of the 'Robber Barons'," *Cithara*, IX (1969), 43–55.

17. Beard, pp. 427–428, John Chamberlain, *Farewell to Reform* (New York: The John Day Company, 1932), pp. 48–55; John Flynn, *God's Gold, the Story of Rockefeller* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), pp. 327–330; Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934), pp. 268–269.

18. Aaron, pp. 133–171; Ray Ginger, *Age of Excess* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), pp. 313–314; David W. Noble, *The Paradox of Progressive Thought* (Minneapolis, 1958), pp. 138–156; Paul F. Boller, Jr., *American Thought in Transition* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1969), pp. 107–110.

19. Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller* (New York: Charles Scribner's

Sons, 1940), II, 335; the earlier commendation was in Nevins's *Grover Cleveland* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1932), p. 607.

20. Nevins, *Study in Power*, II, 330–334. In his exchange with Destler, Nevins was correct when he insisted Lloyd was a publicist and a crusader, not a historian. And he had a valid point when he insisted that Lloyd based some of his case on questionable witnesses, the Widow Backus and Albert Miller; but that use of weak evidence did not support Nevins's blanket charge against Lloyd's intellectual honesty; for their testimony was sworn, it was not discredited in court, and it was just a small part of Lloyd's case. Surprisingly unchastened by the validity of Destler's arguments, Nevins erred in disregarding one of his own primary sources when repeating his accusations in the second biography. For he stated with reference to Senator Henry B. Payne's election: "A measure of Lloyd's intellectual honesty is to be found in the fact that, writing at length of 'the treasurer of the Standard' in the election, he completely suppressed the vital point that this treasurer was the Senator's son!" (p. 333). In *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, Lloyd in fact reported: "Then Mr. Payne said: 'There never has been a national election at which those two gentlemen—one of them was my own son—have not contributed very liberally.' He named the two men who were, as Senator [George F.] Hoar showed, among the most influential and important managers of his election to the Senate" (p. 387). Edward Kirkland in *Industry Comes of Age* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), pp. 307–309, echoes Nevins's debunking of Lloyd in the same sweeping style, but his specific criticisms of the book have point, especially his rejection of Lloyd's inferences about a vast international monopoly under Standard Oil Control.

21. Robert Spiller et al., *Literary History of the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 980.

22. Harold Faulkner, *Politics, Reform and Expansion* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 19.

23. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Frederick Gillette, November 30, 1896, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

24. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to D. C. Heath, December 19, 1894, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

25. Ida Tarbell, *All in a Day's Work* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), pp. 204–205.

Chapter Four

1. W. L. Scott, "Mr. Scott Makes Reply," New York *Times*, December 1, 1889, p. 1.

2. "To Certain Rich Men," Chicago *Herald*, November 13, 1889, p. 9; Lloyd used parts of this newspaper article in Chapters 4–7 of the book.

3. All page citations are to the second edition of *A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners*, now available in a reprint (New York, 1970).

4. C. Lloyd, I, 131.

5. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Moritz Pinner, December 17, 1897, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; an altered partial version cited in C. Lloyd, I, 139.

6. Elsie Glück, *John Mitchell, Miner* (New York: The John Day Company, 1929), p. 18.

7. [Anon.], "Book Department," *Annals of the American Academy*, XXXVI (November 1910), 703.

8. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to George Gates, May 23, 1895, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

9. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Andrew Adair, October 10, 1896, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

10. Destler, *American Radicalism*, p. 173.

11. The published versions of these two speeches reflect topical changes Lloyd made in his text for delivery elsewhere; those changes demonstrate a fact about many of his speeches: he often updated and repeated them. See also Jonathan Lurie's "H. D. Lloyd: a Note," *Agricultural History*, XLVII (January 1973), 76–79, for a brief discussion of Lloyd's role as middle-class reform publicist and for the reprinting of a political "fable" he told at one of the meetings of the Sunset Club in 1892.

12. Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review*, CXLVIII (June 1889), 653–664. In a letter to Sam Bowles, publisher of the Springfield *Republican*, written during the 1892 strike at Carnegie's Homestead steel plant, Lloyd gave his private assessment of that creed:

> Against Carnegie personally I have no sort of feeling, but he seems to me one of the worst representatives of our mercenary system of ordering industry which is perverting it from the supply of demand and the production and distribution of the wealth in nature for the use of all men, and making it an instrument of personal aggrandisement and cannibalistic selfishness. . . . Carnegie with his gospel of wealth, his professions of philanthropy and his constant assertions that his wealth is but the survival of the fittest, and represents his superior 'thrift, industry and sobriety' is but another Bounderby.

