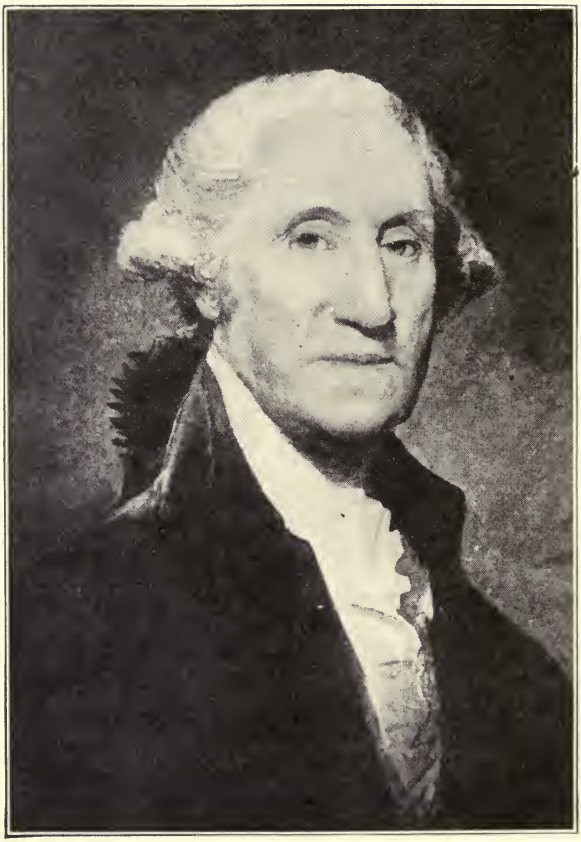
The PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

A TEXTBOOK IN CIVICS

EDWARD MANLEY



GEORGE WASHINGTON
President of the Constitutional Convention

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

A Textbook in Civics

by

EDWARD MANLEY
ENGLEWOOD HIGH SCHOOL, CHICAGO

No man undertakes a trade he has not learned, even the meanest; yet every one thinks himself sufficiently qualified for the hardest of all trades —that of government. SOCRATES.

BENJ. H. SANBORN & CO.
CHICAGO NEW YORK BOSTON
1930

PREFACE

Our educational system would be doing a distinct service to the country if it could give to the young people of the present generation a respect for law. In the case of our most interesting girls and boys, the ones we like to consider typically American in their attitude, this respect for law can never be awakened by mere commandments and prohibitions: it must have a sound basis. If young people can be made to understand that laws are necessary to their comfort and happiness, and if they can be made to feel a personal responsibility for keeping laws sane and reasonable and for observance of all laws and a vigorous enforcement of them; we shall have that respect for law which has at all times marked highly civilized nations at the height of their power.

To reach this difficult goal it is necessary that young people take a thoughtful interest in government. The hope of the author is that the material in this book may awaken interest and stimulate discussion on matters which, though of vital importance, are generally neglected by the ordinary man and woman. Many questions have been asked in this book to which it is impossible to give definite answer. Students, even below high school age, are not too young to learn that the world in which they live is full of problems as yet unsettled. These problems may be brought nearer to a satisfactory solution by thoughtful discussion and the marshaling of known facts. Intelligent interest in government problems on the part of even a fraction of the electorate would greatly strengthen a democracy.

The author knows how humble is the contribution which he is making toward a realization of our democratic ideals. He hopes that he is moving in the right direction, and that others following him in the same line may have better success.

For inspiration in the preparation of this book the author is indebted to many sources; to the authors of the Yale Citizenship Series, or rather the Dodge Course upon the Responsibilities of Citizenship; to the sessions and publications of the Commonwealth Conference held at the University of Iowa; to Mr. Bryce, author of *Modern Democracies;* and to Aristotle. But his greatest inspiration has been and is the hundreds of students whom he has met in his classroom during the past thirty years. By their interest in serious problems and by their conscientious efforts to think clearly and honestly and scientifically they have constantly renewed his faith in democracy and in the Republic.

Thanks are due, and are hereby rendered, to the *Chicago Tribune* for permission to use cartoons by Mr. McCutcheon; to the *Chicago Journal* for permission to use a cartoon; and to the *Nebraska League of Women Voters* for permission to use a cartoon.

E. M.

October 1929.

BOOKS SUGGESTED FOR READING AND REFERENCE

Below is given a list of books which should prove suggestive and stimulating to teachers. The books have been chosen partly because they are not highly technical or too detailed. They are for the most part interesting. In them many teachers will find material that they can use to advantage in classes.

However, material for outside reading, gathered by teachers themselves with an understanding of the needs of their classes, is of greater value than any set of definite references assigned by the writer of a textbook.

Teachers will find it convenient to own all or at least part of these books. In any case the school library should have them.

READING FOR TEACHERS

James M. Beck, The Constitution of the United States.
F. C. Howe, The City: The Hope of Democracy.
Marcus Kavanagh, The Criminal and His Allies.
Frank R. Kent, The Great Game of Politics.
Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion.
W. B. Munro, The Invisible Government.
Theodore Roosevelt, Autobiography.
Graham Wallas, The Great Society.
Graham Wallas, Human Nature in Politics.
Walter E. Weyl, The New Democracy.
Stewart E. White, The Blazed Trail.
Stewart E. White, The Riverman.
Stewart E. White, The Rules of the Game.
C. H. Wooddy, The Chicago Primary of 1926.

In the Yale Citizenship Series

THOMAS M. OSBORN, Society and Prisons.
ARTHUR WOODS, Policeman and Public.

FOR REFERENCE

JESSE LEE BENNETT, The Essential American Tradition.
JAMES BRYCE, Modern Democracies.
HERMAN JAMES, Municipal Functions.
C. E. MERRIAM, Primary Elections.
W. B. MUNRO, The Government of American Cities.
Proceedings of the Conference of Governors, White House, May, 1908. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909.
C. R. VAN HISE, The Conservation of Natural Resources.

In the Yale Series

LYMAN ABBOTT, America in the Making.
JAMES BRYCE, The Hindrances to Good Government.
A. T. HADLEY, The Education of the American Citizen.
A. T. HADLEY, Freedom and Responsibility.
A. T. HADLEY, Undercurrents in American Politics.
C. E. HUGHES, Conditions of Progress in Democratic Government.
ELIHU ROOT, The Citizen's Part in Government.
ELIHU ROOT, Four Aspects of Civic Duty.
W. H. TAFT, Liberty under the Law.
W. H. TAFT, Popular Government.
W. H. TAFT, Present-Day Problems.

CONTENTS

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

CHAPTER I

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

"... democracy is but a means to an end, just as liberty is. The end is the happiness of all individuals. To be useful, democracy and liberty must be regulated to attain this end, and not to defeat it."

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

"If a good fairy were to offer you a wish, one wish, for what would you ask?"

This question was recently put to a hundred boys and girls of high school age. At first the answers varied from curly hair and the ability to make an all-American team to a wish to be the wisest man in the world. When the boys and girls talked it over, however, they decided that, though they might differ in the means of getting it, they were all in search of one thing: they all wanted to be happy.

One boy objected to allowing us to ask for happiness. He thought that such a request would not be fair. He pointed out that the fairy had agreed to grant just one wish, and that if we asked for happiness we could declare that our wish had not been granted unless we got everything that we thought we wanted. Another boy retorted that, even if we did get everything that we thought we wanted, we might not be happy; so happiness did not

mean getting everything we wanted. From this arose a somewhat heated discussion as to just what does constitute happiness.

We did not settle the matter in the hour at our disposal. Men have been discussing that question for a long time, probably ever since there have been men, and, in the end, each man has had to pursue his search for happiness in his own way. However, the discussion did bring out a few points on which there was little difference of opinion.

First: The young people were inclined to think that it is not easy to be happy if one is very poor. They were quite agreed that rich men are not necessarily happy, and they did not think that great wealth plays any very important part in happiness; but they felt that a man should have enough to live decently, and to pay his bills. They wanted to do away with poor relations too, and poor friends and neighbors. They even objected, on general principles, to beggars and slums, and concluded that poverty has no place in a happy world.

Secondly: They decided that people are better off and less likely to be discontented if they work. One boy insisted that he would be perfectly happy if he could be sure that he would never do a stroke of work so long as he lived. He had very little support in this point of view, however. Most of his friends said that they thought he would get rather sick of doing nothing. When asked if they would work if they had plenty of money to live on without working, most of them decided that they would. They were inclined to think that a good job is rather fun, that it adds interest to life. When asked if they thought that there is any reason why a man ought to do

some useful work, even if he has enough money so that it is not necessary for him to work, they were a little in doubt.

Thirdly: They were agreed that a man finds it easier to be happy if he is well and strong. They did not like crutches and weak eyes and fidgety hearts and skin diseases, and the need for hospitals and operations and cemeteries. They wanted health, health for themselves and for their families, for their friends and their friends' families. They finally reached the conclusion that they greatly preferred a healthy world.

Fourthly: The matter of schools and education and their relation to happiness puzzled them somewhat. Some thought that schools are a convenient place to store children until they are old enough to work; that their chief use is to keep children off the street. Some suggested that boys and girls have a good time at school, and that while they are young that is what they are supposed to do—have a good time; that people should not work until they grow up. Here again, however, they finally agreed on several points:

> If a boy is expecting to work some day, he wants to get as satisfactory a job as possible. Boys who have gone through school have a better chance at an interesting job than boys who have not.
>
> If a person is going to have a good time, he must have friends. One who can read and write and spell, and who does not murder the English language, has a wider choice of friends than one who is utterly without education.
>
> No man intends to work all the time. When he is not working, he must have something to do that

he will find interesting. The man who likes books and magazines and pictures and music, and who likes to listen to sensible talk, and who realizes that the world in which he lives is an amazingly interesting world, even if one merely sits and watches it go by, has a pretty good time out of life. School produces more men of this type than are produced out of school.

Some men are not content merely to sit and watch the world go by. They see some things of which they approve, and some things which they feel are mistakes. They want to boost the things in which they believe, and get rid of the things that seem to them wrong. If they can think straight and can talk well, and if they know their facts, they are less helpless.

How do you feel about all this? Are you willing to agree on these points: that we all want to be happy; that we have a better chance for happiness in a world in which there is no poverty, where men and women are well and strong and willing to work; and that we have a better chance in a world in which every one has a chance to go to school and get ready for a useful and interesting life? The next question that suggests itself is: Is this the sort of world in which we, of the United States of America, live? To what extent is our world the sort that we wish it to be? Could it be a more perfect world? Who could change it for the better? Is it any one's business to see that all the people have a chance for a healthy, happy, useful life? Whose business is it?

Discussion

1. Might there be a difference between the ideas involved in the words **happiness** and **pursuit of happiness?**

2. Do you understand what is meant by divine discontent—noble discontent?

3. What is meant by saying that happiness is never an end in itself, but rather a by-product of a useful life?

4. You have probably been told more than once that if you want to be happy it is a good plan to forget yourself and make some one else happy. Is this just preaching, or sensible advice?

5. If you had ten dollars with which to satisfy any foolish desire that you might have, would you today spend the ten dollars on the same thing on which you would have spent it five years ago? Have your tastes changed? Can you believe that five years from now they may have changed again? Is it possible that our ideas as to what constitutes happiness change from year to year?

6. How much of our unhappiness is caused by others? For how much are we ourselves responsible?

MUNICIPAL BATHING BEACH
Pleasures that cost us nothing.

7. Of all your friends and acquaintances, which one seems to you the happiest? Is this because he has so much to make him happy?

8. Are there any pleasures that cost us nothing? Why do we have forced upon our attention the pleasures that cost money rather than those that cost nothing? Would it be possible to plan our lives so as to include a larger number of pleasures that cost very little, or nothing?

9. Make a list of things that one might do to have a good time that cost very little.

CHAPTER II

THE ABILITY TO SUPPORT ONESELF

We have agreed that it is not easy to be happy when one is very poor. To what extent do we find poverty in the United States? Through all our history we have been looked upon as a country in which no one needs to be very poor. Good land has been cheap; any man who has been willing and able to work has found plenty of work to do, work for which he received good pay. While it is true that land is no longer so available as it once was, and that the problem of "making a living" is not getting simpler, it is still true that the United States has not a large number of hard-working citizens who continue very poor.

What do we mean by **very poor?** A man is very poor if he cannot earn enough to buy what food he needs to keep him in good physical condition; what clothes he needs to keep him comfortable, and so dressed as to cause no comment; what house room he needs to give him light, air, warmth, and reasonable privacy. He is poor if, in time, he cannot earn enough to justify his marrying; if he cannot save a little for sickness and old age; if he cannot allow himself some few diversions and occasional vacations, and even the great pleasure of sometimes giving a little money to some big cause in which he has faith.

Should we have any very poor people in a country of such great natural wealth and such great industrial wealth as the United States? Should not Society take

measures to make absolute poverty impossible? If a man cannot take care of himself and his family, it may be that there are circumstances in which Society should step in and help him. If his inability to pay his bills is due to some temporary state of affairs, such as the loss of a job

CLASS IN TYPEWRITING

through no fault of his own, it is wise for Society to give him a boost, and return him as soon as possible to the ranks of self-respecting citizens. If his inability is due to some tragic circumstance over which he has no control, such as a crippling accident or some grave and lingering disease, again Society is wise to give all possible aid. Poverty is an ugly thing, and is responsible for much

crime, much disease, and much bitterness toward Society, and for its own good Society can well afford to exert itself to do away with preventable poverty.

If, on the other hand, as is too often the case, the poverty can easily be traced to ignorance, or drunken-

ART CLASS IN A PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL

ness, or gambling, or to stupidity, or laziness, or shiftlessness, or to extravagance, then Society has a more puzzling problem. What shall it do? It can protect itself to some extent by trying to save the weak man from himself. It has tried closing the saloons, discouraging gambling, jailing the man who refuses to work, denying penniless men credit, trying to educate the ignorant. The poor, shiftless, worthless man still remains.

Society's problems you do not need to try to solve yet. It does no harm to think about them, but you need not, at your age, feel deeply responsible for any part of Society excepting for yourselves. You should feel deeply responsible for yourselves and for your future. You must not swell the ranks of the worthless, shiftless men who are such a burden upon Society. You have every chance to plan happy, useful, contented lives. If no one of you turns out to be a "failure," you can feel that you have done your first duty to Society.

What is the first essential to a happy, useful life? The ability to support oneself. A man who cannot support himself is recognized by the world as a failure. The world owes no man a living, and every man does very decidedly owe the world a reasonable amount of decent service. This is the condition upon which a man has a right to live. A generous people have excused from such service the very young, the very old, and the feeble-minded. There is an insignificant number of other human beings who refuse to do their share of the world's work. The rest of us must work, and want to work.

Why must we work? To get enough to live on. It is not self-respecting to ask any one else to feed, clothe, and house us when we are no longer children, and when we are strong and well, and do not consider ourselves feeble-minded. When we have earned enough to pay our necessary expenses, may we stop? Certainly, if we have all we want, if we care more for leisure than for the things that we might buy with the money earned by longer hours of work. Shall we do as little work as we possibly can, so long as we pay our own way and are a

burden upon no one? That is perfectly justifiable, if we spend our hours of leisure on something that interests us, and that will in the long run make us happy.

How much are we going to have to work to pay our expenses? That will depend, of course, on the sort of work we are fitted to do. Some work pays better than other. It depends also on how much money we are going to need to pay our expenses—on where we want to live, what sort of clothes we want to wear, what sort of food we want to eat. That is, it depends on our standard of living.

Facts are not always pretty, but it is a good habit to form to look facts squarely in the face, and not to blink at them. What do you know about the cost of food, clothing, and shelter? Do you know what rent your family pays? How much rent do your friends pay? Do you know where you can get places to live where the rent is less? Why do you not live there? If you paid a little more than you now do, what would you get for the extra money? People who have studied the matter carefully say that one should not pay more than twenty per cent of his wages or salary for rent. Do you pay more than this? If you own your home, do you pay what is an equivalent of rent? Can you make this clear to the class?

What does your food cost? Does your mother keep careful enough account that she can tell you what your family averages on food each week? How much does that mean for "raw materials" for each person? Compare notes with your friends. See if you can agree upon a weekly sum that it would be reasonable to allow for raw materials for each member of a family.

What do your clothes cost? Does your mother make a part of them? If you are a girl, shall you be able to sew for yourself when you are taking care of yourself, and no longer have a mother to depend on? Figure very carefully how much is the very least that you need for clothes each year. Check your itemized lists with those of your friends to see that you have not forgotten some necessary articles. One girl, in making such a list, had made a generous allowance for scarfs and silk stockings, and no allowance for handkerchiefs and underwear. After you have made an estimate of the smallest sum that you could make do, decide what sum you would need to provide you with sensible, suitable clothes for all ordinary occasions. Is the well-dressed person always the one who spends the most on clothes? What else counts? Is it possible to be well-dressed on a very small sum?

COOKING CLASS FOR BOYS

For what sum can you rent a clean, comfortable room? What will three good wholesome meals a day cost you? You have figured what you need for clothes: what sum must you be able to earn a week before you can be said to be supporting yourself? If you continue to live at

home after the time when you consider that you have a right to direct your own future, is it reasonable that you contribute to the household expenses at least as much as it would cost you to live away from home?

Do you know what a **budget** is? If a man wishes to marry, what should he be earning each month to justify him in marrying? Give the smallest sum that you think would promise any happiness. Should he have any money in the savings bank with which to meet emergencies before he makes himself responsible for the support of two people? Remember that neither debts nor bitter economies are much fun, nor does romance thrive in such an atmosphere. Test the correctness of your estimate by showing how you would distribute the sum you have settled upon among the following items:

Food
Shelter
Clothing
Fuel and light
Help (cleaning, laundry, etc.)
Amusements
Church, societies
Medical attention, dentistry
Insurance or saving
Sundries

Make a careful itemized list of what must be paid for out of money allowed for **sundries.** Remember that it must include every cent that is spent that is not provided for under one of the other heads.

A very intelligent young girl was asked recently what was the smallest monthly salary that she felt would justify a man in marrying. She said that she thought it

would be safe to marry on one hundred dollars a month. This answer was not, from one point of view, ridiculous. There are families who are living on one hundred dollars a month. It was the next answer that was alarming. When asked how much "help" she would expect to have if she married a man who was getting one hundred dollars a month, she replied: "Only a cook, and a laundress two days a week." It is such mistaken ideas as this that we have been trying to correct by this study that we have been asking you to make. It is entirely possible to be happy on very little money, but only when thrift, health, good sense, a willingness to work, and a cheerful understanding of the need for economy are present is such happiness possible. Your own studies should have shown you that there is a minimum sum that is absolutely necessary, and that is the sum that you must prepare yourselves to earn.

Discussion

1. Does a mother of a family who has no job outside the home, but cooks, sews, takes care of the children, and manages the house, earn money?

2. If the mother dies, and the father of the family hires a housekeeper to do the things that the mother had done, does the housekeeper receive anything more than her room and board? Is it not correct to say that whatever it would be necessary to pay an outsider for doing the cooking, sewing, etc., that the mother does, that amount at least the mother contributes to the partnership?

3. Is there an increasing tendency for the work that women once did in the home to be done for them now outside the home? Does your mother bake bread? Can fruit? Knit stockings? Make a list of other tasks that women once had, that are now done outside the home. Consult your grandmother.

4. What is the reason for this? Is it because women are too lazy to do their share?

5. If you think it is largely to be explained by the fact that such work, under modern conditions, can be done more effectively outside the home, can you think of some instances where women have gone a little too far in abandoning their old tasks? Do you approve, for instance, of bringing up a family on canned beans and dill pickles?

6. If woman's housework has been gradually taken from her, without any intention on her part, does this explain and justify the increasing number of married women who are seeking jobs outside the home?

7. It is generally considered desirable to plan rather carefully how a limited income shall be spent. If a budget is to be made, who should make it, the man of the house, or the woman? Might it not be wise for them to work it out together?

8. Are there advantages in a woman's having some understanding of her husband's business? What are these advantages?

9. If the husband is the only wage-earner in the family, what method of handling the money do you approve? The following methods are all followed:

a. The husband turns over all the money to his wife, and she gives him what he needs for his personal expenses.

b. The wife is given a definite allowance, from which it is clearly understood that a certain part of the household expenses are to be paid.

c. The wife is given an allowance for her personal expenses, and all other bills are met by the husband.

d. The husband pays all the bills. The wife receives no money excepting occasional small presents.

e. The wife asks her husband for money whenever she feels it necessary. He gives her what she asks for, whenever he agrees with her that it is necessary. (This system usually affords considerable training in argument, and develops courage and powers of resistance.)

f. Husband and wife have a joint checking account.

10. Does the character of the wife have anything to do with the method adopted? How about the character of the husband? Is it a determining factor?

11. Will the method adopted have any effect on the character of the wife? If you have any clear ideas as to this, please develop them.

12. Choose the method which seems to you the best when good,

sensible, well-balanced men and women are involved, and state clearly your reason for this choice.

13. Can children be taught the value of money? Do you believe in dime banks? In savings accounts? In allowances for children? If children are given allowances, should any degree of responsibility accompany this trust shown them? How can they be made to feel responsible for the money given them? Do you think that children should be encouraged to earn money? Should they be paid for the duties they perform about the house? Give reasons for your answers. (Most of these questions are open to debate.)

14. Economy is a good thing. Is it possible to spend too much on food? Might one spend too little? What would be too little? Give a short list of articles of food that you consider unjustifiable extravagance for people with small incomes. Milk costs more than it once did. Is it now an unjustifiable extravagance? Explain your answer. Orange juice is now considered valuable food for very young children. But oranges are expensive. To what extent should we economize on oranges? Can you think up a good clear statement as to what food one is justified in buying?

15. Should a woman do all of her own work? Can you think of circumstances when a servant would be a genuine economy?

16. Is it extravagant to buy books? Does the sort of book one buys affect your answer? Is a good dictionary an extravagance?

17. What do you consider unjustifiable extravagance in clothes? Can you make a list of some articles of clothing that serve no useful purpose in keeping the wearer warm, or in making him look beautiful, but which one is forced by custom to wear? Can one afford to be entirely independent in the matter of clothes? A thoughtful woman once said: "I try to dress in such a way as never to cause comment of any sort." Do you approve of this?

CHAPTER III

THE JOB FOR THE MAN

You now have a general idea of how much money you must earn before you can feel that you are no longer a dependent, and of how much more than that you will need before you can consider setting up a household of your own. How are you going to earn that money? Most of you do not know. A great many of you have not the slightest notion. Some of you are not even a little bit interested.

It is perfectly excusable that you should not have decided just what work you are interested in and best fitted for. On the other hand, it is rather foolish not to begin thinking about all the possibilities, and it is sensible to keep your eyes and ears open to find out what sorts of jobs are desirable, and what you will need to know to fit yourselves for the desirable jobs. There are four questions that you should ask yourselves about every job: Does it pay a living wage? Is it work that breaks one down physically? Can one hold the job and be honest? Is there reasonably steady demand for such work? You should feel free to take any sort of work that satisfies these four requirements.

On the other hand, there are many desirable features to various sorts of work that are not touched at all by these four points. No work will have all advantages and no disadvantages, and each person must, so far as he can, choose the sort of work the advantages of which appeal to him and the disadvantages of which do not

disturb him. Below are given additional questions by which one might test the merits of a particular type of work.

1. Is a man his own boss?
2. Is the place likely to be a permanent one?
3. What is the attitude of the employers toward their employees, an entirely impersonal one, or one of friendly interest?
4. Has the company any way of checking up on unusually efficient work, or does the time-server fare quite as well as the loyal worker?
5. Is there reasonable chance for advancement, or is it a "blind alley" job?
6. Does the work pay well?
7. Are the hours reasonably short, and the vacations generous?
8. Is one forced to follow a rigid routine, or is there an opportunity for individual initiative?
9. What is the attitude of the employers toward their old employees? Do they dismiss them unceremoniously when they are no longer vigorous workers, or do they try to find work for them suited to their strength? Is there any form of pension? Of insurance?
10. Does the work offer pleasant associations; does one meet interesting people?
11. Is it work in which one develops? Does it encourage constant study both of men and of books?
12. Is the work very plainly work that needs doing—work so useful that money comes to seem of secondary importance?
13. Does it give one a chance to travel and to see the world?

14. Is it interesting in itself, so that it is more fun to work than to play?

Study the following lines of work, and test them as to their nature by the questions given above. Remember that, fortunately, you will not all choose the same sort of work, because, though you all want to be happy and

MODELS IN SAND MADE BY SCHOOL CHILDREN

to have as good a time out of life as you can, you do not necessarily agree as to what constitutes a good time.

Mechanic, who runs a prosperous little one-man shop for repairing automobiles
Mail clerk
Owner of a delicatessen store
Nurse

Cashier in a bank
Old-clothes man
Officer in the navy
Radio operator
Writer of stories
Physician
Schoolteacher
Real estate man, booming the sale of vacant land
Farmer
Chemist in research laboratory
Artist
Speculator on stock exchange
Cook in a private family
Clerk in a large store
Missionary

Add to this list as much as you can, giving different types of work, and stating as clearly as you can, and being careful to know, your facts, just what makes the work under discussion desirable or undesirable. If we take for granted that a job pays a living wage, is not dishonorable, and is reasonably safe, what in your opinion comes next in importance in making it desirable? Name, in the order of their importance, three additional features of a job that would make it seem to you a desirable one, and write a clear statement, justifying your choice.

Discussion

1. In many positions, such as cloakroom attendant, sleeping-car porter, waiter in a restaurant, taxi-driver, the pay is insufficient unless the man gets generous tips. What do you think of the tipping system? Why do most of the clubs have rules against tipping? If you object to tipping, is it because of the effect of tipping on the one who gives the tip, or on the one who receives the tip? Or do you consider tipping an imposition on the public?

2. One of the richest department stores in a great city always makes a point of choosing its clerks so far as possible from girls who live at home. This same store does not pay its ordinary clerks enough to support them. Does the store pay in full for the service it gets? Who is obliged to help in the support of the store's employees?

3. Before a man can practice medicine, he must have put in many years of study—high school, college, medical school, hospital experience—twelve or fourteen years. Why would a man choose so exacting a profession?

4. Exercise. List ten occupations, and write after each what you consider the greatest advantage of that occupation and what is its most serious drawback.

5. Because many people have felt that the workers are at a certain disadvantage in bargaining with their employers, many laws have been suggested for the protection of the workers. In some states these laws have been enacted and are now in force. Among these are the Minimum Wage Law, the Eight Hour Day Law, the Child Labor Law, the Employers' Liability Law, the Compulsory Insurance Law, Old Age Pensions, Insurance against Unemployment. Judging from the name, with what problem would you suppose each of these laws deals?

6. Do you know what the Eighteenth Amendment is? This law has had, very generally, the support of the employers. Can you see any relation between their support of this law and the Employers' Liability Act? It may interest you to know that statistics once showed a much larger per cent of accidents in factories on Mondays and on days following holidays than on ordinary days. Have you any explanation of this?

7. The eight-hour day is now very generally regarded as reasonable. Once it was regarded as quite the reverse. Recently there has been a mild agitation for a working day of less than eight hours. In Great Britain, in war time, when it was necessary to speed up production as much as possible, careful observation led many to think that a day of less than eight hours actually resulted in greater production than the eight-hour day. War-time conditions are, however, different from conditions in time of peace. For instance, there is in war time no tendency on the part of the workers to "limit the output." Some of you may have been interested in Mr. Henry Ford's experiments with shorter hours of work.

8. In some poor families it is the practice to take roomers, in order to help in paying the rent. Do you see any objection to this form of thrift?

9. In many poor families the women and children work for wages outside the home. Is this a good plan? Give reasons for your answer.

10. In many families who live in very crowded quarters, work such as sewing is done at home. Much of the very cheap ready-to-wear clothing is made, in part, in cellars and attics and slum tenements. Can you see any objection to this?

11. Do you know of any stores that make a practice of selling to children and ignorant people inferior goods that they would not offer to customers able to protect themselves? Is this good business policy?

12. Do you know of any business houses that are reluctant to refund the money for defective goods sold? Are these our great, successful firms?

13. Have you heard the expression "Business is business"? In what connection is this usually used? Is the man who has been swindled the one who says it? Have not business men a right to resent this expression? Just what does it imply?

14. Two signs. "Please report to the head waiter any incivility to which you may be subjected."—"Please report to the postmaster any unusual service or attention that you may have received from any of the employees of this office." Which employer do you choose?

15. Unions. When you go to work, many of you will meet at once the question of unions. Trades unions are hard things to discuss. You will not get an intelligent and sympathetic attitude toward either side without a great deal of study. Remember to keep an open mind. Get facts, and get facts on both sides. One very earnest, respectable man will assure you that unions are all bad, the most serious obstacle to progress. Another man, equally earnest and equally respectable, will tell you that unions are all good, the one hope of civilization today. Both men cannot be right. Remember that you want all the facts. Do not try to decide until you are several years older and wiser than you now are. But begin listening.

It would be interesting to hear unions discussed:

a. By an employer.
b. By a union man, to an outsider.
c. By two union men, talking frankly to one another.

d. By the wife of a union man.

e. By a fair-minded representative of the public, which is rather profoundly affected by the unions both of employers and of employees.

Can you see that these people might differ in their point of view?

16. Learn all that you can about unions. It may help you in understanding what you hear and read to learn the meanings of a few terms commonly used. Study, in the glossary at the end of the book, the following terms: strike, sympathetic strike, walkout, open shop, closed shop, lockout, scab, to picket, limitation of output, sabotage.

CHAPTER IV

THE MAN FOR THE JOB

We have agreed that most of us will be obliged to work. Most of us want to work. We have talked a little of the various sorts of work, their advantages and disadvantages. It might be wise, now that we have settled on what we intend to demand of the employer, to consider what we have to offer him in return. What have we to sell? It is sometimes rather helpful for a young person to take an inventory of himself. The following questions may prove helpful.

Are you strong physically?

Have you good control of your muscles?

Have you that mysterious quality variously known as **sand, grit, nerve, backbone, courage, moral fibre?** Or are you a quitter?

Are you clean? Do you brush your hair, wash your ears, clean your teeth, keep your hands in good shape, brush your clothes, shine your shoes?

Can you write a good, clear hand, and spell correctly?

Can you listen closely to directions, and remember them, or does your mother usually have to tell you two or three times before you get a thing straight?

Can you speak fairly correct English, or do you cling fondly to "I seen it" and "I done it"? Do you depend entirely on slang to make yourself emphatic?

Have you made a record in school for being a straight, dependable boy, or have you made a fool of yourself?

Do you get on well with other boys?

Can you work, work until you are tired, and then go on working until the work is done? Or do you quit when you get tired, and do you tire easily?

Are you honest? How often do you lie? If you are surprised into a lie, do you hate yourself cordially, or do you promptly lie to yourself in order to justify the first lie, until you do not know the truth when you meet it?

If you were quite sure that you would never get caught, and if it were greatly to your advantage to do a crooked thing, could you resist just because you do not like crooked people, and do not care to join their ranks?

Have you a good memory? Have you an unusual ability in any study? Have you any taste for mechanics? Have you discovered any thing that you can do a little better than any of your friends?

Can you see for yourself things that need doing, or must you work under direction?

Have you ever earned money? If so, how did you spend it?

Are you shy? Do you hate to appear in public? Or do you rather like to talk most of the time, regardless of whether you know what you are talking about? Are you inclined to be argumentative? Are you fond of the limelight?

Have you been brought up strictly, or just left to grow?

Are you ambitious, or are you content merely to get by?

Many of these questions you can answer for yourself. Make a diagnosis of yourself. Decide what virtues you need to cultivate. If you are shy, learn to talk. If you have been told that you talk too much, learn to listen. If you know some older person whose judgment you respect, ask him to suggest lines along which you need to work to make yourself more valuable. You still have some years of school before you, and, after that, a lifetime in which to complete your education. Do not resign yourself to being a poor, low grade, cheap article. Above all, keep your eyes open for work that you can do well, and that you like to do. It is no service to the world or justice to yourself to try to do work for which you have no liking, and for which you are not fitted.

Discussion

1. Are you honest? "Honesty is an acquired virtue." Do you know what this means? Honesty demands clear thinking. Do you think clearly? Can you train yourself to think clearly? Do you understand the expression "intellectual honesty"?

2. Suppose you are a stenographer in a large concern which keeps on hand for its business correspondence stamped envelopes in practically unlimited quantity: Would you feel free to take an envelope now and then for your own private correspondence? Would you take one whenever you needed one? Would you take a few home, for your use there? Would you keep your family supplied with stamped envelopes?

3. Suppose you have free access to the firm's postage stamps: Would you use them freely? Would you feel at liberty to take one occasionally? Would you ever take one? Just where would you draw the line?

4. Have you ever seen towels hanging on your neighbor's line with the word **Pullman** stamped or woven into them? or **Hotel Drakestone**? Where do you suppose those towels came from? Are your neighbors thieves? Would they, if guests at your house, need

watching? Why do they feel at liberty to take towels from hotels and steamships and sleeping cars? Are they thinking straight?

5. Many of the better type of department stores once kept the desks in their rest rooms liberally supplied with fine stationery. Now a little card on each desk requests the patrons who wish stationery to apply to the maid in charge. Why did the stores change their policy? Why do hotels no longer furnish stationery except on request?

6. A woman of some wealth and prominence used to explain, with much gusto, a clever scheme of hers. A through train always stopped at the station of the suburb where she lived. When she wished to go into the city, she would buy her ticket, and get aboard this through train. The conductor was often careless about collecting the ticket, as the fast train seldom picked up passengers in the suburbs. Whenever he failed to collect, the woman turned in the ticket at the downtown office for redemption, and saved eighteen cents. Was this honest, or crooked?

7. A certain family had a nickel-in-the-slot telephone. They usually kept, in a little bowl by the telephone, a large supply of nickels. Often they would find in this bowl dimes and quarters. The cook, when she used the telephone for her own personal messages, declined to use her employer's money. Was she a fool, or an uncommonly self-respecting girl?

8. Suppose you have ten examples assigned. You have worked none. The teacher calls on you for the eighth. You say regretfully: "I did not get that one." Are you a liar?

9. Do you know a game called solitaire? How many play it at a time? Are there people who cheat at solitaire?

10. It is pretty bad to lie to other people: it is, in the long run, ruinous to lie to oneself. Do you lie to yourself? Do you make excuses for yourself, twisting the facts each time just enough to make out a fair case for yourself? If you do, it is time to quit.

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT SOCIETY

"What part shall I play, not as a unit fighting other units for individual advantage, but as a citizen of the Republic?"
CHARLES E. HUGHES.

If we prepare ourselves to earn our livings at some useful work, are we doing all that any one has a right to expect of us? If we support ourselves, we are doing a good decent minimum. But if no one does any more than that, there is a great deal of work that needs doing in the world, work that is necessary for the happiness of all of us, that will never be done. Then must some do more than their share? That would be true, if it were not for one thing: no two persons necessarily have the same share of work. We must give back to the world in proportion as we receive from it. Some people get very little out of the world: they walk through it, blind, deaf, and dumb. They do not see the streets they use every day; they do not hear the tones in the voices of their associates, tones that would often tell them a great deal; they seldom succeed in saying the things they feel most strongly. They cannot help it, it seems. The world touches them at few points, and they have little effect on the world. Such people—and there are many such—give all that they have to give, and just reach the minimum. From the larger work of the Great Society they must be excused, precisely as we excuse the feeble-minded from reaching even the minimum that we ask these people to reach. Upon the stronger, more fortunate men and women must fall all the extra responsibilities.

What is the Great Society, and what are the responsibilities which it forces on some of us? The Great Society is a name given by Mr. Graham Wallas to the world that we are living in today—a world in which great numbers of people are herded together into large cities, and these cities are tied to one another by railroads and airplanes and telephones and wireless and cables until

©Underwood and Underwood

MUNICIPAL PARKING SPACE

they form one great, complex whole. Within these cities men work, not for themselves or for other men, but for great organizations. When they come home at night, they come in herds, and the homes to which they come are often great buildings in which each head of a family has a right to a few square feet. Often he is compelled to crowd into the limited space that he may call his own, twice as many human beings as can live there and maintain decent, self-respecting privacy.

What are the responsibilities growing out of this Great Society? A big, complex world like this must have a very complex machinery to run it. Some men have had the task of inventing this machinery. If it is to run smoothly, other men must thoroughly understand it, and keep it oiled and working. If it is to be changed to meet the constant changes going on in the Great Society itself, interested, able men must be ready with new devices.

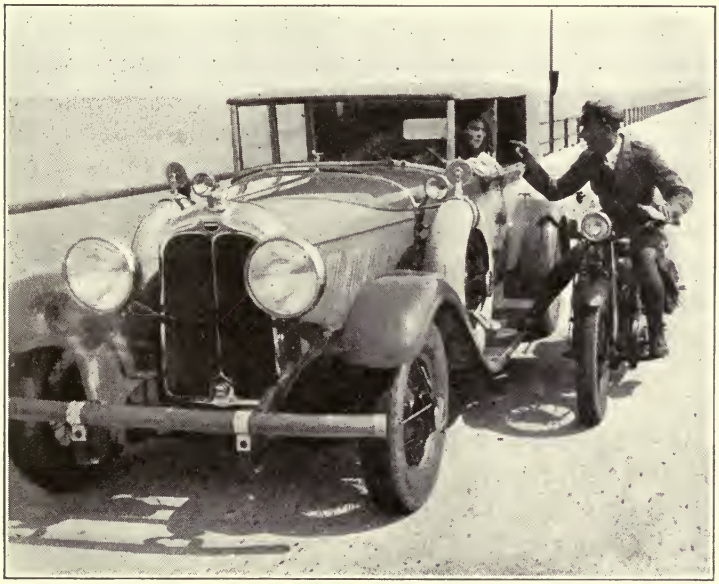
"What are you talking about?" some one of you may say. "We do not know what you are getting at."

That is quite right. We intend to take the rest of the book to tell you, and you have the rest of your lives to come to a full understanding of what we are trying to say.

What is the machinery that runs the Great Society? There is a great deal of it. Some of it is very good machinery, some of it probably should be scrapped. In our own country we have Wall Street, the Anti-Saloon League, boards of trade, ladies' aid societies, trades unions, coöperative societies, trusts, political parties, newspapers, Rotary Clubs, and the Government. Each of you can make interesting additions to this list.

Of all the organizations that you can list, the greatest and the most dignified is the Government. It is not composed of any small group of men. Back of the Government is every citizen of the United States. Through it every citizen has the power to declare how he would like to run Society. Every citizen belongs to it, it belongs to every citizen. To Government every citizen looks for protection—protection of his life, of his property, and of his right to be happy. Of what other organization is this true?

What, then, is this great and powerful thing called **Government?** Are you for it, or against it? Do you think that it is a help, or a nuisance? The Government was brought into existence by a set of laws. By the laws which it makes and enforces it maintains its power. Do



©Underwood and Underwood

Should the pretty girl be expected to obey the law?

you believe in laws? Which laws, the ones of which you chance to approve, or all the laws of your country?

From time to time there have been good men, wise in many ways, who have frankly expressed their disapproval of government. Henry Thoreau wrote:

> "I heartily accept the motto—'That government is best which governs least'; and I should like

> to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which I also believe—'That government is best which governs not at all'; and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have."

Men were not prepared to live without government in Thoreau's day. Thoreau admitted that. Are they ready today? Have the crowding together in cities and the enormously greater complexity of modern life made rules and regulations more necessary or less necessary?

Thoreau avoided the need of rules and regulations by living quite alone, in a cabin in the woods. So long as there are woods enough to go round, this offers a possible solution to men impatient of laws. If a man goes alone into the wilds, and makes himself a home, he can be quite free from restraint other than that which nature imposes on him. He will be free to do as he likes, with no one to tell him what he shall or shall not do. In his wilderness he will be king, policeman, and garbage collector. He will be free to work or to starve. If, however, he finds that this freedom has its drawbacks, that he is lonely, and at times helpless against nature, that he needs some one to work with him; and if he, therefore, induces a man to share with him his hut in the wilderness, he will at once, in return for companionship and assistance, be forced to give up some degree of his freedom. He will not be quite free to decide when he will get up in the morning, or when he will go to bed, when he will work and when he will rest, whether the coöperative coffee is to be weak or strong, whether he will sleep with the windows open or closed.

If later he should decide to marry and bring a wife to the woods, life will immediately demand a greater sacrifice of his freedom. He may have to wash the frying pan, instead of wiping it out with a bit of newspaper. He may have to give up his pipe. He may even have to wipe his shoes at the door, and tolerate curtains at the windows. If, in the course of time, children come, he will have to step softly so as not to wake the baby. Why should a man consent to such sacrifice of his freedom? Only because he thinks that he gains more than he loses. If he can arrange to get what he wants, and yet give up nothing, he will probably so arrange. This is seldom possible.

The citizen with good common sense knows that if he chooses to live in a town instead of in the country, he cannot have the freedom that he had in the country; that if he lives in an apartment instead of in a house, he cannot have the freedom that he had in the house; that if he takes a single room in an apartment belonging to some one else, he cannot have the freedom that he had in his own apartment. He therefore fully understands that the people living in a thickly settled community must submit to many regulations never imposed upon the isolated settler. And, knowing this, he wastes no energy in growling about it. He obeys the laws of the community in which he has elected to live.

All of us are, then, whether we like it or not, a part of the Great Society. As we have said, the Great Society is kept running by a variety of agencies, the most important and dignified of which is Government. In our own country, the United States, every citizen has some control over his Government, and, therefore, some con-

trol over the world in which he lives. The amount of control which he has over the Government will depend on the interest which he takes in it, the time and strength which he is willing to give to it, and the intelligence which he brings to it. It will also depend to a great extent on his understanding that in a complex society there must be a spirit of coöperation, an understanding of other men, a sympathy with points of view other than our own, and a spirit of compromise in nonessentials.

Discussion

1. If a member of your family were very sick, would you play noisy jazz by the hour and dance? Suppose that the sick person were not a member of your family, but lived in the apartment just below you?

2. "Don't wake the baby!" Have you been taught to remember that the baby is asleep? Whose baby, the baby in your own family, or the neighbor's baby?

3. Have you ever seen a street barred to traffic for a block because some person in that block was very ill? Do you realize that in every city every day hundreds of sick people are being tortured by unnecessary noises, against which only a few, who are specially privileged, have any protection?

4. Do you see the logic of city ordinances forbidding firecrackers on the Fourth of July?

5. Have you ever seen a recitation in a schoolroom halted while some driver of a car passed the school with his muffler cut out, with no excuse for the deafening roar thus produced, excepting that he suffered from a desire to express himself?

6. Have you lived in a neighborhood in which young men who had been calling till a late hour drove off, with the same deafening roar of their cars, indifferent to the fact that they were wakening a hundred people whose sleep was necessary to their health and usefulness?

7. Do you know that statistics show an alarming increase in nervous breakdowns, and that the noises of the city—many of them unnecessary—are doing their part in causing these breakdowns?

8. Can you give examples from your own experience of abuse of the radio?

9. Are the beautiful state roads an unlimited advantage to the farmers who live along them? How much responsibility should you feel, as you drive along these roads, for the farmer's foolish hens? Is a sixty-mile speed your right? Are the apples along the roadside your legitimate plunder? Do the city people who strew empty boxes, remnants of lunch, and discarded tires along the route rouse affection and sympathetic understanding for city people in the minds of the farmers? Have you a God-given right to picnic in the farmer's front yard, and use his well? Has he an equally good right to make free with your city lawn? Would you welcome him?

10. In a thickly settled community has a man a right to use his own yard as a garbage dump? Isn't it his yard?

11. Has a farmer a right to let his farm run to weeds? It is his farm.

12. Do you think it reasonable for a neighborhood to object to a stable which is needlessly dirty, and to heaps of refuse lying in the stable yard?

13. Is an open cesspool in a crowded neighborhood the business of the community, or does it concern only the man to whom it belongs? (A single cesspool of this sort was responsible for an epidemic of typhoid in a large city high school, which made necessary the temporary closing of the school.)

14. A certain family lives in the country, on the bank of a river. They throw all waste from the house into the river, where the current carries it rapidly out of their sight. Is this any one's business? (A violent epidemic of typhoid which broke out in a small town some distance downstream was traced to the dirty habits of this family.)

15. In summer camps for boys it is quite common to give a silver cup at the end of the season to the boy who is voted by the other boys the "best camper." Make a list of the qualities for which you would look in the boy for whom you would vote.

16. Make a list of restraints that a family must put upon itself if it chooses to live in an apartment house, which would be unnecessary in a house.

17. Make a list of the restraints that a family must put upon itself if it lives in a crowded neighborhood instead of a ten-acre lot.

18. If you should go away from home, and take a room-mate, on what points would it be necessary for you to come to an understanding?

19. How does the presence in the family of the following people modify the habits of the members of the family: a very old person; a small baby; a sick person; a formal guest; a highly religious person?

20. Discuss briefly the following points, with reference to how far it is reasonable to restrict the freedom of the individual:

a. Should people who live in apartments keep dogs? parrots?

b. Should they take vocal lessons? At what hour of the night should practice stop?

c. Should people who live in apartments take violent exercise late at night, or very early in the morning?

d. Should the use of a typewriter until a late hour be permitted?

e. Should cooking cabbage for hours at a time every day of the week be allowed?

f. Should one develop the habit of pacing the floor at frequent intervals?

g. Should one shake rugs over the back railing?

h. Should one feel free to scrub the porches and let the water drip on the porches below?

i. Should a person living in an apartment house refuse to admit the man sent to exterminate roaches, even if the person feels sure that she has no roaches in her apartment?

Would you approve city ordinances governing these matters? Can you think of any substitute for such ordinances? What are the advantages of living in an apartment? If one wishes these advantages, will not a reasonable person accept patiently the disadvantages?

21. Discuss, from the point of view of personal freedom:

a. Spitting on the floor of street cars.

b. Throwing snowballs in the city.

c. Keeping to the right in crowded corridors, or on sidewalks.

d. Riding bicycles or roller-skating on the sidewalks.

e. Smashing bottles on the pavement, just for the fun of hearing the smash.

f. Wearing hats in theatres.

g. Breaking street lamps.

h. Smearing windows at Halloween.

i. Tearing up letters, and tossing the bits of paper into the street.

j. Failure to clean snow from the sidewalk in front of one's house.

k. Scattering paper and banana peels in the parks.