Typed copy, July 11, 1892, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

13. For a good, brief survey of American social theories that influenced Bellamy and, by analogy, Lloyd, see Sylvia E. Bowman, *Edward Bellamy Abroad* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962), pp. 29–66.

14. Samuel Gompers, "Organized Labor in the Campaign," *North American Review*, CLV (July 1892), 91–96.

15. Colston E. Warne, ed., *The Pullman Boycott of 1894* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1955), p. 76.

16. See Almont Lindsey, *The Pullman Strike* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), for a carefully documented history of these events.

17. Lloyd defended Altgeld's role in these events in "Governor Altgeld

and the Pullman Strike," New York *Morning Journal*, October 18, 1896; quoted at length in C. Lloyd, I, 147–151.

18. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Clarence Darrow, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; *cf.*, C. Lloyd, I, 145.

19. Undated manuscript reminiscence by Mary Jones, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Chapter Five

1. Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State* (Ann Arbor, 1956), provides an excellent discussion of the influence of the new economics school; Charles Hopkins's *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940) is the standard history of that movement.

2. Noble, p. 145.

3. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Henry Keenan, July 24, 1872, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

4. Autograph letter signed from Lloyd to Mr. R. Proctor, April 10, 1894, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

5. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Quincy Dowd, April 6, 1890, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; cited in part by C. Lloyd, I, 116.

6. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Thomas Morgan, May 24, 1895, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

7. Ralph W. Emerson, *The Selected Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), p. 23.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 167 and 168.

11. Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus and On Heroes and Hero Worship* (London: Everyman's Library, 1964), p. 148.

12. Ray Ginger, *Altgeld's America* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1958), p. 141.

13. For several years Lloyd was listed in the masthead of the New York Fabian Society's journal, *The American Fabian*, as a "contributing editor," though his only contribution seems to have been financial. In its March 1896 issue, that journal reviewed the history of the American Socialist movement (3–4), then published the specific social and political program of the Socialist Labor party of the United States (11), noting that, while most Fabians did not agree with its methods, many agreed with its principles. Lloyd's own definite proposals closely reflected those of that program.

14. Typed copy of manuscript, dated June 1903, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

15. C. Lloyd, II, 351.

16. Eltweed Pomeroy, "Books of the Day," *Arena*, XXXVI (November 1906), 570.

17. Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, p. 215.

18. [Anon.], "Notes," *The Nation*, LXXXIII (August 2, 1906), 99; Graham Taylor, "Book Department," *Annals of the American Academy*, XXVII (November 1906), 125; Florence Kelley, "Man, the Social Creator," *Charities and the Commons*, XVII (December 15, 1906), 466.

19. Destler, *Lloyd*, p. 197.

20. Henry May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Octagon Books, 1963), pp. 159 and 259.

21. Autograph letter signed from John Altgeld to Lloyd, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

22. According to Lloyd's manuscript notebooks, he studied Thomas H. Green's account of Sir Harry Vane during 1891; since this speech cites Green as its authority, it probably dates from that period.

Chapter Six

1. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Isaac Hourwich, July 21, 1897, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

2. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to James Rhodes, August 11, 1899, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; also cited but incorrectly dated by C. Lloyd, II, 94.

3. [Anon.], "Labor Copartnership," *Harper's Weekly*, XLII (September 24, 1898), 945. That was the general press reaction, a rather wide and favorable one; for example, see the long review in "Editor's Table," *New England Magazine*, n.s. XIX (November 1898), 387–398, or see "The Bookman's Table," *The Bookman*, VIII (November 1898), 260–261.

4. Beatrice Webb, *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain* (London: S. Sonnenschein & Company, 1893), pp. 29–31 and 117–137.

5. The split between labor co-partnerships and consumer co-operatives is still something of an issue in England; see Jack Bailey, *The British Co-operative Movement* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1960), p. 101.

6. [Anon.], "Books of the Week," *The Outlook*, LX (September 3, 1898), 85.

7. "A Visit to the Compulsory Arbitration Court of New Zealand," *The Outlook*, LXIII (December 9, 1899), 877–879; "New Zealand Newest England," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXIV (December 1899), 789–794; "Some New Zealand Scenes," *Ainslee's*, IV (January 1900), 752–759.