FOREST RESERVE
Is this an interference with personal liberty?

22. Make a list of nonsocial acts on the part of pupils in a schoolroom.

23. Cedars harbor a pest destructive to apple trees. In a community in which growing apples is an important industry, has a man a right to protect his cedar trees? (In some states the law requires that a man must get rid of his cedar trees. Is this a violation of personal liberty?)

24. A sign at a county line reads: "All the cattle in this county are tuberculin-tested. No cattle may be brought into this county that are not tuberculin-tested." Suppose a man is willing to take a chance, and to buy and bring into this county a cow that has not been so tested; what right has the state to interfere?

25. Another sign reads: "To prevent the spread of insect and plant diseases, plants and trees must not be transported out of the state." Suppose that you wish to bring back from your summer vacation a nice little pine tree for your city home: is this state law not an unwarranted interference with your personal liberty?

26. In another state young men may be seen cutting down and burning barberry bushes, including some most attractive hedges. Barberry bushes harbor the fungus growth that causes rust in the wheat. But many of the owners of these hedges raise no wheat. What right has the state to destroy their perfectly good barberry hedges?

27. If I own a lot in the heart of the city, am I at liberty to build a frame house on the lot? Why not?

28. Are there sections of the city in which one would not be allowed to build apartment houses?

29. Where do we find personal liberty in the world today? Do kings have it? Do Presidents? politicians? Does any civilized nation secure it for its citizens? Is what is generally known as "personal liberty" necessary to happiness?

CHAPTER VI

THE NEED FOR LAWS

We have seen that in the Great Society it is not easy for human beings to avoid close daily contact with one another. If a man must come into close contact with other people, and yet expects always to do things his way, he has not much chance for happiness. Wherever he is, there is likely to be friction. Do you know what **friction** is? It is not a thing which people thrive on. It wears them out. Constant friction makes people irritable, and nervous, and most unhappy. Prolonged friction may result in violence and hysteria. One problem, then, of Society, if it wishes to promote the happiness of the human race, is to reduce friction.

Laws tend to reduce friction. This may surprise you. You may have felt that laws are just one more source of friction; that numberless commands and prohibitions—"you must do this," "you must not do that"—are merely annoyances that keep our lives from running smoothly. As a matter of fact, laws are matters upon which people have agreed not to disagree. If people never tended to disagree, there would be little need for laws. In a world in which people do disagree, reasonable laws reduce disputes and arguments, and make things less uncomfortable.

Laws are interesting. There are many kinds. Families have their laws. They are not formally written down, but they are none the less binding. In some families, for instance, there may be a distinct understanding that

every member of the family is to get up for breakfast at a given time. It may be that no one has ever put this into words, but the family understands it. Or it may be that the law is that father is not to be contradicted. The fact of the existence of unwritten laws in most families will be more fully understood if each one of you will put in writing and bring to class a clear, simple statement of some understanding that exists in your own family that is so faithfully respected that it is in the nature of a law.

Neighborhoods have their laws. Naturally these differ widely in different neighborhoods. There are neighborhoods in which a man who runs a lawn mower on Sunday is a serious offender. The community will take its own way of punishing the offender, but the offender will not escape punishment. In some neighborhoods cream bottles adorn the front windows of apartment houses quite as a matter of course. In other neighborhoods a cream bottle could not rest in peace on the sill of a front window for one hour. The agent of the apartment house would call up the offending tenant and make a vigorous protest. The agent would be reflecting the public opinion of that neighborhood. In some office buildings, when a woman enters an elevator, the men in the elevator remove their hats. In other office buildings, the men content themselves with a stare or a leer.

Social groups have their laws. In some classes of society, when a woman joins a group, the men of the group rise. In other classes of society the men not only remain seated, but sprawl, quite at ease. Some people get food to their mouths with the knife, the fork, or the spoon, whichever tool seems best adapted for the pur-

pose. In other groups it is a mistake to eat peas with a nice, safe spoon. In some groups men go about very sensibly in hot weather in their shirt-sleeves and say "Meet the madam" when they introduce their wives. Some groups swear as naturally as they talk; other groups object to swearing, but rejoice in slang. Some groups think good grammar an affectation; other groups respect the English language profoundly—overmuch, perhaps, inclining to the belief that no man who does not know his past participles can be a useful member of society.

We may claim to be quite indifferent to all this. We may reassure ourselves by the well-known doctrine that all men are created equal, and that certainly any member of any one of these groups is just as good as any member of any other—maybe better. We may feel just as superior as we can to these relatively unimportant, minor laws of Society, these social usages: the fact remains that we shall be more comfortable if we acquaint ourselves with them, and, when possible, amiably conform. It is wise to remember that there is no more final judgment pronounced by any formal court than that which a social group pronounces when it declares, in regard to some act which it considers offensive: "It simply isn't done."

These laws of the family, laws of the neighborhood, laws of the various social groups, most of us have either not considered at all, or have thought of under some other name than **laws**. When we have used the word **laws** we have had in mind those laws that need for their enforcement policemen, and judges, and courts, and jails. Why do we need such laws as these? The laws of the family, you may say, have grown up naturally.

Nobody made them. They are all quite right. But these other laws somebody made. Why should anybody take it upon himself to make laws for us? Was it really necessary to make them?

If you stop a minute to think, you will see that the larger a group is, and the more different sorts of people are included in the group, the less possible does it become for laws to grow up simply and naturally. The larger the group, the fewer the laws which all approve and understand. In the larger group there will be anti-suffragists, anti-prohibitionists, people who object to vaccination, people who oppose Sunday closing; there will be some who have faith that every evil of Society can be cured instantly by simply passing a law; there are others who resent any form of interference on the part of the government, and talk loudly and eloquently—sometimes incoherently—of "personal freedom"; there are, in short, in this larger group all shades of opinion—all sorts and kinds of honest men. How can we get along in any community without agreeing not to disagree on some points? And, in such a community, how are we ever to agree?

Fortunately, in every community in the United States there are some points on which we all tend to think alike, some things we all want. The great principles on which we agree are a part of the tradition of every free people, and are scarcely open to discussion, or subject to change. They form a sort of **higher law** of the people. The people regard them as rights—rights that no man gave them, and that no man can take away, **inalienable rights.** All laws that can be shown to protect these rights, the people will approve.

What are these rights that all free people cling to so firmly? You remember how our own Declaration of Independence worded it: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the

SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

pursuit of Happiness." Suppose we translate these words into practical terms. A man has a right to Life. We must therefore protect him from murder. We go a little farther: we must protect him from violent attacks. Shall we, in an enlightened Society, consider it also our duty to protect him from deadly disease and from

crippling accident? A man has a right to Liberty. We must protect him from unjust imprisonment. He must be allowed freedom of movement. Shall we add that he also has a right to freedom of speech? And to freedom of thought? Or will it be enough to protect his body, and let his mind and soul go? He has the right to the pursuit of Happiness. What did our Fathers mean by this? Did they mean that he must have a chance to live, in the fuller sense of the word, not merely to exist? How far shall we feel responsible? We have agreed that he must have a chance to work, and to earn a living. Must we not also see that he gets what he earns, and that he can keep what he saves? We must give him a country which protects his property—protects him from thieves, from swindlers, from fire. Shall we go so far as to say that he has a right, if he works faithfully, to decent living conditions, to education for himself and for his children, and a summer vacation?

Whether we make our interpretation of "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness" narrow or all-inclusive, it helps us to keep in mind that our country, in its earliest years, was pledged heart and soul to these principles. It believed fervently that every man should have his chance; that the United States should play no favorites, grant no special privileges; that men were created equal, and must be given so far as possible equal chances for development. Our fathers realized that development would be possible only under conditions that gave to every man security of life, security of property, freedom to go where he might choose, freedom to think what he chose, freedom to say what he thought, freedom to pursue happiness in any way he saw fit.

Our Fathers, as we like to call them—those able brilliant men of the colonies that gave devoted attention to public affairs—our Fathers were high-minded and courageous men, but by no means impractical dreamers. They knew that it would not be a simple matter to secure for themselves and their children these rights that they valued so highly. They knew that the nations of Europe had not protected their citizens in these rights; that few of the great nations of history had for any length of time protected their citizens in these rights; that the little, new nation for which they had just sacrificed so much could not be expected to drift comfortably into a government of righteousness and justice that was above and beyond the standard of government of that time or of previous time. And yet it was such a just and righteous government that they demanded. They therefore set to work patiently to prepare a set of sensible laws that would give to each individual all possible freedom, and yet enable all to work together for the common good, without too much friction and wasted energy.

This body of laws, which determined the form of government of the United States of America, is known as the **Constitution of the United States.** It is one of the most remarkable documents in existence. You may like to know more of how it came to be written, how the people were educated to see its value, and to what extent it has succeeded in its great purpose.

Discussion

1. The conduct of the members of a family toward one another, and toward the stranger within the gates, may be due to various causes. It may be worth while for each of you to stand off and look

at yourself and your family, and see if you can determine what principles dominate the family; what laws, if any, determine their conduct. Do not be too severe. Most families are part good and part bad. If you are determined to be a severe critic, be sure to start with yourself; and start with yourself if you are inspired to institute any reforms.

Which of the following traits are most conspicuous in your family: selfishness, consideration for others; a tendency to impose, a habit of protecting the rights of the weaker members; obedience to parents, flouting of authority; respect for age, assertion of the right that youth has to be considered; respect for the privacy of others, undue inquisitiveness; hospitality, fear of being imposed on; acceptance of responsibility, tendency to shirk; energy, laziness; rudeness, courtesy; frankness, lack of candor?

2. In your own home, who gets the most comfortable chair and the best reading lamp? What would be a reasonable claim to such distinction?

3. Who gets the first chance at the morning paper?

4. Who settles the proper temperature of the house, and whether the windows shall be open or closed?

5. Who decides whether the living-room shall be quiet, or the radio perpetually going?

6. Who is allowed to sit in the front seat of the automobile with the driver?

7. Do you think that a man should consult the wishes of his wife? That a woman should consult the wishes of her husband? That children should respect the wishes of their parents?

8. Is the person who controls the money of the family in a somewhat better position than the others to insist that his wishes be respected? To what extent do you think that it is wise for him to use this advantage? Is the exercise of such power not an exercise of force? Is the use of force sometimes necessary? (Or would you do away with courts and police?)

9. George Eliot once said that in a family the one whose wishes were most faithfully consulted was usually the one who was willing to make himself (or herself) most disagreeable. Do you think that there is any truth in this statement? Do you approve of this way of coercing a family?

10. Can a community make itself disagreeable if its opinions are not respected? Can you give some examples of ways in which a com-

munity can punish those who do not show a proper respect for its opinions?

11. Is public opinion a greater force in a small community, or in a large one? Would you say that public opinion had any force at all in the nation? Have you ever heard the term **propaganda?** Find out what **propaganda** means. Does this throw any light on the importance of public opinion?

12. "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." What does this mean? How far are you willing to subscribe to this doctrine?

13. Do you think that the person who deliberately and needlessly disregards the conventions of a neighborhood is a hero, or something less than a hero? Just how would you describe such a person?

14. Can you give a concrete example of some situation in which respect for conventions would be a sign of moral cowardice?

15. A woman of fifty was once asked by a young friend what degree of respect she thought should be given to the conventions of Society. The woman answered: "I have no respect for conventions. I have always intended to ignore them absolutely every time I found it necessary.—But I am fifty years old, and I have never found it necessary." If the woman's statement was accurate, would it seem that conventions seriously interfere with one's real freedom?

16. Are laws consistent with personal liberty? Can a man who is under the restraint of laws consider himself a free man?

17. Who made the laws that govern us? Does this make any difference in your attitude toward these laws?

18. Can we get a law that every single citizen approves? Do you know the meaning of the phrase, "The majority rules"? Do you approve of majority rule? If not, what substitute would you suggest?

19. Do the minorities have any rights? Can you think of any minority that has certain advantages that might give it great power if it chose to assert itself in government?

20. Can all evils be cured by laws? If we think that the world would be happier if there were no stupid people in it, why should we not pass a law that on and after a certain date no person shall be stupid?

21. Is it quite beyond the power of the law to raise the general standard of intelligence?

22. Is any law that cannot be enforced a bad law?

23. Some laws would be an advantage to the community if enforced, but are not enforced because the community is actively and candidly and deliberately hostile to these laws. Are these good laws—in a democracy? Shall we repeal them?

24. Some laws are not enforced because the general public is not informed—asleep at the switch, and a selfish minority are breaking the laws and getting by with it? Shall we repeal these laws?

25. Some laws are not enforced, though very generally approved, because we can afford no machinery far-reaching enough to detect, arrest, and convict offenders. An example of this would be the ordinance against spitting on the floor in street cars. Shall we repeal these laws? Can you think of any useful purpose they serve, even if imperfectly enforced?

26. Some laws are not enforced because they are not, and never were, sensible, useful laws. They were framed by short-sighted enthusiasts, passed by good-natured legislatures, and allowed to become dead letters as soon as the sponsors turned their minds to other reforms. Shall we repeal these laws? Is it worth while, by agitating for repeal, to run the very real risk of resurrecting these laws?

27. Do such laws reflect the wishes of a majority or of a minority? Laws are dependent on public opinion for their proper enforcement. Public opinion is based on conscience. In matters in which public opinion is clearly defined and all on one side, laws are scarcely needed. They are needed merely to restrain the selfish minority, who are indifferent to public opinion, and to educate the ignorant, who have not yet risen to the level of the intelligence of the masses of the people. Many laws are quite unnecessary for you and for me, and yet are necessary for others.

28. No one of you has ever killed any one. It is highly improbable that any one of you ever will. Is this because murder is against the law?

29. If you saw a chance to take a ten-dollar bill from your neighbor's purse, would you do it? What would restrain you? the law?

30. If you saw a man drop a ten-dollar bill, and walk on, unconscious of his loss, would you pick it up, or let it lie there? Would you run after him and return the bill, or would you pocket it? If you did not keep the bill, what would restrain you? the law?

31. If you saw a chance to grab a handful of peanuts from a push-cart, would you do it? Give a frank answer, and justify your answer.

32. Parents do not beat their children so frequently as they once did. What restrains them? the law?

33. There are laws against bribery at elections. Is the fact that bribery at elections is less common than it once was due to these laws? Or are the laws due to the fact that public opinion is now against bribery at elections?

34. The law permits divorce. The divorce laws of the country are rather lenient. Many people, however, who do not consider their marriages completely successful do not seek divorce. Why?

35. The law once permitted fathers to kill their children if, in their opinion, the children deserved death. Fathers seldom killed their children, however. What restrained the fathers?

36. Today the law enforces no obedience from children to their fathers. Yet children still tend to obey their fathers. What restrains the children?

37. Suppose, as frequently happens, a man engaged in speculative business puts all his property in his wife's name. He then fails in business, and has many debts to settle. The law, when it is called in to settle the man's debts, finds it difficult to get hold of his property. What should be the attitude of the wife?

38. A man fails in business. The law permits him to declare himself bankrupt. This means that practically all that he possesses is turned over to his creditors. Each creditor is given his share of the property. The bankrupt's debts are then declared discharged, and no creditor can use the law to collect any more of the money that may still be due him on these debts even though the bankrupt may later be highly successful in business. Many men have been known, however, to pay later every cent that they owed their creditors, though the creditors were helpless to force them to pay by law. Why should a man do this, of his own free will, with no compulsion from the law?

39. Suppose a poor washerwoman owns a piece of land. Suppose this piece of land is necessary to a rich corporation. The corporation is quite willing to pay $20,000 for it, if necessary. You know the facts. The washerwoman does not. You buy the land of the washerwoman for $500. She is more than pleased. You sell it the next day for $20,000. The corporation is glad to get it. This is perfectly good business. Would you have stolen a quarter from that washerwoman? Would you have helped yourself to $10,000 from the funds of the corporation? Show that you are consistent in your idea of honesty.

40. A man is elected to the school board of a great city. This is a position of trust. The member of the board buys land cheap, and, through his position on the board, sells it to the city for school sites for twice what he paid for it. Is he a good citizen? Is he a good business man? Would he rob a baby's bank?

41. Is respect for law the same as respect for laws?

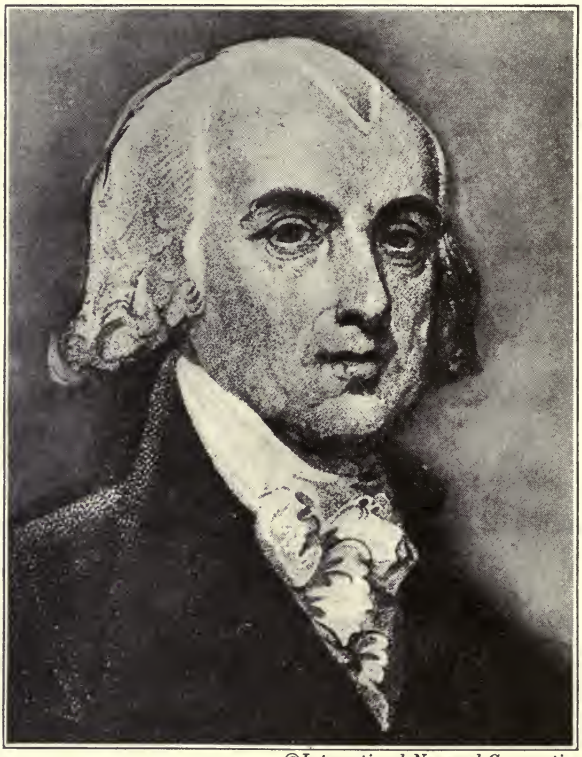
CHAPTER VII

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

We have said that the Constitution of the United States is a body of laws which determined the form of government of the United States of America. What form of government had the United States, then, before the Constitution was adopted? Strictly speaking, before the Constitution was adopted there was no United States of America. There were thirteen independent colonies loosely joined by an agreement called the Articles of Confederation. These colonies loved their independence. They had no desire for a close union. When circumstances forced them to unite, they acted in unison. When they faced a common danger—when the Indians, or the French to the north, or the king of England threatened their independence—they were glad to combine against a common enemy. When the enemy was overcome, the colonies promptly lost interest in the union that they had formed.

After the War of Independence the colonies, following their usual custom, lost interest in the union which had enabled them to win the war. They resumed their former bickering and jealousy and bad feeling toward one another. For the next six years they saw themselves grow weaker, saw no signs of a return of the prosperous days they so much longed for, saw no prospect of happiness for the people. At last the ablest men among them acknowledged the facts: no people can be happy and contented without a reasonable degree of prosperity;

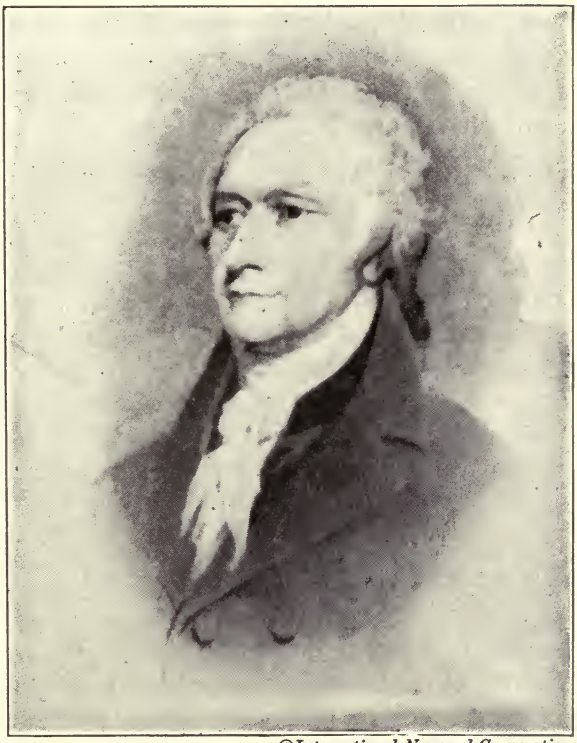
prosperity is possible only when business conditions are good; the time had come when the business of the colonies demanded an understanding and complete



JAMES MADISON
Secretary of the Constitutional Convention and an author of the *Federalist.*

good faith among the colonies, and a respect for the colonies on the part of foreign nations. The colonies could not do business with one another to advantage, or

with other countries, until they could quit quarreling among themselves, and could convince the rest of the world that they had formed a permanent union.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON
An author of the *Federalist.*

In May, 1787, a group of men met in Philadelphia to draw up a plan for this permanent union which should be acceptable to the various states, and which would ensure them the safety and the dignity which they

needed. John Fiske, the historian, says that the convention which drafted this plan was "one of the most memorable assemblies that the world has ever seen." Mr. Gladstone, the great English statesman, says that the Constitution which they produced is "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Because it is, in itself, an excellent example of what a constitution should be, because it has been an inspiration to the liberty-loving citizens of many nations, and because it has been for almost one hundred and fifty years the deeply respected law of our own country, it is worth our while to take thirty minutes to read it, every word of it. It is then worth our while to dig out the meaning of those somewhat difficult legal phrases, until we have some idea of the plan of government embodied in the Constitution. This is the plan of the government of the United States today.

We present to you the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes[1] shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.[2] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

[1] *Direct taxes.* See Amendments, Article XVI.
[2] *Other persons.* This means slaves. See Amendments, Article XIV.

SECTION 3. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature[1] thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature[1] of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore,* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold

[1] *Legislature.* See Amendments, Article XVII.

and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

SECTION 4. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They

shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have power:

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. 1. The migration or importation of such persons[1] as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

[1] *Persons.* This means slaves.

4. No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.[1]

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace,

[1] *Direct tax.* See Amendments, Article XVI.

enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this pur-

pose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.[1]

3. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of

[1] This paragraph was in force only till 1803. See Amendments, Article XII.

the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. 1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State;[1] between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and to fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where

[1] See Amendments, Article XI.

the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any

State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against

the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

G° WASHINGTON = *Presidt. and deputy from Virginia*

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON *Secretary*

New Hampshire
JOHN LANGDON
NICHOLAS GILMAN

Massachusetts
NATHANIEL GORHAM
RUFUS KING

Connecticut
WM. SAML. JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN

New York
ALEXANDER HAMILTON

New Jersey
WIL: LIVINGSTON
DAVID BREARLEY
WM. PATERSON
JONA: DAYTON

Pennsylvania
B. FRANKLIN
THOMAS MIFFLIN
ROBT. MORRIS
GEO. CLYMER
THOS. FITZ SIMONS
JARED INGERSOLL
JAMES WILSON
GOUV MORRIS

Delaware
GEO: READ
GUNNING BEDFORD jun
JOHN DICKINSON
RICHARD BASSETT
JACO: BROOM

Maryland
JAMES MCHENRY
DAN OF ST THOS. JENIFER
DANL CARROLL

Virginia
JOHN BLAIR—
JAMES MADISON JR.

North Carolina
WM: BLOUNT
RICHD. DOBBS SPAIGHT
HU WILLIAMSON

South Carolina
J. RUTLEDGE
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY
CHARLES PINCKNEY
PIERCE BUTLER

Georgia
WILLIAM FEW
ABR BALDWIN

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE I[1]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

[1] The first ten Amendments were adopted in 1791.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëx-

amined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI[1]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII[2]

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots, the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of

[1] Adopted in 1798.
[2] Adopted in 1804.

the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII[1]

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been

[1] Adopted in 1865.

duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV[1]

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member

[1] Adopted in 1868.

of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV[1]

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI[2]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

[1] Adopted in 1870.
[2] Adopted in 1913.

ARTICLE XVII[1]

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII[2]

After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by Congress.

[1] Adopted in 1913.
[2] Adopted in 1919.

ARTICLE XIX[1]

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

The Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.

STUDY OF THE TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION

(If teachers feel that they have no time for this, it may be omitted without seriously affecting the value of the chapters which follow. The work suggested here will prove more interesting with some classes than with others. The plan requires at least two weeks for its completion. Do not attempt more than one assignment for any one recitation period.)

1

Read the Constitution.

The Constitution is not easy to read. For one reason, it is dull. The Constitution is a book of rules, and books of rules are usually dull, even when they describe baseball or tiddledewinks. But this particular set of rules describes a game that we know very little about, the game of government. Moreover, it is a game which we are not eligible to play this season or next, even though we hope to take part in it some day. The Constitution has, therefore, even less to hold our attention than most books of rules. Furthermore, the Constitution is a set of laws, and is written in legal style. Not only is it true that legal terms are new to most of us; the legal style is a little formal and pompous, even to those of us who are familiar with it. Few laws content themselves with such clear, easily understood statements as "Thou shalt not steal." In spite of these difficulties read the Constitution, every word of it. Do not be discouraged if you do not understand what you are reading. No one expects you to understand a very large part of it. You

[1] Adopted in 1920.

must, however, try to keep your attention on it. It will help you to keep your mind from wandering if you have a paper and pencil at hand as you read, and prepare the following exercises.

A. Make a list of twenty words that you find in the Constitution that you are sure you have never seen before. Do not look up their meanings, unless your curiosity gets the better of you. Bring your list to class, and the class will make a list containing all the words brought in by all the members of the class. If any pupil can explain any word on the list to the teacher's satisfaction, cross that word off the class list. Keep the revised list as a matter of interest later on.

B. Notice, as you read the Constitution, whether you find any long, hard words for which you think you could substitute shorter, more familiar words without change of meaning. (Be sure you know what you are talking about.) Bring into class any and all cases of this sort which you have found.

C. Can you remake any sentence in the Constitution, keeping the thought exactly as it is, but making the meaning easier to grasp? (Be careful. The men who wrote the Constitution worded it very carefully. There is no harm in your making the attempt, and the task is not an impossible one.)

D. Do you know what the word **archaic** means? Have you noticed anything in the form of the Constitution—which was written, you remember, in 1787—which is not the accepted form of the present day?

2

Take fifteen minutes to reread rapidly the text of the Constitution.

To how many of these questions can you find the answer? Note the place in which you find the answer, giving the Article and the Section.

1. Who was the president of the convention that prepared the Constitution?
2. From what state did he come?
3. What was the date when the Constitutional Convention completed its task?
4. How many states had to agree to accept the Constitution before it became the law?

5. When these states had agreed to accept it, did the Constitution then become binding upon the other states?

6. Where do the men who framed the Constitution state its purpose?

7. Which Article tells who was to be the head of the government?

8. Which Article states who was to make the laws?

9. In which Article is there a statement as to the relations of the states to the United States and to one another?

10. Which Article gives the plan for the Federal Courts?

11. How many amendments have been made to the Constitution?

12. What is the purpose of each of the last four?

3

The Lawmaking Body

Reread Article I.

(The stronger classes might be asked to answer these questions from memory.)

1. What did the members of the Constitutional Convention decide to call the lawmaking body of the United States?

2. Name the branches of this lawmaking body.

3. Which is the larger of the two?

4. How many members does each state send to the smaller body?

5. How many to the larger body?

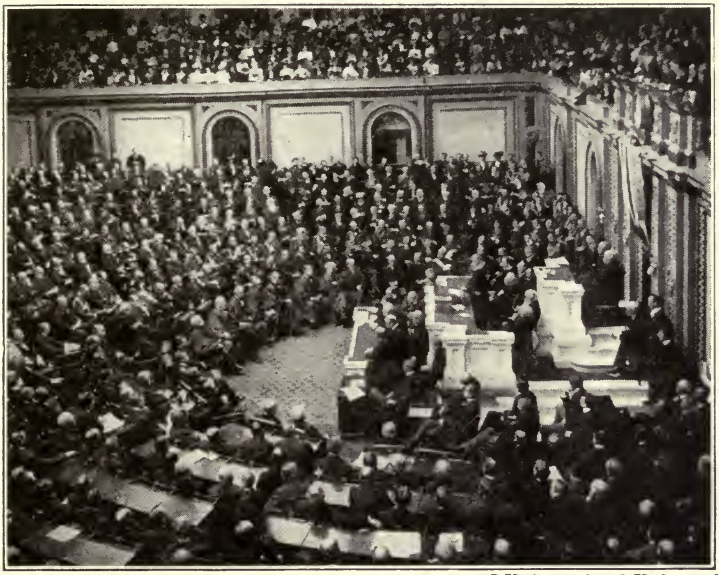
6. Which state had the largest number of members in the Lower House in the first session of Congress?

7. Which state had the largest number of senators?

8. Was the number of senators allowed to each state a concession to the states with the large population or to those with the small population?

9. How old must a man be to be a representative? a senator?

10. Does a member of Congress have to live in the state which he represents? Can you see any advantage in this? any disadvantage?



©*Underwood and Underwood*

JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
The two Houses are in Joint Session, with the Cabinet, Supreme Court, and others.

11. What is the term of office of a representative? of a senator?

12. Who is the President of the Senate? (This does not refer to the President *pro tempore.*)

13. Who presides over the House of Representatives?

14. How often does Congress meet? In what month do its regular sessions begin?

15. Are members of Congress paid a salary?

16. Benjamin Franklin suggested that members of Congress receive no salaries. What are arguments for and against his suggestion?

17. Is it possible that no member of the Lower House will be a member of the Lower House in the next Congress?

18. Could such a situation occur in the Senate?

19. Before a law has been passed by a legislative assembly, it is known as a *bill*. Can a bill that has passed either House, but failed in the other House, become a law?

20. If a bill passes both Houses, does it then become a law? What can prevent it?

4

The Powers Given to Congress

We have pointed out that in 1787, when the Constitution was written, the country was suffering much inconvenience from the lack of a strong central government. The people of the various states were independent in nature, and strongly in favor of running their own communities to suit themselves. They believed firmly in local government. They had, however, long acknowledged the need for a state government, which should have the powers that could not be exercised effectively by small communities. They were deeply attached to the states in which they lived, proud of their history and their traditions, and eager for their continued growth and prosperity. For the central government, operating under the Articles of Confederation, they cared not at all. Yet it was this very central government which the makers of the Constitution felt obliged to strengthen. It was to this central government that the states were asked to surrender certain of the powers that, up to this time, the states alone had exercised.

Read Article I, Section 8. This Section tells definitely just what powers the states agreed to give up to the central government. Remember that to this day **the government at Washington has only the powers expressly given it by the states; that all other powers remain with the states.**

Number consecutively the short paragraphs in Section 8. You will find that there are eighteen. Number one gives Congress the power to tax the people, number two gives the right to borrow money. We are all so used to the idea that we must pay taxes to the government, and to the fact that the government, with the unlimited credit of the United States behind it, can easily borrow enormous sums, that we might feel that these two paragraphs are almost unnecessary. The fact is that the Articles of Confederation had not given the central government the right to tax. The central government had had to appeal to the states whenever it needed money to pay its bills. The situation was not only unreasonable and humiliating: it had done more than any other one thing to destroy the effectiveness of the central government. Imagine responsible states saying to the central government which they had themselves created: "Declare war, in defence of our freedom. Enlist an army to carry on this war. Buy what you need for the army. Borrow money wherever you can get it." Then picture these same states calmly declining to pay the bills, or to allow the central government to collect one penny directly from the people who had benefited by the money expended. Yet this had been the attitude of the states toward the central government previous to the time when the Constitution was adopted.

Paragraphs one and two may be dull reading, but you see, do you not, that they were of vital importance in any plan for an effective central government? **Congress must have the power to raise money, the right to borrow, and the right to tax.**

Read paragraph three. Again we have colorless words. To see the importance of taking the power to regulate commerce

from the states and giving it to the central government, one must know something of the situation in the six years from 1781–1787.

During the War of Independence the thirteen colonies had worked together fairly well, under the pressure of a common danger. When the war ended, they showed a tendency to become again thirteen very independent colonies. The European nations quickly saw that the united country which had defeated England, and had later forced a most favorable peace treaty from her and which had seemed a great and formidable addition to the family of nations, was now tending to dissolve into thirteen little groups, quarreling among themselves, and dangerous to no one. The "foreign nations," thereupon, began promptly to put obstacles in the way of the citizens of the thirteen United States of America who wished to do business with them. Not only was business with foreign countries made difficult, but the thirteen states themselves, still suspicious of one another and inclined to be jealous, did many foolish things to make it hard for the citizens of one state to trade with the citizens of another state.

The country was poor, as countries usually are in the years immediately following wars, and it needed above all to build up its business. Business would not revive. The fact that business conditions were so unsatisfactory was, more than any other cause, the immediate reason for calling the Constitutional Convention. The Convention, in eleven words, did much to correct this trouble: (Congress shall have power) . . . **"To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States . . . "**

Read paragraphs five and six. Up to the time that the Constitution was written, there had been no uniform money in the states. The colonists had taken any money that was offered them. Did you ever get a Canadian quarter in change, and then find out, too late, that no one wanted your Canadian

quarter? It is an annoying experience. How should you like to live in a country in which any money was supposed to be accepted? Pistareens or picayunes, shillings, nine-pence, or sous? Where your wages might be in the form of doubloons, moidores, pistoles, guineas, carolins, ducats, or chequins? Suppose, to add to this confusion, any state that chose issued pennies, and that counterfeiting, being easy, was common, and that "clipping" the gold and silver coins was generally practiced, and, if you did not want to lose badly, you were wise to carry scales with which to weigh gold and silver money before you accepted it?

Coins of uniform weight and of definite value were most desirable. No one doubted that. But this was a blessing that could be secured only through some power higher than that of any single state. **The right to coin money, to regulate the value of this money, and of foreign coin, and the power to punish counterfeiting of this coin unquestionably belongs to a recognized and respected central government.**

Read paragraphs seven to seventeen. Answer the following questions.

1. Why should not each state have its own postal system?

2. Do you know what a *copyright* is? a *patent?* Is there any reason why the United States government rather than the state governments should make all laws as to patents and copyrights.

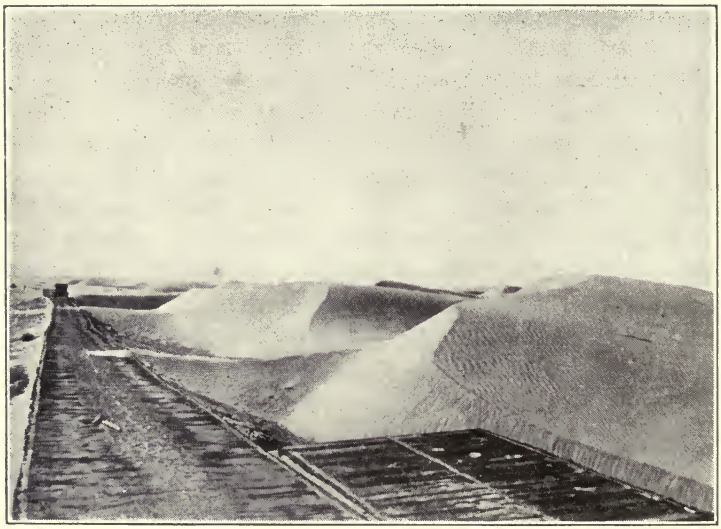
3. Which paragraphs in Section 8 relate to war? Should the conduct of a war be in the hands of the central government or of the state governments? Give reasons for your answer.

4. What is the name of the "District" for which provision is made in paragraph seventeen? Do you know of any bit of land near you owned by the United States government?

Read paragraph eighteen. Congress is the lawmaking body of the United States. Can it make laws on any and all

matters, or is it restricted? Just what laws is it empowered to make?

There existed in the Constitutional Convention two distinct points of view: one group was in favor of giving great power to the central government; the other group wished to give the central government as little power as possible and still render



They are making a new road here. It is paid for by the United States government.

it effective. From that day to this, people have been somewhat divided on that question. You may have heard the term "States' Rights." Can you guess what it means? Do you know which of our two great political parties has been, traditionally, in favor of States' Rights? Can you see any arguments in favor of encouraging vigorous local governments? Can you think of some matters, other than those enumerated in Section 8, that might be handled to advantage by the national

government? How about the building of roads? Once each farmer built his own roads. Then the local community took it in hand. In some places the county builds the roads, in some places the state. The United States has now begun a somewhat extensive system of roads. Are there arguments for this? Against?

5

The Executive

Read Article II. (Paragraphs one and two, of Section 1, the paragraphs which deal with the method of selecting the President, are of interest only from the point of view of history. Only the first three Presidents were chosen by the plan outlined in these paragraphs. In 1804 the Constitution was changed. Today the President is elected directly by the people of the states, although in many states, in deference to the old tradition, the names of the electors are still printed on the ballot.)

Answer the following questions:

1. What name does the Constitution give to the head of the national government in the United States?

2. How long is the term of this head?

3. Does the Constitution state whether he may be elected for a second term? for a third?

4. Do you know what the practice has been in the United States as to the number of terms which a President may have? Have any Presidents had more than one term? Do you know of any President who has been a candidate for a third term? Has he been successful? Would you say that the people had any decided feeling either in favor of or against a third term for President?

5. Some people favor increasing the length of the term of the President to six years, and making him ineligible for a

second term. Do you happen to know any arguments either in favor of or against this?

6. What becomes of our ex-Presidents? Are they usually active in public life? Name all the living ex-Presidents.

7. It has been a favorite boast of our country that any little boy might grow up to be President. What does the Con-

©Underwood and Underwood

THE WHITE HOUSE

stitution say as to the qualifications for the President? Might any little girl grow up to be President?

8. In case the President dies, who becomes the President?

9. Is the President paid a salary? (The salary of the President is $75,000 a year, with an additional allowance of $25,000 for traveling expenses and expenses for official entertaining. The President also gets the "White House" free, and is allowed $125,000 a year to pay the expenses of his establishment. For how much of this does the Constitution make definite provision?)

10. Who is the commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy?

11. Who has the duty of making treaties with foreign nations? Does he have sole power to make treaties?

12. The President fills certain very important offices by appointment. What are these offices? Does he have full responsibility for these appointments?

13. What power of great importance has the President that is not mentioned in Article II? Where is it mentioned?

14. Section 2 mentions "executive Departments." Is there any place in the Constitution where these executive departments are definitely enumerated? (At present the executive departments are as follows: the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, the Post Office Department, the Department of War, the Department of the Navy, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, and the Legal Department at the head of which is the Attorney General. The President appoints the heads of these departments. The Senate must confirm his appointments. The heads of these departments make up what is called the President's Cabinet. In no place in the Constitution does the word **cabinet** occur.)

15. What do we call the document in which our President, as provided in Section 3, gives to Congress "Information of the State of the Union," and recommends to their consideration "such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient"?

16. In case an extra session of Congress is found necessary, who has the right to call such a session?

6

The Judiciary

Courts are as necessary to any government as are laws. They are an important part of the machinery by which laws are enforced. The courts for which the Constitution provides have

two distinct functions. One duty of the United States courts is an unusual one: they must decide whether our lawmaking bodies are making any laws which are in any way contrary to the Constitution, the fundamental law of the land. In no other country do the courts have this power, nor is this power explicitly given to our courts by the Constitution. They have, however, exercised it almost from the beginning.

If the Supreme Court decides that any law that has been passed is in any way contrary to the Constitution, they declare the law "unconstitutional." That ends the law. The decision of the Supreme Court is final, and nothing short of an amendment to the Constitution can save that law. Amendments are not welcomed by the people themselves. If we except the first ten amendments—and they should not count, as they are really part of the original document—there have been only nine amendments in one hundred and thirty years. This right of the Supreme Court is, then, a sort of **veto power,** and tends to discourage impulsive and radical legislation. Largely because of this power, the courts are considered by many students of government to be the real bulwarks of American liberty.

The second duty of the United States courts is to punish those who break the laws made by the national government. The United States courts do not concern themselves with those who break the laws of the states: that is left to the state courts. Where the dispute is between citizens of different states, the case must be tried in a United States court. The machinery for enforcing the laws of the national government includes courts, attorneys, officials of the nature of police, called marshals, secret service men to aid in detecting crimes, and United States prisons.

Read Article III. Answer the following questions.

1. Do you understand the word **federal?** The system of United States courts is known as the **federal judiciary.** You

will read often of the **federal** government. You read of the Articles of **Confederation.** Any man, who, at the time the Constitution was submitted to the people, was in favor of a strong central government was called a **Federalist.** A series of papers written in defence of a strong central government went by the name of *The Federalist.* The terms **national government, central government, United States government,** and **federal government** all mean the same thing.

2. How many types of courts are mentioned in Section 1?

3. In accordance with its usual custom, the Constitution outlines the system in a general way, and leaves the details to be determined later. Who is directed to work out the plan for the "inferior courts"?

4. What is the term of office of the judges of the United States courts?

5. How are the judges of the Supreme Court chosen?

6. The judges of all United States courts are chosen in the same way as the judges of the Supreme Court, and all hold their offices "during good behavior"—which means, of course, for life. The judges of the state courts are, as a rule, elected by the people, for definite terms. Which method seems to you likely to get the more impartial judges? Which method would be more likely to get judges with good, sound legal training?

7. In the state courts might it be conceivable that a judge might be affected in his decisions by the fact that he would be a candidate for reëlection in a few months? Would the politicians who put a judge into office think it reasonable that he give them and their friends a little extra consideration? Would this mean that all men have "equality before the law"?

8. "The trial of all Crimes . . . shall be by Jury." Only twelve men are on a jury. Yet, in the state courts, it often takes a long time to find twelve men that satisfy the lawyers on both

sides. There is far less delay in getting a jury in the United States courts. Trials in the United States courts proceed much more swiftly. Can you suggest any explanation for this?

9. What cases come before the United States courts? Read again Article I, Section 8. Since this tells you the matters upon

Courtesy of The Tribune, Chicago

which Congress is entitled to pass laws, it also gives some idea as to what offences would be tried in the United States courts. Remember that the United States does not ask the states to enforce the laws of the national government. If you tamper with the mails, you will be arrested, tried, and convicted in a

United States court, and sent to a federal prison. Can you think of five other offences that would come up for trial, not in a state court, but in a United States court?

10. Do you know which system of courts is more dreaded by the criminal, the courts of a state or the courts of the United States?

11. The Constitution says that judges shall "receive for their services a compensation." The salaries of the judges of the United States courts range from $7,500 to $15,000. Only one man, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, gets $15,000. Should you call these salaries fair, generous, or small? How do they compare with the amount a successful lawyer can earn in private practice? or with the amount a successful button-importer earns? or a movie actor? or a first-rate automobile salesman? or the organizer of a union? Are judges supposed to be the stars of the legal profession, or just any ordinary men who have managed to get admitted to the bar?

12. The Supreme Court tries cases that have been appealed from the inferior courts. Some cases, however, are taken directly to the Supreme Court. Read Article III, Section 2, Paragraph 2, and see if you can think of any case that will be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

13. The Supreme Court is a group of nine men, one Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. This Court is looked upon with deep respect. There is no office within the gift of the Government that carries with it more distinction than that of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. See what you can learn about the Supreme Court.

14. Section 3 (Article III), ordinarily of little importance, leaps to a place of the utmost importance in time of war. At such a time every policeman, and every self-appointed guardian of the public safety, must decide the meaning of the words to give **"Aid and Comfort" to the Enemy** and should know

just what constitutes an **"overt Act."** It would be too bad to be a traitor to one's country, and not to know it.

15. The word **impeachment** has occurred several times. Find out what it means.

7

The Constitution

The Constitution of the United States is, in some respects, a model constitution. It is short. It lays down broad general principles, and avoids all needless details. It does not touch matters of purely local interest, or of merely temporary importance. There were matters of some importance upon which the states differed hopelessly: these the Constitution quietly ignores. It was a good, safe, sane working plan of government when the states adopted it in 1788. Mr. Bryce, in his *Modern Democracies,* gives an interesting tabulation of the changes that have taken place in the geographic and economic conditions of the United States since the Constitution was adopted. We give his tabulation below.

"The political institutions of the United States were created—

For a territory of which only about 100,000 square miles were inhabited.

For a free white population of little over 2,000,000.

For a population five-sixths of which dwelt in rural tracts or small towns.

For a people almost wholly of British stock.

For a people in which there were practically no rich, and hardly any poor.

For a people mainly engaged in agriculture, in fishing, and in trading on a small scale.

These institutions are now being applied—

To a territory of 2,974,000 square miles, three-fourths of which is pretty thickly inhabited.

To a nation of over 110,000,000.

To a population fully one-third of which dwells in cities with more than 25,000 inhabitants.

To a people less than half of whose blood is of British origin, and about one-tenth of whom are of African descent.

To a people which includes more men of enormous wealth than are to be found in all Europe.

To a people more than half of whom are engaged in manufacturing, mining, or commerce, including transportation."

With all these changes the Constitution is a good, safe, sane, working plan of government today. Has the Constitution been changed greatly, to meet the changing conditions? Those who wrote the Constitution fully expected that it would, from time to time, need to be altered. They therefore provided, in Article V, four ways in which the necessary changes might be made. The process of amending the Constitution is not a very difficult one, but it is difficult to amend the Constitution. The Constitution is an established institution. The people regard it with respect, not unmixed with awe. They are nervous about meddling with it. You will hear orators call it the "palladium of our liberty." If you will look up the story of the Palladium, you will see some appropriateness to the term. We may change the Constitution whenever there is a very real, very constant, very insistent demand from a great majority of the people for a change. We have changed it—nine times in one

hundred and thirty years. The people seem inclined to think that that is just about often enough.

8

Terminology

An Exercise in Words

(May be omitted)

Understanding and sympathy among human beings would go a long way toward reducing friction in this world, and promoting happiness. Sometimes two people differ in their points of view even when each clearly understands what the other thinks. More often neither is able to say just what he means, or to understand what the other man says. The failure to understand is frequently due to the fact that the two men do not speak the same language, though both speak the English—or, if you will, the American—language. A doctor talks carelessly of hyperacidity and acidosis, and may recommend sodium bicarbonate. The ordinary man advises soda for a sour stomach. The Constitution talks of compensations and emoluments. The ordinary man thinks of his pay envelope. Professions have their jargon, trades have their jargon, the boy in the street has his jargon. One would be at a great advantage who could listen, with effortless understanding, to them all.

You may say, with much to support you, that you like the short words better, and that you have no desire to acquire a vocabulary of long words. And yet, to be sure, you may find, as you read and study, some very useful long words, which tempt you by their beautiful accuracy; but it will remain true that you need never use long words in speaking or in writing. But can you avoid hearing them and reading them? Not unless you confine yourselves to the simplest of reading on interesting and easy subjects, and to the talk of schoolboys at recess. There is no edition of the Constitution in words of one

syllable, nor of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, nor of the President's last message to Congress, nor of the Treaty of Versailles. If you understand only a few of the words of the English language, you are bound to miss much of what you hear and read. Unless you are willing to feel stupid and helpless and a little lonely on many occasions, you should begin now to work for a good, generous, exact vocabulary.