8. Rev. John Ryan, "A Country Without Strikes," *The Catholic World*, LXXII (November 1900), 145–157.

9. Charles R. Henderson, "Social Discussion and Reform," *The Dial*, XXVIII (June 1, 1900), 437; [Anon.], "Notes," *The Nation*, LXXI (July 12, 1900), 38–39.

10. [Anon.], "Notes," *The Nation*, LXXII (April 18, 1901), 322.

11. [Anon.], "The Lesson of 'Newest England,' " *The Outlook*, LXVII (February 16, 1901), 390–91.

12. Teufel, p. 47, gives Lloyd's receipts as of 1904 for *Labor Copartnership*, *A Country Without Strikes*, and *Newest England* as $295.47, $310.43, and $843.20, respectively; without contract details, it is impossible to translate these figures into number of copies sold, especially since Lloyd would waive royalties on occasion, as he did for the English edition of *Labor Copartnership*.

13. W. G. Eggleston, "Henry Demarest Lloyd: Messenger," *The Arena*, XXXVII (April 1907), 354.

Chapter Eight

1. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), p. 343.

2. Joseph C. Furnas, *The Americans* (New York, 1969), p. 721.

3. Nye, p. 102.

4. Typed copy of letter from Lloyd to Fairhope (Alabama) *Courier*, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Lloyd's answer appeared in the *Courier*, September 15, 1899.

5. Norman Pollack, *The Populist Mind* (New York, 1967), p. 67.

6. Wilson Carey McWilliams, *The Idea of Fraternity in America* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 402.

7. Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (New York; E. P. Dutton Company, 1925), II, 126.

8. Handwritten copy of letter from R. L. Stevenson to George Iles, December 14, 1887, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

9. Furnas, p. 722.

10. William A. White, *In the Heart of a Fool* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), p. 524.

11. Latchford, p. 583.

12. C. Lloyd, I, 301; I have been unable to discover this letter among the Lloyd papers at State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Selected Bibliography

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Caro Lloyd includes a nearly complete and accurate list of Henry D. Lloyd's writings in her biography (II, 351–363), but that list was supplemented in a few instances in the typewritten bibliography by Chester M. Destler that was placed on deposit in the Library of Congress to accompany his biography. Only Lloyd's publications available in book format are listed below, but the Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers, indexed and available on microfilm, are invaluable to the student of Lloyd and American social reform; they are described in *The Papers of Henry Demarest Lloyd, Guide to a Microfilm Edition* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971). Manuscripts formerly held by the Lloyd family were added to that collection in 1952 and 1964, but some of the more personal items, accessible earlier to C. M. Destler, had by then been destroyed.

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Wealth Against Commonwealth. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894. Also published in two later editions, both considerably abridged without clear indication how much or where: one edited by Charles C. Baldwin with a foreword by John Chamberlain (Washington, D.C.: National Home Library, 1936); the other edited with an introduction by Thomas C. Cochran (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

Labor Copartnership. Notes of a Visit to Co-operative Workshops, Factories, and Farms in Great Britain and Ireland, in which Employer, Employé, and Consumer Share in Ownership, Management, and Results. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1898.

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Men, the Workers. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909. Reissued by Arno Press, New York, 1969.

Mazzini and Other Essays. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910.

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_____. "A Coffin Worker and the Labor Problem: Ethelbert Stewart and Henry Demarest Lloyd," *Labor History*, XII (Summer 1971), 409–434. Traces the relationship between Stewart, who became United States commissioner of labor, 1920–1932, and Lloyd through some of their letters.

_____. *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963. Definitive biography, admirably detailed, documented from primary sources. Study was begun in 1937 and used documents no longer extant; concentrates on the history of Lloyd's intellectual development and influence but sometimes lacks critical distance.

_____. "On the Eve of the Anthracite Coal Strike Arbitration: Henry D. Lloyd at United Mine-Workers Headquarters, October–November 1902," *Labor History*, XIII (Spring 1972), 279–295. Reviews events of the strike through some of Lloyd's letters.

_____. "A 'Plebian' at Columbia: 1863–69," *New York History*, XXVII (July 1946), 306–323. Sketches Lloyd's college days.

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States; unfortunately, the analysis of Lloyd's role is based on limited primary data.

EGGLESTON, W[ILLIAM]. G. "Henry Demarest Lloyd: Messenger," *The Arena*, XXXVII (April 1907), 351–361. Reminiscent evaluation of Lloyd's "philosophical socialism" by a prominent Single Taxer.

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Index