The words in the following list are not of extraordinary value, but you half know most of them from the work of the past few weeks. Just a little effort will enable you to use them easily and accurately, and to recognize them cordially when you meet them, as old friends.

WORD LIST

1. constitution
2. unconstitutional
3. federal
4. federation
5. confederation
6. executive (noun and adj.)
7. judicial
8. judiciary
9. jurisdiction
10. legal
11. legislation
12. legislature
13. legislative
14. legislative enactment
15. amend
16. amendment
17. function
18. impeach
19. impeachment
20. quorum
21. convene
22. pro tempore
23. adjourn
24. adjournment
25. ratify
26. ratification
27. suffrage
28. controversy
29. congress
30. representative (noun and adj.)
31. treason
32. traitor
33. bill
34. revenue bill
35. law
36. veto
37. commerce
38. patent
39. copyright
40. unanimous

Read these words aloud, pronouncing them carefully and deliberately.

Learn to spell them.

Fill in the blanks in the sentences that follow, choosing always some form of a word that is in this list.

1. A proposed law is called a _____.
2. We all agree on this point. That makes it _____.
3. A bill for raising money is a _____ bill.
4. The fundamental law of the United States is set forth in the _____.
5. Any law proposed that does not agree with the principles set forth in the Constitution is _____.
6. Any officially constituted lawmaking body is a _____
7. Any member of that body is a _____.
8. At Leavenworth there is a _____ prison.
9. The _____ ermine is sometimes soiled by politics.
10. If the House of Representatives brings formal charges against a President, it _____ that President.
11. If you give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States, you are guilty of _____. You are a _____.
12. Congress _____ the first Monday in December.
13. The Vice-President is President of the Senate, but the Senate chooses one of its own members as President _____.
14. Women were given the right of _____ by the nineteenth _____.
15. Most people accept moral duties much wider than the _____ duties imposed upon them by the courts.
16. The legislative body of the United States Government is called the _____.
17. There was bitter _____ over the question of slavery.
18. In order to do business, there must be enough members of the House present to make a _____.
19. If there is not a _____, the House must _____.
20. Nine states _____ the Constitution before the great state of New York.
21. Making laws is not the _____ of the executive.
22. Interpreting the Constitution is supposed to be a _____ function, though some regard it as _____.

23. The President has some legislative power. He can _____ any bill of which he does not approve.

24. Offences against the city ordinances are not within the _____ of the Federal courts.

25. He committed the crime in New York. Illinois has no _____ over him.

9

The Federal Government

A SUMMARY

(Every statement given below should be familiar to you by this time and should be kept in mind during the rest of your study of civics.)

The plan for the Federal Government is found in the Constitution of the United States.

There are three branches of the Federal Government: the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial.

The Executive branch consists of the President, and the heads of the various executive departments, who, collectively, are known as the President's Cabinet. The President is elected by the people, for a term of four years. He is often reëlected for a second term, never for a third term. His chief duties are to act as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy; to appoint the Cabinet, the ambassadors, the ministers to foreign countries, judges, and many other officers of the United States; to be the official head of the government in all dealings with foreign nations; to make treaties with foreign nations. In his appointments and in his treaties he must have the approval of the Senate. He may influence legislation in two ways: by his recommendations in the form of messages to Congress; by his power to veto bills.

The Legislative branch of the government consists of two Houses, the Senate and the House of Representa-

tives. The Senate is the smaller of the two, consisting of two representatives from each state. It is usually regarded as the more conservative of the two, and membership in the Senate carries with it considerable distinction. Membership in the House of Representatives is apportioned according to population. The two Houses together are called the Congress of the United States. Congress is allowed to pass laws on certain matters definitely provided for in the Constitution, and on other matters. The most important powers given to Congress are to declare war, to control the army and the navy; to regulate commerce both between the United States and foreign nations, and between the various states; to regulate the currency; to run the post-offices; and to raise money by taxation. Congress has also the power to raise additional revenue by borrowing.

©Underwood and Underwood

THE CAPITOL

The Judicial power is entrusted to the Supreme Court and to various lower courts. These courts have two functions: to interpret and apply the principles expressed in the Constitution; and to enforce the laws made by the Federal Government.

In the first eight amendments to the Constitution certain rights of individuals generally recognized as being rights with which no government should interfere are expressly guaranteed to every individual in the United States.

The Constitution, foreseeing a possible need to change some parts of the Constitution, provides for its own amendment, thus making it possible for the people to express in an orderly, lawful way any dissatisfaction with their government.

CHAPTER VIII

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

TENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

The Constitution of the United States makes no provision whatever for local self-government; that is, for the government of cities, counties, and states. Any dictation as to the form that local self-government should take would have been resented by the states. They had had the power of self-government for a long time before the Constitution was drafted, and they kept that power under the new constitution.

The forms of government existing in most of the thirteen states resembled in many essential points the form of government provided for the United States. The thirty-five state governments set up since that time are all modeled on this form which was common to the thirteen original states and to the national government. Study carefully the points in which the state governments and the national government are alike.

Every state has a constitution. All laws passed by the state legislature must be in harmony with the constitution of the state.

Every state has a lawmaking body, called the legislature. In all states this legislature consists of a senate and a house of representatives.

Every state has a governor, who is its chief executive. It also has a lieutenant-governor, just as the United States has a vice-president.

Every state has a system of courts and judges, which helps in the enforcement of its laws.

Like the national government, every state keeps these three branches of government, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial, independent of one another, and, in the main, distinct.

Every state has an organization of citizen-troops, which can be used whenever there is serious disorder, actual or threatened, in any part of the state.

Every state has a capital, which is the home or headquarters of its government. Here we find the capitol, and other buildings needed in its work.

Every state has officials who are elected by the voters.

Every state has the power to tax. This power is necessary, because governments cost money.

We have learned that a certain definite number of duties are assigned to the national government. What duties has the state? What does the state do for us? You remember that we decided, in an earlier chapter, that each one of us should plan to take care of himself; that he should plan to earn his living at some useful occupation. We can earn our livings more easily and do our work more effectively if we work together to get comfortable working conditions. When we organize into a state, the state can do much to give us such conditions, and to relieve us of many tasks that would be an annoying interruption to our daily work.

One simple illustration may help to make this clear. In a city there is a heavy fall of snow. The snow must be removed before the ordinary life of the city can proceed. Shall this be done by waiting for each person to clean a

space in front of his house? Which ones shall cart away the huge piles that accumulate? Who will look after the space in front of vacant lots? Can every man be depended upon to do his share promptly and well? Or shall the work of removing snow be organized? Shall we trust

POLICE MOUNTED ON ARMORED MOTORCYCLES

an organization hastily formed for each snowfall? Or shall we form a permanent organization?

The state enables us to work together to get done certain things necessary to our comfort that no man could do unassisted, or that he would do only at great cost of time and of energy. From the summary given below you will get a more definite idea of the tasks that the people have entrusted to the state.

The state maintains law and order. It protects us from the criminal element that is found everywhere, from murderers, thieves, and crooks. It does what it can to protect us in our personal and property rights. To do this, it provides and maintains courts. It is the intention of the government that all citizens shall find relief in

Spraying to Exterminate Mosquitoes

the courts for wrongs which they have suffered. No person, therefore, will have any need to resort to violence —to take the law into his own hands.

The state provides for the health of its citizens. It is organized to fight disease. It does much to prevent it, and to check its spread. It plans to keep living and working conditions healthful. It gives special care to many of

its most unfortunate citizens, the blind, the deaf, the insane, the epileptic.

The state educates its citizens. It provides a system of public schools, and requires attendance. It trains for certain occupations which are especially necessary to the comfort and prosperity of its citizens. Most states main-

LESSON IN GRAFTING APPLETREE SPROUTS

tain agricultural schools and experiment stations, where the latest and best methods of farming are studied and taught. Some states have forestry schools and schools of mines.

You should note here one difference between the national government and the state governments. The national government is not divided into smaller units,

to which it delegates authority. It enforces its own laws directly. The state, on the other hand, is divided into counties. It depends upon these counties to enforce state laws. For example, persons who are prosecuted for violation of state laws are brought to trial in county courts. Counties aid in fighting disease. Many of the institutions for the care of the helpless are county institutions. The state does not, as a rule, administer its school laws directly, but chooses rather to have this work done by the counties. The state depends on the counties for the collection of its taxes. Owing to the importance of the county in state government, there are some facts that you should remember about the county.

The county is created by the state. Its powers to govern come from the state. Its boundaries are fixed or changed by the legislature of the state. Its duties are assigned by the legislature. It is a unit of government with law-enforcing rather than lawmaking powers. Its county board, elected by the voters, passes no laws, though it may decide to take up some new form of service for citizens within its boundaries. The board incurs heavy expenses in maintaining the county courts, the schools, the institutions for the helpless, the roads and bridges, and the public health. The citizen gains contact with his state and its services through the county.

County governments have been freely criticised. Some say that they cost too much for any service that they give; that they belong to a day that is past. It is true that if a county has within its limits a great city, the county government is not important. There is often an overlapping of authority. On the other hand, if you travel

through many rural districts, you are impressed by the importance of the county in the lives of the people. You will find many localities in which the people seem proud of their county, of its fine farms, of its good roads, of its excellent schools, of its annual fair, of its big courthouse, of its vigorous sheriff, of its interesting history. Pride in government is getting to be a little rare. We should hesitate to declare out of date any government machinery which holds the interest and loyalty of its citizens.

Discussion

1. Is a state a subdivision of the United States, in the same sense that a county is a subdivision of a state?

2. If a state on the Pacific Coast wishes to pass a law excluding the Japanese, may it do so? Give reason.

3. What is the capital of your state? Have any other cities in your state ever been state capitals?

4. Can you see any reason why both the federal government and the state governments should have departments of health? If county governments were of a high degree of efficiency, would that make the health departments of the state unnecessary?

5. The federal government is strong and relatively efficient. Shall we favor giving the federal government every bit of power that the law allows? Or shall we jealously guard the rights of the state governments?

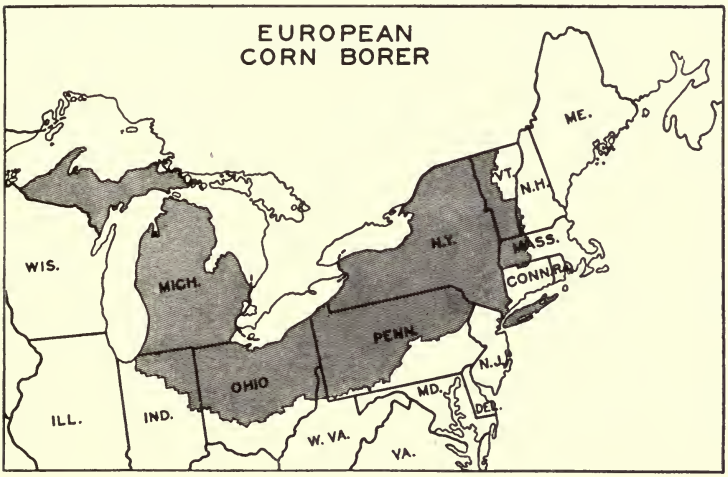
6. Shall we ask the states to relieve the small communities of as much responsibility as possible? Or shall we insist that every community keep a healthy pride in its own local government?

7. Shall small communities insist upon the right to run their local affairs as they like, and warn outsiders to mind their own business? Just what is your business, and what is mine? Can you think of instances where matters that were once the exclusive business of a small community have now become of wider importance?

8. Are the highways that pass through a county exclusively the business of that county? Can you see any argument for the state bearing a part of the expenses of county roads? For the United States?

9. Corn-borers are moving slowly across the country, destroying one of the great crops of the United States. Are these corn-borers the business of the individual farmer, or of the county, or of the state, or of the United States? Or might they be regarded as part of the business of the world?

10. If the problem of the corn-borer is part of the business of the



HELP TO PROTECT THE CORN BELT

The European corn borer (one-generation strain) now occurs in the areas shown shaded on this map. By the enforcement of quarantine restrictions the federal government and the states concerned are making a strong effort to prevent its spread.

This Chart is distributed by the federal government at quarantine points (1929) on leading highways.

Your cooperation in this work will be appreciated

world, does that remove all responsibility from the individual—from you and from me?

11. Upon whom shall we place the responsibility for good government?

12. A state constitution adopted in 1870 forbids the formation of counties over twenty miles square. There were no automobiles then. Would automobiles change the situation at all? Why?

13. New York City overflows five counties. Will it overflow into still other counties? Will other cities overflow in the same way?

14. In the City and County of Los Angeles the city government and the county government are one and the same. Can you find any other case of this? Do you see any argument in its favor?

15. Is it always economical for each county to maintain its own poor farm? Could two, three, four, five counties unite to care for their poor on one farm?

16. What is a county hospital? What kind of cases use it instead of other hospitals?

17. A county hospital was recently built upon which over half a million dollars was spent for a highly decorated façade. Was this a justifiable use of public funds? At that same hospital the materials used in cooking were of a very poor grade. Was this praiseworthy economy?

18. Paupers at a county poor farm once sent a protest to the county board because no voting place was provided for them at the farm. Had the board been negligent?

19. If a man steals a twenty-dollar bill from the corner grocer, will he be tried in a state court or in a federal court?

20. Suppose the twenty-dollar bill is in a letter, and he steals the letter from the postman's sack, in what court will he be tried?

CHAPTER IX

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

HEALTH

Most of the activities of government are directed toward one end, the desire to keep the citizens healthy in mind and body. The care for the physical well-being of the people shows itself in many ways. In the first place, the government takes great care to guard them from accident and injury. The policemen are made responsible for the safety of many people. Their duties vary all the way from the task of the traffic officer who pilots bewildered pedestrians across the whirling boulevard to the policeman who tackles the murderous holdup man. There is the hated dog-catcher, who probably saves hundreds of children from being bitten by stray dogs every year. We might include, as one of his services, the fact that he spares the mothers of these children a great deal of mental anguish; mothers are usually quite sure that the dogs that bite their children are mad. There are the factory inspectors, who watch for every form of danger to the employee, from unprotected machinery which threatens instant death, to the poisonous substances used in some manufacturing processes, which mean a slower but far more terrible death. There are the inspectors of mines, who are supposed to see to the enforcement of those laws which have been passed to prevent the accidents which, at too frequent intervals, wipe out hundreds of miners. There are building inspectors, whose business it is to prevent the shoddy

construction of buildings which make them dangerous fire-traps. We could add to the list interminably—inspection of elevators, inspection of passenger boats, inspection of locomotives, laws as to the elevation of railway tracks, and as to gates at grade crossings. Once your attention is called to it, you will see every day fresh evidence of the

A GREAT HOSPITAL
At the Medical Center
New York City

care that your government is taking to save you from the ignorance and the selfishness of those about you.

In addition to protecting citizens so far as possible from accidents, the government tries to prevent disease. Local governments, state governments, and the federal government all maintain departments of health. Inspec-

tion continues here. The inspection of meat and of milk is very well organized and very thorough. There has been a great gain in the quality of all canned goods since the many pure food laws were passed. Vicious patent medicines have been successfully discouraged.

The health departments quarantine vigorously to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. You are all familiar with the bright-colored placards tacked to houses to warn all who are inclined to enter that there is a contagious disease in the house. Many of you have had the luck to have an unexpected vacation of some weeks because some member of your family had the chicken pox, or some more serious disease. Perhaps you have driven by an imposing great building, and have been told that it was the hospital for contagious diseases. Or, if you live in the country, you may have seen an inconspicuous little yellow building, in an isolated spot, which your father told you was the pesthouse. Isolation hospital and pesthouse are one and the same—not happy spots, but a great protection to the community and an actual safeguard to the patient. The terrible plagues which used to sweep whole

©Underwood and Underwood

MAKING A FOOTPRINT RECORD OF A BABY IN A HOSPITAL

continents, and sometimes carried off twenty per cent of the population, are now unknown in civilized communities. This is the work of an enlightened government.

The health departments maintain excellent laboratories where study and research go on continually. Serums for vaccination are sent out by these departments, and free vaccination is given in the schools. This vaccination is chiefly for smallpox. Smallpox, once a disgusting and devastating plague, is now of slight danger in civilized countries. Diphtheria, which in the last generation carried off thousands of children, is now dreaded scarcely more than a sore throat. The vaccination for typhoid in the army during the last war prevented the tragic loss of life from that disease which is one of the sad memories of the Spanish-American War.

Typhoid is a very grave disease with a high death rate. Another safeguard from typhoid has been the careful inspection of the water supply of towns and cities. Scientists have found that typhoid is a filth disease, and that one of the ways in which it is commonly spread is by a pollution of the source of the drinking water. The large cities never relax in their inspection of the drinking water furnished to the city dwellers. Another source of infection is the fly. Flies are dirt-loving creatures, and carry dirt with them wherever they go. The fly that is crawling over your baby sister's face may have been crawling in a garbage can shortly before. The many laws as to the proper covering of garbage, and the expensive systems of disposing of it, are in recognition of the menace it may become to the health of the city. The crusade against flies, in which school children have joined vigorously, has worked a change which to older people

who recall the old days seems little short of miraculous. The clean-up campaigns, which take place every spring, have helped in this crusade.

Besides its energetic effort to prevent disease, the government makes some provision to care for those who are ill and unable to get proper care. The exact form which

ADMINISTERING SERUM TO PROTECT INFANTS AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS

this help takes varies in different communities, and the government leaves much of this to volunteer organizations of a charitable type. However, it maintains some hospitals, psychopathic institutes, free clinics, free dispensaries, visiting nurses, and school doctors. It also maintains many very large institutions, such as the

"homes" for people who are blind, or feeble-minded, or epileptic, or insane.

In harmony with the more enlightened age in which we are living, the government spends much effort in keeping citizens healthy, rather than in trying to cure them after they have fallen ill. Toward this end it has

GIVING SCHOOL CHILDREN THE SCHICK TEST FOR DIPHTHERIA

built great parks, which are the playgrounds of the cities, and many small parks, which are neighbor hood play grounds. In these parks are all sorts of provision for sports, from the expensive golf links and the huge bathing beaches, to the little tennis courts and croquet grounds. In some of the larger cities there are hundreds of playgrounds for smaller children, with competent directors in charge. These are usually placed in the

crowded neighborhoods, where there would be no place but the streets for the children to play, if it were not for this wise provision. The park houses have swimming pools, and good gymnasiums, and places to dance, and libraries. They are very pleasant spots. And all is absolutely free. There is probably no single feature of the large cities of the United States which is more to

DENTAL CLINIC FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

their credit than is their system of parks and playgrounds.

All this is very necessary to the well-being of the community. Try to imagine, just for a moment, how it would seem if every one of these activities of government, and the countless others of a similar sort, were suddenly to stop. It would be a very different world in which to live, and one with far more misery and unhappiness. We must

not lose sight of one fact: parks and playgrounds and fresh air farms, and free ice in summer, and bathing beaches are not luxuries merely. They are very necessary if Society is to be kept running smoothly. In the less fortunate classes of society, where there is very little money when conditions are most favorable, sickness quickly uses up any small savings which the family may have had, and makes borrowing or begging unavoidable. Debts destroy peace of mind. Poverty and the need of accepting charity destroy self-respect. With the loss of self-respect comes indifference to public opinion, and to the laws of that Society which has brought the victim only unhappiness and failure. One of the strongest incentives to petty crime is poverty. If sickness breeds poverty, and poverty breeds crime, you can readily see that it is wise for a government to do all in its power, if only for selfish reasons, to prevent sickness, and to reduce the cost of it when it comes. A strong, healthy body tends to produce a healthy mind. Healthy minds do not tolerate ideas of crime. How costly crime is to a nation you can judge from the facts given in the next chapter.

Discussion

1. What is a contagious disease?

2. What is meant by quarantine? by fumigation?

3. Most people believe that quarantine and fumigation are needed safeguards in case of contagious disease. If you belong to the small minority that believe them unnecessary, does that justify you in evading the law that requires them?

4. Should you go to your neighbor's house, though you sleep in the room with your brother who has the measles? Should you permit your neighbor's little girl to visit your sister who is just recovering from scarlet fever?

5. Most people regard colds as contagious. What are some of the ways to keep from giving your cold to others? If you do not believe that your cold is contagious, have you a right to ignore these precautions while traveling in public conveyances? While in the schoolroom? While visiting in the homes of your friends?

6. Are there some persons who go voluntarily and have themselves vaccinated against smallpox?

7. What is a "smallpox scare"? When are physicians busiest in the vaccination of patients? Are there long periods when they vaccinate few, or none?

8. In some states the courts have decided that it is unconstitutional to compel persons to submit to vaccination. Do you approve of these decisions?

9. Some girls working in a factory were employed in applying radium to watch dials. They were directed, probably as a matter of convenience and economy of time, to wet their brushes in their mouths. This contact with radium so affected their health that they had to give up work of any sort. In a few years they will die of the radium poison. What should the government do about this? Which government?

10. In the above case the courts ordered the employers to pay damages to the girls. Was that fair to the employers? Should not the girls have known better than to stick the brushes in their mouths? Who was to blame? Will the damages repay the girls for what they have lost? Will they benefit them at all?

11. Do you ever see in the papers, day after day, the warning: "Boil the water"? What does that mean? Do we give the newspapers credit for their public spirit in printing this advice? How do they find out that the water is dangerous?

12. Some years ago newspapers repeatedly advised, "Swat the fly!" Why do we no longer see this slogan in city papers?

13. Do you live in a community where the milk is inspected? Who does this inspecting? For what is the milk tested? Why is this important? Would you prefer living in a country in which one-half the herds are said to be tubercular, and where no intelligent person touches a drop of milk that has not been boiled? One of the most highly civilized countries in the world is in this situation.

14. Try to find out in what ways public health is protected in your own community.Who pays for this service? Is the money well spent? Is more money needed for this kind of work? Does this expenditure of money appeal to the ignorant voter? Is education in matters concerning health an important part of protecting people's health?

15. Have you any theory as to any way in which parks and playgrounds lessen crime?

CHAPTER X

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

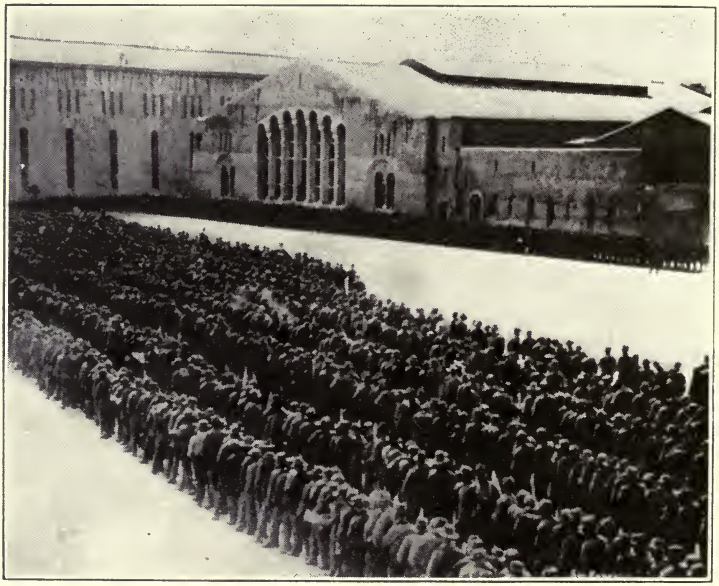
THE PREVENTION AND THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIME

The state has no more important duty than the prevention and the punishment of crime. Some crimes are brutal and savage acts that do violence to the rights of others. In primitive society every man defended his rights as best he could, and the strongest survived. In pioneer states the fair-minded citizens often banded together and made short work of the bad man who insisted upon settling in their midst, and who refused to respect the rights of those about him. In civilized countries in which the government is well established the duty of protecting the citizens is turned over to the state. The state is supposed to prevent crime when it can. When it cannot prevent it, it is supposed to punish it. The theory is that the punishment of the criminal will discourage further crime. Modern society has endeavored to control the utterly selfish, brutal part of society by this fear of punishment.

To what extent have we succeeded in driving the bad man from our midst? In an impressive book, *The Criminal and His Allies,* Judge Marcus Kavanagh answers this question. Judge Kavanagh is a man with thirty years' experience on the bench in Chicago. He has every reason to have an accurate knowledge of this subject. We are indebted to him for much of the material in this chapter. If the reader believes that this is only slightly true or at most only partly true, or that the facts

are exaggerated or misrepresented, the figures will still force him to pause for serious thought.

Judge Kavanagh says: ". . . today we have three hundred fifty thousand women and men who make their living wholly or partly by crime. . . . American soil is occupied by an invading hostile army more formidable



©*International Newsreel*

YARD OF THE STATE PRISON, SAN QUENTIN, CALIFORNIA
The prisoners are out for exercise

in size and efficiency than any that before the World War ever invaded a civilized country. . . . This army is twice the size of the Union and Confederate armies that fought at Gettysburg." This is a very expensive army for us to support. Crime costs this country every year a sum variously estimated at from thirteen billion to

seventeen billion dollars, a sum larger than the total annual income of the steel industry, or of the great automobile business. The sum is larger than the value of all farm products. All the work that our farmers do in producing crops and raising live stock is barely enough to pay for what criminals take and destroy, and to pay the expenses of fighting crime. The United States has today the most discouraging criminal record of any civilized country in the world.

What is the trouble? Are we wrong in thinking that punishment will discourage crime? Perhaps the following figures may suggest another explanation.

> "In 1926, in a single large city, the police made 20,186 arrests for crimes punishable by a penitentiary or reformatory sentence. Of that number only 647 persons went to the penitentiary or reformatory.
>
> "In this same city, of 19,410 individuals arrested who had criminal records, 2626 of whom had major criminal records, only 164 went to the penitentiary.
>
> "In this same city, 1240 automobiles were stolen in a single year. Four hundred and ten automobile thieves happened to get caught. . . . Out of the four hundred and ten, one unlucky thief went to the penitentiary.
>
> "In another city, more than one thousand proved cases of violation of the excise law were tried by the grand jury; there were three convictions.
>
> "In one year in a single community two hundred seventy murders were committed. Of the murderers, two hundred thirty-one were never put to the trouble of a trial."

Good laws that are not enforced never did any country any good. Punishment, to be effective, need not necessarily be very severe. It must be swift and it must be certain. Criminals would rather accept a ten-to-one chance of escaping the gallows, than face the certainty of being imprisoned for ten years. In its enforcing of its criminal law the United States has much to explain. Chief Justice Taft characterizes the situation very clearly when he says: "The administration of the Criminal Law in this country is a disgrace to civilization. . . . The trial of a criminal seems like a game of chance, with all the chances in favor of the criminal; if he wins, he seems to have the sympathy of a sporting public."

How does it happen that the criminal so often escapes the punishment that the law intends he shall have? We might take first the case of those who commit certain less serious offences. Most states have passed laws which are intended to encourage the people in a wholesome self-restraint. Examples of these are the numerous laws as to the sale and the consumption of liquor. Before the Eighteenth Amendment was passed there were many laws as to the closing hours of saloons, Sunday closing, proper licensing, and so forth. These laws were passed by the people, but always roused the resentment of a rather noisy minority. The laws were broken again and again, and the violators, when tried by juries, were never punished very severely. Notice again the figures quoted above—three convictions out of over a thousand cases of proved violation of the excise (liquor) laws. The people did not sympathize wholly with these laws, and took the dangerous stand that they would obey only the laws of which they approved. So there grew up a

contempt for law which has had a disastrous sequel. When the Eighteenth Amendment was passed—and no more solemn law exists than that embodied in the Constitution of the United States—the people who had claimed the privilege of breaking the liquor laws before the Eighteenth Amendment was passed, and the people

©*Underwood and Underwood*

BUREAU OF STANDARDS, WASHINGTON

Identification of typewritten documents. An important means of detecting crime.

who had sanctioned this flouting of the law, continued to flout the new law. Most of you know what an ugly story this has been. But it is, after all, no more than we might expect. Respect for law cannot be flippantly destroyed, and then resurrected at a moment's notice.

Take next the cases of the stolen automobiles. How can we explain the lax enforcement of the law here? Do the people of the United States really approve of the stealing of automobiles? The situation here is complicated by another element. Many automobile thieves are young, scarcely more than boys. The people are inclined to be morbidly sympathetic toward young thieves and lawbreakers. They close their eyes to the colossal selfishness and the aversion to honest work that characterizes almost all of these thieves. They refuse to understand that they are not good material for useful citizens, that they do not want to work and do not intend to work, and they do intend to "have a little fun," without the least regard to the rights of others. The people remember only that they are young, and that they have fathers and mothers who have hoped much from them, and they usually let them off. Nine times out of ten the very man from whom the car was stolen refuses to prosecute. The boy is advertised in the papers as a "boy bandit," and comes out of the incident quite a hero to his silly, weak companions. Each month there is a very natural increase in the number of automobiles stolen. Just what is to be done with the young thief is not easy to say. The present method does nothing to deter him, and nothing to deter his admiring companions.

The success with which the men who are hardened offenders escape punishment for long periods is probably due to their keen wits and to their excellent organization. Crime is, at present, an organized business. The weapon of which criminals make most use is not, as many suppose, the knife and the gun and the fast automobile, but rather the law's delay. The figures show that crimi-

nals are duly arrested. The question is, what happens after the arrest, that enables so many to go free? The chief tool of the criminal is the crooked lawyer, equally criminal, and a sharer in the spoils. Every dishonest lawyer who specializes in defending criminals is thoroughly trained in the technicalities of the law. He knows that it is very difficult to word an indictment against a man in such a way that some technical mistake cannot be found in the wording, which will secure for the criminal a new trial. If the trial is dragged on long enough, the witnesses die or conveniently disappear, and the guilty man is acquitted. Sometimes the lawyer defending the accused man can, on a mere technicality, get an immediate acquittal. In order that you may know what this thing that we call a technicality is, we quote (again from Judge Kavanagh) several easily understood instances.

> "If a man kill another with a gun, even though he be guilty of cruel, cold-blooded murder, yet if the indictment by mistake charges that he did it with a knife, the criminal must go free in thirty states of this Union."
>
> "This same Supreme Court of I_____, in a recent noted case, granted a new trial to one guilty of a most terrible crime, because the indictment concluded—'against the peace and dignity of the State of I_____.' It left out the definite article 'the.'"
>
> "An I_____ stole a Smith and Wesson revolver, but the indictment called it a 'Smith and Weston' revolver. Therefore his conviction was set aside."

Any child with reasonably good intelligence is shocked and puzzled that the law of the land would have so little

regard for the real merit of a case as this. Reforms have been urged again and again. Strange to say these are very often opposed by lawyers. Not only by the crooked lawyers, who would naturally be violently opposed to seeing their most valuable weapon seized, but even by some who do not handle criminal law. The best explanation seems to be that all persons instinctively protect their means of livelihood. A law loaded with technicalities demands for every little act the services of a lawyer trained in these technicalities. As a result of this state of affairs, lawyers can make a living, even though there are twice as many as the nation should require. A remedy suggested is that the reform of the law be undertaken by men who are not lawyers. England solved the problem in this way. We have, however, a strong combination against us: the respectable lawyers; the respectable citizens who occasionally take advantage of the technicalities of the law in little businesses of their own; the respectable citizens who have no selfish interest at stake, but who distrust all change; the politicians who do not wish to be hampered by laws easily enforced; the crooked lawyers, who would be lost without these technicalities; and the criminals, whose existence largely depends upon keeping the law properly mysterious. If you understand the problem, the cause of just government has in you additional recruits.

The most humiliating circumstance in connection with the failure to bring criminals to justice is that the criminals could not escape if they did not have the support of men who have no criminal record. We have mentioned the dishonest criminal lawyers. Other allies of the crook are the men who make a business of "bailing

out" the criminals as soon as they are arrested, so that they may go free until their trial, and, if they like, pursue their profitable calling. There is also the politician who uses his influence to have the case dropped, or to get a light sentence for the offender. This is one of the ways that certain types of politicians get votes. There are, here and there, prosecuting attorneys and judges who pay their political debts by making the way smooth for criminals who stand in with their boss. In addition to these we have those great organs of public opinion, the daily newspapers, which make crime a thrilling sport, and which are, incidentally, valuable textbooks for those with criminal inclinations, as their detailed accounts of crimes give excellent suggestions as to methods which have proved successful. The columns and columns in the daily papers given up to utterly needless details of disgusting murders, and to the life histories of the highly interesting murderers, make appetizing reading for weak and suggestible young people who have a secret passion for the limelight. Criminals have one other ally, though an unconscious one—the patient public, who take their losses meekly, sometimes humorously, and philosophically bury their dead.

There is a side to all this which is, if possible, more serious than the fact that the United States is staggering beneath such a crushing load of crime. Some one has said that law is not the boundary line between what is right and what is wrong; it is just a fence that is put up to mark that boundary. Things are not wrong because there is a law against them; there is a law against them because they are wrong. A confusion exists, however, in the minds of many who do not bother to think clearly.

They believe that anything is right if it is not against the law. Instead of respecting what is right, they have come to respect what is law. Suppose, then, their respect for law breaks down, what have they left to guide them? Their attitude may easily come to be the same as that of many high school boys, who say quite frankly: "Aw, anything is right, if you can get by with it." This is, of course, the point of view of a degenerate people. The United States could not endure the idea that such a point of view would become general.

Discussion

1. "The United States has become the most lawless and the most law-ridden country on earth." What does this mean?

2. "Communities have the criminals that they deserve." What does this mean?

3. In the case of children who are lawbreakers, they have a system in England, by which the judge submits to the parents whether the boy shall pay a fine, be imprisoned, or get a whipping. If the boy, by his parents' consent, gets the rod, there will be no record against him. What do you think of this system?

4. In the state of Delaware for certain offences, such as wife-beating, thieving, robbery, the punishment is whipping. One of the results of this form of punishment is that the thief returns to his gang in disgrace. It has been very effective. Do you consider it un-American?

5. What losses from theft have you suffered in school? Pens, pencils, books, coats, writing paper, gloves, athletic supplies, musical instruments, drawing sets, etc.? Can you add to this list?

6. Do you know any students who steal regularly?

7. Do students who know the names of the thieves report them?

8. Are students careless about their property?

9. What is a revolver for? Is it useful in hunting?

10. Why does a man carry a revolver as he goes about the streets?

11. Is it advisable that we keep revolvers in our homes?

12. Who should be allowed to have machine guns?

13. Should they be kept in factories, banks, offices? Are there better ways for banks to protect themselves?

14. A criminal, caught in the very act of crime, killed the policeman who was trying to arrest him. He said that he did it in self-defense. Is this answer justified?

15. Read Amendment II to the Constitution. Does this allow persons to go armed in the streets?

16. Why does a criminal prefer a revolver to a rifle for his own use?

17. Would you favor a law prohibiting the sale of revolvers?

18. Would the men who manufacture revolvers favor such a law? Or the men who sell them?

19. Are there any rich criminals in the country?

20. Are they prominent and highly respected citizens?

21. What becomes of their wealth?

22. A family is built on the established order of society. Does a criminal have a good chance to rear a creditable family?

23. What is meant by the underworld?

24. What does the prefix "under" really mean?

25. How can those who live in the underworld get out?

26. How do they enjoy themselves in the underworld?

27. How do their children get along?

28. Can you write an item of society news about a party given by some prominent burglar in some city?

29. Are criminals suspicious of one another?

30. Do they ever betray one another?

31. Do opportunities to gamble every day encourage employees to "borrow" from the cash register?

32. What is the greatest attraction of horse racing? What has brought it into its greatest disrepute?

33. When a remedy is needed for an unpleasant state of affairs the usual suggestion is that we pass a law to correct the evil. Can we improve the criminal situation by passing more laws? If you think we can, suggest some laws that you think might help. Can you suggest some remedy other than passing more laws?

34. "The invading army (of criminals) numbers just one-third of one per cent of the general population of this country." Could we crush them if we tried? Why do we not?

CHAPTER XI

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

EDUCATION

In a country like ours, in which every single citizen is supposed to take an active part in running the government, education is absolutely necessary. Nor is a little education enough. Every citizen should be given all that he will take. The more intelligent, able citizens that a government has, the better the government and the happier the people.

Is the United States awake to this fact? Does it educate its citizens? From the earliest times the states have realized that in a democracy education is not a luxury, but a necessity. The little struggling colonies provided schools before they made provision for armies. They dreaded ignorance within more than enemies without. From that day to this a strong system of public schools, free to all, has been a respected tradition of the American people.

The states have not been content with providing us with a chance to get an education: most states demand that we take advantage of the opportunity. The state sends us to school for eight or nine months of every year, and year after year. If we try to run away, it sends a policeman after us. If we want to quit and go to work, it sends a policeman after us. If we want to work after school hours, it objects, unless the hours of work do not interfere at all with our school work. It keeps us in school until we are sixteen years old, and then it coaxes

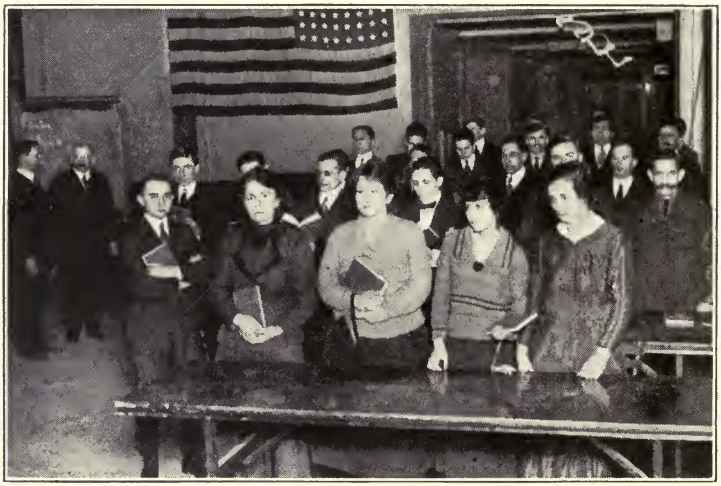
us to go on, offering courses in night schools and in continuation schools, in state universities, library schools, agricultural schools, normal schools, dental schools, business schools—almost any sort of school that it would seem might help a boy or a girl to grow into a happy, healthy man or woman.

If we sometimes grumble and grunt at our truant officers and our compulsory education laws, there is, after all, something splendid and generous in the hope that inspired these laws. It is, again, a part of our American tradition. An Englishman, when congratulated on the opening of a normal school to train women teachers, made this reply: "Yes, yes, I suppose that it might be said to be a very good thing. But, really, if we begin to educate the masses, where are we to look for our serving classes?" The story affords an interesting contrast to the attitude of the United States. We believe that all men should have equal chances for happiness. We cannot give them equal ability, but we want to do what we can to give them equal opportunity. We believe that not even our leaders should, of necessity, be chosen from the more fortunate classes, but that the most splendid and dignified posts in the country should

©*Underwood and Underwood*

CLASS IN LIP READING

be wide open to any boy or girl born in this country who can show the qualifications for the post. So we urge them, please, to take what we offer them. If they try to slam the door in the face of opportunity, we neatly insert a foot in the door. We try pathetically hard to keep the door open. We are bent on saving our children from themselves.



ADULT EDUCATION. EVENING SCHOOL

The country is fully awake, then, to the need of fighting that form of ignorance known as illiteracy. Not only does it spend much money on its healthy, promising young citizens: it does not neglect the less promising stock. There are parts of our educational system that make one feel that we are living in a pretty good world. Have you lived in the country where you could see the big warm busses go by, collecting the little children, rich

and poor alike, and taking them in all sorts of weather, safely and comfortably, to the nearest schoolhouse? Do you know that this is going on in isolated pine woods in Wisconsin, and in districts in Maine where the snow lies on the ground for months at a time, and the bus is put on

©*Underwood and Underwood*

SCHOOL EXHIBIT IN ART

runners, and propelled by a tractor, and makes its way on top of the snow, over bushes and fences?

Have you lived in the city, and seen the big busses go by, collecting the crippled children, and taking them to a school where they are specially trained? Do you know that these children are not only taught to do useful work, which will keep them from being unhappy dependents all

their lives, but they also learn to laugh and to sing and to dance? A dance of crippled children is one of the most inspiring sights in the world. It is a smashing big victory that those children and the teachers of those children have won—even if it is never headlined in the pink sheet.

Do you know of the schools, free schools, paid for from taxes levied on all the people, in which the little, underfed, tubercular, rickety children of the very poor are taught in the open air, and fed and put to sleep between times, whenever they need it? Do you know of the schools in which deaf children and blind children are taught? It is rather thrilling to see a girl who is totally blind translating beautifully and accurately difficult Latin, which demands every ounce of brains that our bright-eyed high school seniors can bring to it. Such power has meant untold hours of patient attention from skilled teachers at the school for the blind, and in most countries would have been possible only to the very rich. Yet this American girl came from a very poor home, and was a member of a family the members of which were ignorant of her needs and impatient of her affliction. The state had been her greatest friend.

It is interesting to visit the huge night schools of the city, and see the eager, hard-working, grown foreigners learning to read and write the language of their new country. They are an intelligent group of people, good material for citizens. And the men and women who are teaching them are interesting: they are so earnestly occupied with giving their pupils a good, strong shove ahead on their way to a happy, independent life in the United States of America. Incidentally you would like to hear eight hundred of these foreign-born American

men and women sing "America." They could give most of us a lesson in how to sing it. They sing it exactly as if they meant it, every word of it. And that, too, is a big victory that has somehow escaped notice.

Illiteracy, inability to read and write, is being steadily fought in the United States. We must force ourselves,

TRAVELING LIBRARY
State of Washington

however, not to sink into too complacent and self-satisfied an attitude toward the success of the efforts that are being made. In 1920 the United States Census Bureau gave the number of illiterates in the United States as 4,931,905. These figures mean, you understand, that there were at that time in the United States

that number of people over ten years old who could not read and write. That is a good many. It is altogether too many. And at that it is 584,258 less than in 1910. The figures need not discourage us, but they remind us of the need for strengthening the school system, especially in backward and rural districts, and for steadily supporting the schools. Ignorance cannot be tolerated in a democracy.

Discussion

1. Exercise. Make a clear, frank statement, in writing, as to why you are attending school. You need not put your name on the paper when you hand it in.

2. Do you think that a high school education pays? in dollars? Is there any other way in which it pays?

3. What are "practical" studies?

4. A great London bank tried for years to find some one qualification for men whom it considered hiring that would insure the quality which the bank needed. It finally found one. It demanded a knowledge of Greek. Have you any explanation for this?

5. A restaurant in a large city wished to secure efficiency in its service. It decided to hire as waitresses and, so far as possible, for all work requiring women only college girls. Why should college girls be any better at making salads or filling mustard pots than any other girls? The experiment was considered a success.

6. The percentage of criminals who have ever attended high school is very small. How do you explain this?

7. What effect might a more strict enforcement of the compulsory education law have on this percentage?

8. What is a prejudice?

9. List the benefits that come to a person from having prejudices.

10. Can a person have prejudices without doing himself harm?

11. Which man is more likely to have prejudices, an ignorant man or an educated man?

12. A French minister of education once made the proud boast that it was three o'clock, and that, knowing that, he knew that all the pupils in a certain grade throughout France were at that moment

writing a Latin verse. What do you think of a system of education that is absolutely uniform throughout a country?

13. Can you see any objection to having uniform hours of closing throughout a system?

14. Do you think that it is wise to decide when a child is born what profession he shall follow?

15. What do you think of private schools? Do you know of any advantage that a private school might have over a public school? Has the public school any advantage over the private school?

16. Do you see any objection to a boy's being educated by a private tutor until he is ready for college?

17. What subjects that you have studied have done you the most good? Was it the subject itself, or the teacher who taught the subject that you enjoyed?

18. Is there any close relation between intelligence and education?

19. Does one part of the country have a right to concern itself with the illiteracy in another part of the country?

20. Would you be in favor of the federal government giving money for education to the backward states?

21. This would be taxing the richer states for the benefit of the poorer states. Is this advisable? How about appropriating money for better roads? Are schools as necessary to the good of the nation as roads?

22. Should you like to have a minister of education at Washington order that at three o'clock every afternoon you should be in the act of reading a Latin verse?

23. An eastern city with a fine system of schools allowed all who had finished the eighth grade to enter the high school. At the end of a year all who were failing seriously were required to drop out. Do you approve of this?

24. At a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars every year the people of the United States give to the children a free education. What have the people a right to demand in return?

ILLITERACY BY STATES

In this table illiterates are those over nine years of age who cannot read or write any language. The figures indicate the percentage of illiteracy in the state. For example, Iowa has 1.1 per cent of illiteracy, or eleven illiterates to each thousand of its population. The figures are from the Census of 1920.

Iowa	1.1
Nebraska	1.4
Oregon	1.5
Idaho	1.5
Kansas	1.6
Washington	1.7
South Dakota	1.7
Minnesota	1.8
Utah	1.9
North Dakota	2.1
Wyoming	2.1
Indiana	2.2
Montana	2.3
Wisconsin	2.4
Ohio	2.8
Michigan	3.0
Missouri	3.0
Vermont	3.0
Colorado	3.2
California	3.3
Maine	3.3
Illinois	3.4
Oklahoma	3.8
New Hampshire	4.4
Pennsylvania	4.6
Massachusetts	4.7
New Jersey	5.1
New York	5.1
Maryland	5.6
Delaware	5.9
Nevada	5.9
Connecticut	6.2
West Virginia	6.4
Rhode Island	6.5
Texas	8.3
Kentucky	8.4
Arkansas	9.4
Florida	9.6
Tennessee	10.3
Virginia	11.2
North Carolina	13.1
Arizona	15.3
Georgia	15.3
New Mexico	15.6
Alabama	16.1
Mississippi	17.2
South Carolina	18.1
Louisiana	21.0

ILLITERACY IN CITIES

Cities having over 10,000 illiterates are given in the table below. The numbers give the percentage of illiterates. For example, the 2.0 after Los Angeles means that two persons in every hundred of the population of that city cannot read or write any language.

New Bedford	12.1
Fall River	11.9
Birmingham	8.4
Atlanta	6.6
New York	6.2
Newark	6.0
Providence	5.9
New Orleans	5.9
Cleveland	5.3
Chicago	4.6
Rochester	4.5
Baltimore	4.4
Pittsburgh	4.3
Jersey City	4.3
Buffalo	4.2
Boston	4.0
Philadelphia	4.0
Detroit	3.8
Milwaukee	3.0
Washington	2.8
St. Louis	2.7
Los Angeles	2.0

When later statistics are available, you will find it profitable to compare them with those above.

CHAPTER XII

DEMOCRACY—ITS GREATEST WEAKNESS

"All free governments are managed by the combined wisdom and folly of the people."

JAMES A. GARFIELD

It was never the intention of those who planned the government of the United States to remove responsibility from you and from me. Representatives of the people met and prepared a constitution. They presented it to the people to be discussed. The people talked about it, wrote about it, and thought about it, and finally deliberately voted to adopt it. They can change it whenever they wish. By this Constitution the men who make the laws are representatives of the people, elected by the people. The people choose practically all government officials. Any citizen is eligible to office. The responsibility for the government of the United States is placed squarely upon the people.

Nor have the people of the United States up to the present time ever sunk so low as to be willing frankly and openly to give up that responsibility. They have considered themselves a people capable of self-government, and would deeply resent any suggestion that a democracy is not the best form of government in the world.

As a matter of fact it probably is the best. When a government is turned over to the people, it is likely to be blundering and wasteful and inefficient in spots. But all forms of government have their weak spots. Great kings have been known to be rather wasteful and extrav-

agant, and shrewd dictators have blundered. You will probably sympathize with Thomas Jefferson, who said: "Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels, in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question." Furthermore, if one could be sure that there was some form of government other than a democracy—one run by a wise, kind dictator, or by a committee of very able, unselfish men, or some equally impossible dispensation—which would relieve the people of all responsibility and of all anxiety, and run as smoothly and economically as a very well-managed private business, even then such a government would have one fatal defect: it would not develop the right sort of citizens. The people living under such a government would not grow into as interesting, responsible, thoughtful human beings as they would in a democracy. Let the people keep their government, make their mistakes, pay for their blunders, do better another time, live and learn, and grow in political wisdom. If, as we of the United States believe, a democratic form of government produces better men than any other form, then we can take patiently the weaknesses of a democracy. No state can produce anything of such value as good citizens. A government that does this needs no apologists.

But, though we may be prepared to endure the weaknesses of democracy patiently, there is no reason why we should ignore them, or make no effort to remedy them. One is reminded of an incident in one of our large city schools. A woman of foreign birth, from a country in which the standards of personal cleanliness were ap-

parently somewhat lower than ours, was once warned by the school authorities that her children had lice in their hair. She was given a simple prescription, and told to clean the children's hair. The woman was most indignant. She assured the astonished principal that all healthy children had lice in their hair. It is this attitude of complacent ignorance that we must avoid. We have no right to dismiss the evident faults of our government with a careless comment that all democratic governments have their little weaknesses.

What are the conspicuously weak spots in a democratic form of government? When modern democracy was first being seriously discussed, many wise and thoughtful men were appalled at the idea of giving every one the right to vote, and putting the control of government in the hands of what they were pleased to call "the masses." They seem to have thought that the common people—that means you and me, you know—would be hasty and impulsive and fond of experiments; they did not doubt that the people would be utterly selfish in the laws that they would approve, and indifferent to the rights of the minority. You may be relieved to learn that experience with democratic government in the United States has proved this particular fear groundless. History has shown that the people are conservative. They have a strong tendency to be cautious and deliberate. They are admirers of things as they are. "Normalcy" was a word to conjure with in one of our political campaigns. "Back to normalcy" was the campaign slogan, and carried to victory the party which adopted it. The words "radical" and "reformer" rouse instant suspicion in the average citizen. If this does not necessarily indicate a high degree

of intelligence, it is, at least, comforting to those who fear in a democracy the sudden impulses of the masses. The people of the United States can be relied upon to "play it safe."

This cautious conservatism of the people in matters of government has undoubtedly saved them from many mistakes. We can admire it warmly, but not too warmly until we have considered just why we are so conservative in government. Are we, as a people, noted for caution and conservatism in most matters? Or have we a goodly proportion of extravagant plungers, and splendid adventurers, and daring pioneers in almost every other field? Have we clung fondly to our tallow candles and ancient fireplaces, or do we joyously adopt every modern device for comfort and health? Why, if we have been leaders in other fields, do we show so little interest and ingenuity in working out the very real problems of a democracy? Especially the one great question: How can we keep the government in the hands of the people?

The fact is that the great weakness of every democracy is not the impulsive desire of the masses to experiment in government, but their deadly indifference to any change suggested. They did listen with attention to the fine words of Revolutionary days: "All men are created equal"—"No taxation without representation"—the "unalienable Rights of Man." But they listened because they were uncomfortable, and they hoped something would happen to relieve their discomfort. They studied the Constitution because they were uncomfortable, and they hoped that the plan of government suggested in the Constitution might help. They wanted a good government, so that they could forget the government, and go

about their business. Their leaders, many of whom happened to be earnest students and firm believers in the propriety of self-government, offered them a representative form of government with many of the features of a democracy. The people accepted it. One candid farmer said that it could not be worse than what they had, and was worth trying. Under the wise and energetic guidance of these same leaders the nation prospered. The people found themselves comfortable, and able to go about their business, and decided that they had a good government. They have been pretty comfortable ever since, and have shown an increasing tendency to let the government take care of itself, and to give it amiable, good natured, unthinking support. As a rule, the people of all times have roused themselves to active participation in government only when they have found themselves decidedly uncomfortable. Then they have wanted something done about it. This apathy of the people is the great weakness of democracy.

You may feel that this picture of the indifference of the people of the United States to government problems must be overdrawn. It seems scarcely possible that a government which is supposed to be run by the people could go right on running smoothly if the people were lying down on the job. We will consider more at length just what part the people of the United States should take in the government, what part they do take, and who runs the government if they do not.

Discussion

1. Do you prefer living in a democracy? Why?
2. Who should supply us with good government?

3. Why not employ some man who has made a great success of business to run the national government?

4. Would an express company do the work of the parcel post better than it is now done?

5. Secretary Mellon is quoted as saying that "every man should have a stake in this country." He means that each of us should personally pay a tax to our government. Do we take a greater interest in something in which we have invested money? Is there a difference between our paying and having the money taken from us by a ruler?

6. What do you mean by **majority rule?**

7. Do you believe in majority rule? Should we require instead perfect agreement on every proposed law before we make it a law? Explain your answer.

8. If you do not believe in majority rule, what would you suggest as a substitute?

9. Are minorities protected in any way? Does the Supreme Court protect minorities? May the veto power protect minorities?

10. Suppose that a minority of the citizens could control the press of the country: would that be a protection to them?

11. Suppose that a minority were thoroughly organized and the majority were unorganized: which would have the advantage?

12. Suppose that the minority were well educated, the majority ignorant and indifferent: which would need protection?

13. Suppose that the minority controlled 80 per cent of the wealth of the country: would it have any advantage?

14. What is enforcement of laws? Why, in a self-governing country, is it necessary to provide for enforcing the laws?

15. Does a majority ever change its mind, and find itself with laws that it does not want? Does it have to keep such laws in force permanently?

16. Would it be a good thing to elect a President for life? George III was king of England for sixty years. Should there have been a change of kings? How does a republic avoid such a situation? Why are we opposed to a third term for President? Read the Constitution of the United States and see what it says about a third term.

17. Should a democracy put restraints on itself in its constitution? Does our Constitution put any restraints on the people of the United States? How about the method provided for amending the Constitu-

tion? Do you see that the whole Constitution is a restraint which the people have chosen to put upon themselves?

18. Are laws restraints? Are rules restraints?

19. Do citizens ever write or talk to their representatives in Con-

Courtesy of The Tribune, Chicago

gress or in the legislature, and tell them what their opinions are about proposed laws? Do you consider this right?

20. Are representatives desirous of learning what voters think about proposed laws?

21. Why do some "wet" congressmen and members of legislatures vote "dry"? From what districts do they come?

22. We say that some representatives "have their ears to the ground." For what are they listening?

23. Do representatives wish to be reëlected? How eager are they to be reëlected?

24. Do many men go to Congress at great sacrifice to themselves?

25. Do you know men in your immediate circle who are keenly interested in government? How many of these have no selfish interest involved?

26. To how many men of your immediate circle is good government of any importance? How many realize how important good government is?

27. "The public is not short of intelligence; it is chronically short of facts." Does this suggest any method of improving the government in a democracy?

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEEDS OF A DEMOCRACY

Just what is the part which the people of the United States are supposed to take in the government of the United States? The people are supposed to choose the men who run the government. These men are voted into office. The people do the voting.

The right to vote is the one powerful weapon given the people. In the early days of the Republic there were some restrictions put on who should vote, but in a short time all the states had adopted what is known as manhood suffrage. Manhood suffrage means that the men of the country are allowed to vote as soon as they have reached the years of maturity, an age fixed by law at twenty-one years. Suffrage was denied to men who were paupers, criminals, or insane, and to all women. This right to vote has always been the mark, the highly prized symbol, of a free man in a free land. For a hundred years the women of the United States fought to be taken out of the company of the paupers, the criminals, and the insane, and to be included among those allowed to vote. By the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1920, women were given this right. The United States now has what is known as universal suffrage.

What use are the people supposed to make of this voting power? We have said that they are expected to choose the men who are to run the government. They cannot run it themselves. They should not want to. It is

unreasonable to expect the masses of the people ever to have enough training, experience, time, or energy to make them students of government with a clear understanding of its problems. The important task which the people have is to choose their representatives, their leaders, and then watch closely the conduct of the men whom they have chosen. What, then, are the qualities which we should seek to develop in the citizens of a superior nation, to enable them to perform creditably their all-important task?

We might hope:

1. That the people would understand clearly that good government is necessary to the happiness of the people.
2. That they have education enough and training enough to know that government problems are difficult and complex, and that good government demands good officials.
3. That they have sense enough to know how little fitted the ordinary man would be to run the government.
4. That they have intelligence enough to recognize superior ability when they encounter it in other men.
5. That they keep respect for sincerity and truth, and develop a proper scorn for the demagogue.
6. That they are fair enough to reward honest service.

To produce a large number of people of this sound intelligence is one of the greatest problems of democracy.

A country of the size of the United States has a very mixed population. There are men and women from far corners of Europe and of Asia who have brought with them no traditions of self-government. There are men and women who have grown up in remote parts of our own country, who are ignorant and illiterate, and utterly indifferent to all but their daily needs. There are men and women who live in the slums of our cities, or on hopeless little farms in the country, who are barely managing to exist, and who have lost any faith they may ever have had in Society and its machinery. There are respectable citizens who are utterly lacking in public spirit, and who coolly plot to use the government for their own ends. And there are plain crooks. A successful democracy must manage to keep these people in the minority. That is your problem and mine, the problem of every good American. If we are puzzled as to how to solve it, it is, at least, an advantage to state the problem frankly, and we must remember that if we cannot solve it we are destined to become an inferior people.

The second great problem of democracy is that of developing proper leaders. It will not help much to have thoughtful, intelligent electors if they have nobody to elect. It would seem strange if in a country of 120,000,000 we could possibly lack leaders. Yet it does seem at times as if the supply of very able men available for government service were not great enough to meet the needs of the nation.

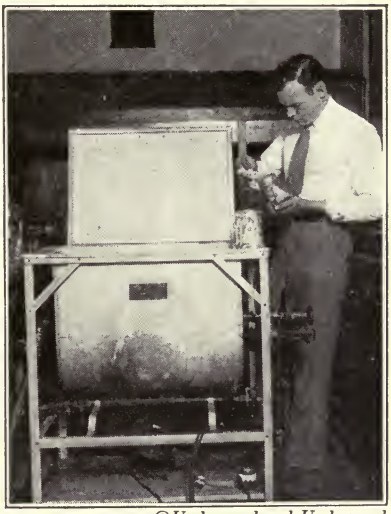
At this point it might be well to make a distinction between the two types of men needed in government service. In the first place, any country needs a fair number of men who can gain the confidence of the people,

and rouse their interest and enthusiasm for public affairs. These are the old-time political leaders, men who have political insight, who think clearly and talk well, and who will not sell out to the highest bidder. It is an advantage when these men have also a certain charm and personal magnetism, to enable them to win the support of the men who work with them and of the people whom they represent.

In addition to this group we need today a far larger group of men who are trained experts in their own lines, and who are available for government work. Government has become an enormous business. Many of its projects require technical training of a high order. No man, however winning in manner or well-equipped with natural ability, should attempt to pass judgment unaided on such questions as the best way to control the spread of the phylloxera, which was threatening the grape industry of California, or the plan to produce nitrates from the air, or the best method of sewage disposal, or the feasibility of the Boulder Dam, or the wisdom of giving government aid to the farmers and to the manufacturers at the expense of the consumer, or the justice of the details of the tariff. Government activity along these lines requires the coöperation of men highly trained, not so much in the machinery of government as in their own professions.

This latter group of government servants any democracy can have by simply paying the price. The price is seldom very high. They usually save the people many times what they cost. One teacher in a Southern college, by his study of the pests that destroy the cotton crop, saved the South many millions of dollars. Yet people in

his neighborhood were inclined to resent the exceedingly high salary which he received—$8000 a year. All that is necessary is that the representatives of the people know enough to call in experts, be wise enough to listen to their advice even though it conflict with some popular demand or the demand of some powerful interest, and be honest enough to give the real expert the job rather than some inexperienced man with powerful friends in politics. Please notice that our representatives need only good common sense combined with plain honesty to be able to guard the interests of the people in such matters.

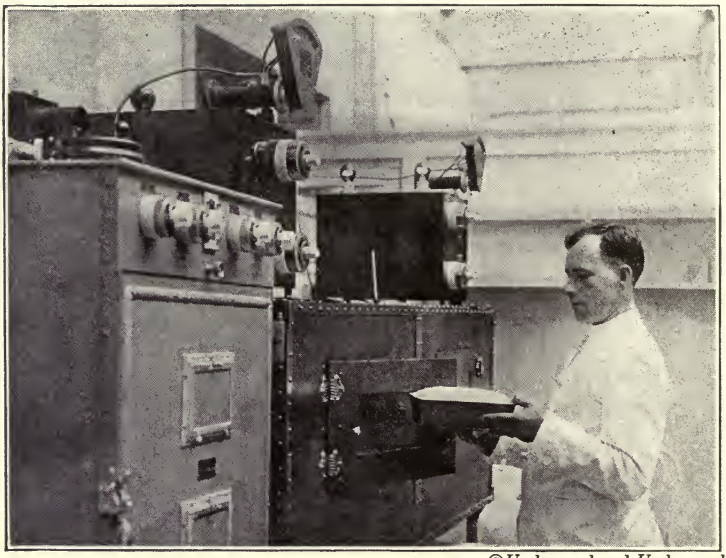


©*Underwood and Underwood*

BUREAU OF STANDARDS
Testing dyes

As to the class first mentioned, the men whose business it is to do the thinking for the people, and then gain the support of the people for their policies, these men are not so easy to find. Colleges cannot produce them to order. They are born, not made. Yet, among our many millions, there must be plenty of men with unusual powers. Where are they? The painful truth seems to be that they are not in the service of the government. They were once. It seems to us today, as we look back on the period of the Revolution, that the colonies produced rather a dazzling

array of brilliant, able men. Every little colony seems to have had some men of true distinction. It is probable that pioneer life develops more vigorous, interesting personalities than the comfortable, cut-and-dried life of the



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, WASHINGTON
Testing wheat flour.

prosperous state. It is also true that any critical period, any time of acute danger, seems to call forth powers that might have lain forever, undeveloped, in times of peace. The Revolution and the troubled years that followed were, no doubt, responsible for producing an unusually large number of men who were able leaders.

That these leading men should be interested in politics at such a time was inevitable. Government was an absolute necessity. The government was spending its energies

in saving the lives and the homes of the citizens, and in trying to bring back peace, prosperity, and happiness. Government was not a remote thing; it was a part of their daily life. Then the crisis passed. Relief came. Gradually the country grew rich and prosperous. The problems of the nation changed in character. There was no longer need for defence against foreign invaders, the Indians were safely corralled, the burning question of

TESTING THERMOMETERS IN THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF STANDARDS

Manufacturers of thermometers, to insure their absolute accuracy, have them tested at the Bureau.

slavery had its painful settlement. The states no longer felt suspicion and jealousy toward one another. The problems that now rose to tax the powers of the ablest

Americans had to do with the development of their great country—railroad-building, the development of our manufacturing system, of our steel industry, our meat industry, of our mines, our gold and silver, our oil and copper and coal. We continued to produce powerful men,

©Underwood and Underwood

BUREAU OF STANDARDS
Testing chinaware.

but they were "practical men"—steel magnates, coal barons, meat-packers, lumber kings. These men took little interest in government, beyond maintaining an attitude that government existed to help them when they needed it, and to stand aside at other times.

The era when these men flourished is probably past. They belonged to a fast-growing state rather than to one which has reached its full powers. The question which

interests us vitally is, what have we in the way of leaders today? No man finds it easy to judge fairly his own times. It is a commonplace that George Washington was not fully appreciated in his day. There may be men living today who, one hundred years from today, will be much

A POOR TEAM MATE

1924 prize-winning cartoon by Oz Black

admired for their statesmanship. If so, may they increase and multiply. The United States has need of them.

A successful democracy needs intelligent and honest voters. It needs capable and honest leaders. It needs a corps of public servants highly trained technically, to carry on the business of the state. Granted all this, there

still remains a vaguely disturbing problem: in a country as large as the United States, what machinery have we devised by which the millions of citizens will know when to vote, for whom to vote, and what issues are at stake?

Discussion

1. Why should all be allowed to vote?
2. Most states except idiots and the insane. Why should they be excepted?
3. If "everyone is queer but thee and me," should we restrict the right to vote to just ourselves?
4. If you think that some brains, some intelligence are required to vote, just how much would you demand?
5. Paupers are not allowed to vote. Why is this?
6. If the ability to take care of oneself, and to do one's share of work is a necessary qualification for voting, should we allow a man to vote whose wife supports him?
7. Should women vote?
8. Has the fact that the women vote made the government noticeably more efficient?
9. If there has been no improvement as a result of giving the women the vote, should we take it away from them?
10. Is it possible that, even though there has been no improvement in the government, there may have been an improvement in women?
11. Do all who are entitled to vote usually vote?
12. Should they be made to?
13. Would compulsory voting promote democracy?
14. Why should a citizen vote if he has no interest in the outcome?
15. Why do citizens insist on making so many offices elective, and then vote so reluctantly?
16. What is an intelligent vote?
17. Are the people really indifferent or uninformed?
18. Is it possible to secure trained officials through popular elections? Suppose there were no candidates excepting men well equipped for the office?
19. Which is of the most value in government, intelligence or integrity?
20. Is voting a privilege, or a duty, or both?

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICAL PARTIES

The Constitution provides that the people shall elect the men who are to run the government, but it does not provide the machinery for that election. The machinery developed with the rise of political parties.

Parties were not deliberately formed, but grew up to meet certain needs of the citizens, as they have grown up in all democratic governments. There had been, from the time when the Constitution was first discussed, two clearly defined points of view in the colonies: one group of men believed that a very strong central government was a necessity; the second group believed in surrendering as little power as possible to the central government. The first group, called Federalists, were also a little reluctant to trust the people with full power. They had somewhat aristocratic ideas. The other men, the States' Rights group, of whom Thomas Jefferson was the great leader, believed whole-heartedly in the theory of democracy. It was natural that these groups should organize to further the policies which they favored. Burke defines a party as a "body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest upon some point in which they are all agreed." This definition fits exactly the two national parties in the early days of the Republic.

The United States started, early in the nineteenth century, with two great political parties. We have continued to have two principal parties down to the present

day. For this reason the United States is said to have a **dual** party system. But, though the parties have not increased in number, they have changed in name and have changed more or less in the policies for which they stand. The old issue of States' Rights disappeared long ago, though one of the parties resurrects it occasionally as a decorative part of a campaign program. Slavery was once a burning issue, and was responsible for the creation of a new party. But though, for a time, it divided the country and very nearly wrecked the nation, it was long since settled for all time. Another question of really great importance to the country has been the question of honest money. As late as 1896, when there was a vigorous agitation for the **free coinage of silver,** the money question was the great issue of the campaign. It is not an issue at the present time. A national problem constantly before the public is the policy to be followed in taxing the goods brought into the United States from foreign countries—our much-discussed tariff. This is a question upon which the two parties have differed in theory for many years. They have differed less in practice. In 1928 the questions of national prohibition and of farm relief were under discussion, and entered directly and indirectly into the presidential campaign.

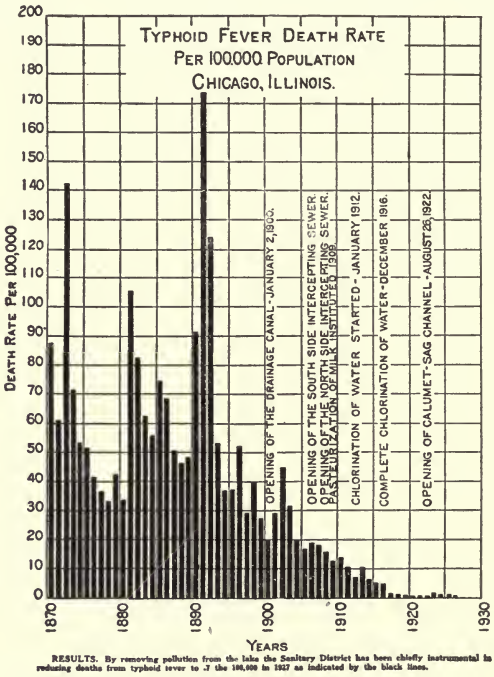
But if, in 1928, the questions of prohibition and of farm relief became campaign issues, it was because the men who were managing the campaigns had them forced on them. They were matters of the utmost importance to the nation, but they were not party issues. Neither party was anxious to commit itself as to just what its policy would be on these two questions. What, then, are the policies with which parties are busying themselves?

For some years it has seemed to the thoughtful citizen that policies are no longer the business of parties. On the great issues of the day parties are inclined to straddle ignominiously. When either party has embodied a definite policy in its party platform, we have had reason to suspect that the policy was adopted largely to gain votes for the party. This, you must see, is a long step from the day when parties existed to get votes for a policy. Parties have apparently changed in character.

The party, however, continues to exist and to thrive. Mr. Bryce says: "A party may continue to live by its traditions, by its war-cries, even by its hatreds, when it has long outlived its doctrines and its usefulness." But the Democratic and the Republican parties are not continuing to exist merely because of their traditions. They are kept alive by a most elaborate organization, which has been built up through a hundred years of activity. This organization spreads like a network into every corner of the United States, and is kept active and strong by the thousands of men who make their livings by politics. "Politics" is here used not in the early sense of the "science of government," but in its more familiar meaning, "the art of winning elections and securing office." Politics, in this sense, is the real business of our two great political parties.

In its business of winning elections the party performs a useful service to the nation. Parties choose the candidates. They aid in paying the campaign expenses of their candidates, an expense often so heavy that only a very rich man could pay it from his own pocket. They decide on the issues to be emphasized in the campaign. During the campaign they act as advertising managers for the

candidates, spreading information, rousing public interest, and educating public opinion. They keep the voters informed of any conspicuous weakness in the opposing party, whether in the character of the candidates or in the policies. When the annual election draws



RESULTS. By removing pollution from the lake the Sanitary District has been chiefly instrumental in reducing deaths from typhoid fever to .7 the 100,000 in 1927 as indicated by the black lines.

near, the party workers get out the vote—no small task with a great number of indifferent voters. The party which loses the election still performs a useful service in watching and criticizing the performance of the men elected by the winning party. So long as parties have but one desire, and that the wish to work unselfishly for

the good of the country as a whole, no one could object to parties. Indeed every honest man would owe them his support, and feel most grateful to them. They solve many difficult problems in a democratic government.

If, however, the time comes when the party has but one desire, and that to land all the desirable offices for its supporters, if it wishes to control candidates for its own advantage, if it uses its great organization and enormous power for selfish ends, then party government is defeating the idea of the rule of the people. You can no doubt see certain dangers in the party system. You see that a party candidate is somewhat at the mercy of the men who put him into office. If they choose to allow him independence, he can do honest work and keep his self-respect. If they choose to dictate to him, either he will yield or his political career will be difficult. If the people, in one of their spasms of reform, decide to put in an independent candidate, who will represent the people rather than a few powerful men in one party, the people must fight an immensely powerful organization. They cannot win without some form of organization equally effective. They seldom win. When they do win, the man of their choice is forced to fight the party organization during much of his term of office, and is seriously handicapped.

In the hope that you may understand more clearly this extralegal government of the United States, party government, the next chapter will take up the question of party organization.

Discussion

1. Are you a Republican or a Democrat? Why?
2. Recently. in a strong Republican community, during a

presidential campaign, a senior class in a large high school organized itself into two political parties, and conducted a vigorous campaign. It happened that the Democratic party was supported by a small group of very bright and very prominent boys. The class discussed the issues of the campaign and the candidates at length. The arguments for the Democrats were more carefully prepared, and were overwhelming. The debates and speeches of the Democratic adherents won great applause. The Democrats won every debate. Then the vote was taken. The Republicans won a complete victory. Why?

3. Can it be true that all Democrats are good and all Republicans are bad? Or that all Republicans are good and all Democrats are bad?

4. Unless one party has a monopoly of virtue, how can one defend excessive party loyalty?

5. If one party has men who are greatly superior to the other party, can you justify the act of some city politicians who, when twelve judges were to be elected, got together and agreed that six candidates should be Republicans and six Democrats? Might it not have been possible, if the politicians were choosing on the basis of the men best qualified to be judges, that they would have found it necessary to choose seven of one party and five of the other?

6. Sometimes a very able man runs for an office independently, without the backing of either of the two great parties, who have opposition candidates in the field. This man seldom has much chance of success. The voters are always warned by the party managers not to vote for the independent candidate, or they will "lose their vote." How about the voter who is expected to vote for a party candidate in whom he has no faith? Is such a vote a thing to value and take pride in?

7. Jackson (President, 1829–1837) once made the statement that if an ordinary man cannot fill an office, something is wrong with the office. Was this true in his day? Is it true now? Can you think of any offices of which it is not true? Start with the Secretary of the Treasury.

8. What harm comes from having the humbler positions in the city hall filled by political workers?

9. Should the party in power be exposed to constant criticism?

10. Should we prohibit by law unjust criticism of the party in power?

11. How many parties are needed to watch and criticize the party in power?

12. Sometimes in European countries there are between twenty and thirty parties represented in their parliaments. Do you see any objection to a parliament which contains representatives of many parties? Can you see any advantage in three parties, as opposed to two? any disadvantages?

13. Would it be wise to ask a candidate to pay all his campaign expenses? Explain your answer?

14. Shall great manufacturers be allowed to pay these expenses for a candidate? If you consider this objectionable, why?

15. "A full dinner pail" has been a war cry or slogan of a party. What does it mean? Did you hear it during the unemployment of 1928? Why?

16. Would it be a good plan for all of us to pay regular dues to our party?

17. In the early years of our Constitution, President, Vice-President, senators, and members of the House of Representatives were elected by the people. Which ones were elected directly and which indirectly? What change in this policy was made by the Seventeenth Amendment?

18. Do you believe that those who framed the Constitution were reluctant to trust the people with power?

19. At presidential elections the parties publish platforms—that is, a list of policies which they favor. A platform is a series of promises to the voters. Do the voters expect these promises to be kept or broken?

20. Does a party need to stand on its platform after it has won the election? If a party does not keep its campaign promises, how can the voters punish it? Do they?

21. Why do business men leave to politicians the management of campaigns?

22. One of the traditions of the Republican party is that it saved the Union in the Civil War. Is this ample reason why we should vote the Republican ticket from now on, forever?

23. Cotton cloth made in other countries is taxed when it is brought into the United States. Does this help the manufacturer of cotton cloth? Does he favor the tax? What party does he support? why? Is he, in supporting this party, considering the national interest? Does the tax on cotton cloth benefit the majority of the citizens of the United States? directly, or indirectly?

24. In the last century makers of armament were accused of inducing the newspapers to print war scares. Why should they do such a thing? to promote the national interests?

25. "The two great American parties have been compared to empty bottles, into which any liquid may be poured, so long as the labels are retained." What does this mean?

CHAPTER XV

PARTY ORGANIZATION

THE MACHINE

The careful organization of a party to enable it to control the voters is called the party machine. The party machine is dominated by self-interest. So, for that matter, is life. But the party machine is a somewhat conspicuous example of a group of men kept together by selfish interests. Wherever the party machine has complete control of the government, it is hard to see how the government can have much concern for the people as a whole. Only if the machine were dominated by exceptional men, who believed that in the long run decent, generous policies would pay best, could the machine be a real benefit to the people. When men believe that what is for the good of the human race is also for their own interest, we say that they show enlightened selfishness. The most that we can ever hope from parties is that they may show, more and more as the years go by, an enlightened selfishness.

What is it that the party wants? It wants control of all the offices. It wants the privilege of choosing the men for whom the citizens shall vote, the men who are supposed to be the representatives of the people. The task of finding good candidates for office is not an easy one, and it is a necessary one. We have said before that good leaders are badly needed in a democracy. If the party uses its far-reaching power to find the very best men in the United States to represent the people, and then goes to great ex-

pense to make these candidates known to the people, it is doing the greatest service possible in a government such as ours is supposed to be, a representative democracy. The practical difficulty in the way of such a public-spirited policy as this on the part of the party organization is not hard to find: if the party machine puts into office able, superior, highly honorable men, it cannot control these men. If it cannot control the government officials whom it has put into office, what reward does it get for all its hard work? And how can it reward the army of political workers whom it has used during the campaign, and must continue to keep in line?

Perhaps you feel that men who have done so fine a piece of work for their country will feel sufficiently rewarded by the consciousness they will have of having served their country well? Men do respond to the need of the nation for brief periods, in times of war, when all the newspapers of the country are devoting most of their space to making the citizens understand the need, and when there is a proper accompaniment of brass bands and drums. They have never yet accepted the fact that a country needs patient support in times of peace. You may think that men will work for appreciation from the public. Men undoubtedly like to be appreciated and praised. But most of you know, young as you are, that the public is not very appreciative. The people do not care in the least who is doing the share of government that properly belongs to all of them, so long as they are left undisturbed. It would be reasonable to hope that men in an organization might possibly be working from enlightened self-interest. They might have, for example, an intelligent understanding that the government is

spending thousands of millions every year, and that it would be good sense to see that the citizens who pay these millions get full return for their money. They might be weary of graft and special privilege, and enjoy working to make grafting dangerous, just for the satisfaction they would get. Or they might have an understanding of one great danger that is always present in a boss-ruled government: they might fear that the judges and the courts might come under the influence of unscrupulous politicians. When justice is for sale, the situation leads to anger and despair on the part of the people. They are at last led to take justice into their own hands. This is revolution.

Political workers of an intelligent type might very well work as they do to prevent corrupt government, with no reward other than the knowledge that they are insuring themselves and their families a decent government. No doubt some political workers are influenced by such honorable motives. It is, however, doubtful if enlightened selfishness plays a very large part in the life of a party organization, any more than it does in your life and in mine.

The actual method used to inspire those men who have the task of lining up the voters is probably best illustrated by a speech made before a group of such men by a leading man in the organization:

> ". . . I want to say to you that if any man does not carry his precinct on the thirteenth of April, he'll be fired on the fourteenth. If a man means anything in his precinct, he can carry it. If he does not mean anything in his precinct, he has no business in politics and holding a job. The reason that

——— is on the ticket for municipal judge, in spite of the fact that he is a new man in the ward, is that he had the banner precinct. . . . I promise that whoever turns out the biggest vote in his precinct will be on the next county ticket, if I sit on the slate committee, and I think I will.

"What is more, any of you that don't get out the vote and have jobs will lose them, and they'll go to those who do work and have no job. I'm looking at one right now that has no job, and he'll have one that some one else now has unless you get out the vote. Don't think I don't mean this. I've fired the ward committeeman and I've fired the president of this ward club, although he had a $6,000 job.

"I believe that to the victor belong the spoils. He who contributes most to winning the election ought to sit at the first table, and those who do less should sit at the second table. Any one of you who can come to me and show that he got out more votes than some one else who has a better job can have that job."

There is something very direct about this method of inspiration. It undoubtedly gets action more rapidly than the most persuasive appeals to the pride and patriotism of the workers. The men addressed on this occasion were precinct captains. The precinct captain is the humblest political worker in the great machine, but on his efficiency depends the success or the failure of the whole organization.

An account of the way in which the precinct captain works is given by Frank Kent in *The Great Game of Politics*. His description is substantially as follows. For convenience in voting a city is divided into small

districts called precincts. A precinct contains about six hundred voters. To each precinct the party organization assigns one man, usually known as the precinct captain. This man has a carefully compiled list of all the men and women in his precinct who are entitled to vote. He pays no attention to any but the voters of his own party, as they are the only ones entitled to vote at the primaries, and the primaries are his special business. He may have, then, not more than two hundred and fifty voters for whom he is responsible, the others being members of the other party or people who have attached themselves to neither party. Of this two hundred and fifty, at least half are of no concern to him. They are ciphers. They are the ones who are too indifferent to vote at the primaries. The precinct captain finds out which can be depended on not to vote, and pays no further attention to them. This leaves him about one hundred and twenty-five. To nominate the machine candidate the precinct captain must get more than half of this hundred and twenty-five, at least sixty-five votes. He proceeds to discover, if possible, sixty-five people to whose selfish interest he can appeal. There is one type that he knows he can depend on, rain or shine. This man will not only vote right himself, but he will drive to the polls all his relatives, and any friends whom he can persuade to go. This is the man who holds a political office. He will lose his job if his party goes out of power. There are others who are influenced by reasons much less weighty. The precinct captain has a few little temporary jobs to give away at each election, the chance to be a clerk of election or a judge, the chance to rent a vacant store for a polling-place, the chance to act as errand boy on election day.

There are, in most precincts, men who set no value whatever on their right to vote except its marketable value. They will willingly trade in their votes and the votes of a numerous family for one of these ten- or twelve-dollar jobs. These small plums, taken together with a few little privileges, a few amiable acts, a few trifling favors from the city hall, insure the precinct captain his sixty-five votes, and some to spare. Mr. Kent says that there are 250,000 such precinct captains in the United States. They are kept in line by hope of reward and by fear of punishment. They keep their voters in line by hope of reward and by fear of punishment. They are the active, well-drilled army that delivers the government of the United States year after year to the bosses and to the unscrupulous politicians, to do with as they please.

Above the precinct captains are the superior officers of this army, members of ward committees, county committees, state committees, and a national committee. Working on these committees, or with them, are men of unusual powers of leadership who dominate the rest, and who are called bosses. The organization divides among its workers the spoils of the campaign. Of all the activities of the parties, the election of the President attracts the most attention. It is the office which each party is most eager to secure. It carries with it the right to distribute many offices, as well as other favors less easily named.

With the hope that you may take a greater interest in the machinery that has grown up in connection with elections, we give in the pages that follow short sketches of some of the most interesting and important features.

Discussion

William Bennett Munro, in his book *The Invisible Government*, says that the political creed of the average American consists of a series of axioms which no one has ever proved to be axiomatic. He quotes the following:

Government rests on the consent of the governed.
Democracy is government by the people.
The cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy.
Ours is a government of laws, not of men.
The executive and legislative branches of the government should be kept separate.
Checks and balances are essential safeguards of popular liberty.
No taxation without representation.
Direct primaries insure the people's choice.
Self-determination and home rule.
A government is best when it governs least.
Avoid entangling alliances.
States' rights.
Due process of law.
The office should seek the man, not the man the office.
The rule of public opinion.
Political parties are groups of voters who think alike and have a common program.
The equality of all citizens before the law.

What is an axiom? Choose one of the "axioms" given above and try to state clearly, in writing, how much truth you think there is in the idea embodied in it, and where it is weak. Can you think of any political maxims similar to these to add to the collection?

A few questions and comments follow which may shed a little light on the weakness of the ideas expressed above. In these comments we have borrowed freely from Mr. Munro, often appropriating his exact phrases.

1. "There is nothing that a government should not do, if it can do the thing better than it would otherwise be done." To which "axiom" is this opposed?

2. Do aliens vote? Are aliens living in the United States supposed to obey our laws?

3. If public opinion is deliberately manufactured, by suppressing some facts, emphasizing some facts, and inventing some, is the opinion which results the unforced and real opinion of the people, or is it one imposed upon them?

4. Would laws work effectively if there were no people to enforce them?

5. Can laws make men moral?

6. Can laws make men patriotic?

7. Can officials enforce laws without the sympathy and co-operation of the citizens?

8. Do we have government by consent of all, or by consent of a majority? By consent of the majority of the whole number of people, or by the consent of those entitled to vote? By a majority of those entitled to vote, or by a majority of those who actually do vote?

9. Is majority rule an absolutely satisfactory solution of the problem of government, or is it merely the best solution yet found?

10. Are all citizens equal? In what? In height, in weight, in strength, in willingness to work, in wealth, in experience, in leisure, in ability, in political genius?

11. Do you approve of the President's having the veto power?

12. What is sectionalism?

13. "Thousands of voters would support Beelzebub for governor with the right tag pinned on him." Put this idea in your own words.

14. "Every well-organized political party must rest firmly upon a firm foundation of fools." Said to a group of Harvard students, by the man who was then chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee. Quoted by Mr. Munro. Discuss.

15. Why does a machine wish to name the candidates whom it offers to the voters?

16. Many orthodox Republicans of high standing never accepted Theodore Roosevelt. Can you tell why?

17. Discipline is control by fear. Do machines exercise discipline over party members and candidates?

18. Suppose a machine finds it impossible to discipline a party member? What is its next step?

19. What does it mean when some Republicans say that others are not real Republicans?

20. Certain men have been "read out" of their parties. What does this mean?

21. What is meant by graft?

22. A policeman arrested the brother of a mayor for violating the parking privilege. The policeman was dismissed. Explain "special privilege."

23. Why does a political machine wish to control the expenditure of government money?

24. In the speech of the boss given in this chapter, what kindliness do you note? What kind of men would patiently endure that kind of talk? Did the boss make a mistake in talking to them as he did? Would this kind of talk be good for a sales manager to use in addressing salesmen? Would the best salesmen remain with him?

25. Is it possible for respectable citizens to have a machine to put good men in office? Should they? Could they be so well organized that they could put good men in office? Can we regularly elect good men without developing a good machine to do it?

26. Are we prepared to be cogs in a machine for good government? Will it pay us in dollars? in greater happiness?

CHAPTER XVI

THE BOSS

> "But while the machinery of the Constitution has remained unaltered, the working of that machinery has changed radically. If James Madison came back today, he would find President and Congress and courts elected or appointed in the same ways and clothed with substantially the same powers that were contemplated in the debates of the Constitutional Convention. But side by side with the familiar names and authorities of these offices he would find a number of unfamiliar names and authorities of equal importance. He would hear of platforms and primaries, of caucuses and nominees, of conventions and bosses."
>
> A. T. HADLEY.

In politics the boss is the man who controls the political activities of a certain section. He may be a little boss, and control a ward in a large city. He may be a very great boss, and dictate the policies of the national party organization. As a usual thing the most powerful bosses control at most a section centering about a great city, or control a state.

The boss works quietly. Often he holds no government office. He prefers to fill the offices with men whom he can control. An officeholder may be a mere puppet; a boss is never that. He is usually a man of ability, practical wisdom, a wide experience in politics, and a strong will. He is often very likable, loyal to his friends, and not inclined to take public money for his personal needs. He might conceivably be public-spirited and scrupulously honest, but these qualities would be a serious handicap to the ordinary political boss. He must be a natural leader. That is the way he gets his job, and that is the

only way that he can keep it. He has no fixed term of office. He is the boss until a stronger man appears. No position in the world so much as his rests on "the consent of the governed."

The strength of a boss rests not only in his large number of friends, but also in the character of these friends. They are all his dependents. They either owe him gratitude for past favors, or expect favors in the future, or fear his power, or are at his mercy in some way, either because of the nature of their business or because they are wanted by the police. The strength of a boss shows itself in the large number of men who will vote as he directs, and be glad to do it. He can make or unmake members of Congress and of the legislature, mayors, aldermen, and judges. They fear his power, but are more or less obliged to seek his support unless they themselves have strong political support. When the boss can control the majority of a city council or of a legislature, he directs the expenditure of public money. He names the persons who are to have salaried positions on the pay roll. Thus he has attained great power.

To keep this power, he must keep the devotion and loyalty of his followers. He does this by being their most obedient servant between elections, just as they are his tools at elections. A supporter has been arrested, and is accused of some crime. The boss acts without delay: a word to the judge, a hint to the prosecuting attorney, a suggestion about bail, and the accused person passes through the court much more easily than a friendless offender would. The boss has little hesitation in tampering with the course of justice. Bosses provide employment for useful supporters either on the public pay roll or

that of some company which is under obligations to them. They are also useful to a certain type of business man who wishes quietly to evade laws or ordinances. They team-play with these business men, who encourage the newspapers to revile them, but in private are quite

A POLITICAL CONVENTION

cordial with these same bosses, contributing freely to their financial needs. Bosses understand the abuse heaped on them, and take it with much cheerfulness, as it actually increases their slum support. The only ones deceived by this play are the respectable citizens.

Bosses favor weak government, because it is easier for them to control. For that reason they put weak men in

office. They are of some use in government. They keep the government going while we shirk our political duties. They keep it going just well enough that we do not rise in our indignation and put them out. They would give us better government if we forced them to it. They yield to pressure when it is vigorously applied. They would rather be good bosses than cease to be bosses.

Is a good boss possible? Certainly. There have been good bosses, only we have not called them by that name. There is one lesson that we might learn from the boss and his followers. They succeed because they work together perfectly. If respectable citizens are fortunate enough to get a good leader, they should be as loyal to him, give him as unfailing support, and work as patiently for him as the followers of the boss work for their boss.

Discussion

1. Are all political bosses illiterate? Have they all risen from the slums? Look up in the library and bring into class brief biographical sketches of Robert LaFollette, of Wisconsin; of Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania; of Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts. See if you can judge in each case what motives influenced these men to play the rôle of boss.

2. Are the machines of which such men as LaFollette and Lodge were the bosses any different from the machines which have less respectable men at their heads? Do they own and control the machines, or do the machines own them?

3. Would it be possible to be a successful boss and lack ability? List some qualities necessary to a successful boss. Put the admirable qualities in one column, those less admirable in another.

4. The workers in a machine are chosen for one reason only, and that is that they will do the work assigned them better than any one else the boss has at his command. This is the merit system. Why do bosses and politicians use the merit system in getting their own work done, and oppose it in the government service?

5. Do business men ever wish, for selfish reasons, to control legislation? Is the boss an obstacle to them, or a convenience? Is he willing to be useful to them? for what consideration?

6. Is secrecy necessary to this alliance?

7. What agency is there that might, if it wished, bring both boss and business men into unpleasant limelight?

8. Which jobs would the boss rather control, all the little, humble jobs or the more dignified posts requiring brains and technical training? How many votes has a street sweeper? How many votes has an expert engineer?

CHAPTER XVII

THE CAUCUS

"Those that govern most make least noise."

JOHN SELDEN.

A meeting of party leaders to decide on candidates or party policy is a caucus. It may consist of local leaders or of state leaders. Or it may be composed of the prominent men of the party from all parts of the country. Each of the two parties in either house of Congress may hold caucuses. A caucus is quite often secret. For this reason it is not representative. The rank and file of the party do not choose the men who are to be present at the caucus, nor have they anything to say about the decisions made. They do not even know that a caucus has been held until it issues its orders. The caucus is a good illustration of an oligarchy.

A caucus, as compared with a convention, is a small body of men. Conventions are too large for doing business. The caucus, by reason of its small size, is able to do business rapidly. The caucus is effective, as committees are effective. A caucus is not, however, a committee. In your own societies you are familiar with committees. Committees have official standing, and are responsible to the group which has voted to create them. They have definite tasks delegated to them, and must report back to the main body to have their decisions confirmed. Caucuses are self-appointed, and are responsible to no one.

Party discipline is rigidly enforced in most caucuses.

Whatever the majority of those at the caucus decide upon binds the rest. The decisions of the caucus are final in the party. Men who object are punished in any one of the various ways which the leaders can apply.

Owing to its secret and unrepresentative character the caucus does not have a good reputation. The parties use it less freely than formerly. No party would dare offer to voters the nominee of a caucus without having this nominee approved by a convention which is representative of the party. The parties observe punctiliously the forms of a representative democracy.

Discussion

1. There is a graduating class in your school. Is it organized, with a president and other officers? Are there class meetings for the discussion of questions of interest to all or to most of the members?
2. Is there an inner circle that controls voting at class meetings?
3. Do certain ones in the class talk things over beforehand, and decide how the class shall vote on certain questions? Do they do this at a private gathering of the inner circle of the class?
4. How does one become a member of the inner circle? Has personality anything to do with it? Are members inclined to argue or are they usually willing to do what the inner circle has agreed on? Does an inner circle help a class?
5. Suppose there is free discussion of these matters at a class meeting, most of it unconsidered, all of it without direction. Does the discussion lead to any sensible action, or does it seem a waste of time? How much ability in leadership is shown in the discussion by any who are not members of the inner circle?
6. Is the influential group in a class useful? Do we let them run things? Why?
7. Do you think that those who do the real work of the class, before the class meeting, are like a party caucus?
8. What is the advantage of the caucus system? What are its disadvantages?
9. Does the party caucus represent the will of the party?
10. Is the caucus an instrument of democracy or a perversion of democracy?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CONVENTION

The purpose of a caucus is to decide on candidates or on party policy. The nominating convention has the same purpose. Often it merely gives an official sanction to what the caucus or the party bosses have already decided shall be done. The acts of the convention are official in nature, because the men who attend the convention are delegates representing the voters of the party. The caucus is secret, but the convention is loudly advertised beforehand, and its proceedings are fully reported.

A member of a convention is called a delegate. He represents the voters of his party living in a certain district. These delegates, though nominally elected, are usually chosen very carefully by the active workers in the party. Political conventions seldom have any considerable number of delegates who presume to think for themselves. That is not what they are there for. They are docile mouthpieces of the men who control the party, and vote as they have been previously instructed. At one convention, a county convention under the direction of a powerful boss, the leader of one delegation walked up and down in front of his men during the entire session, scowling and scolding. Whenever a vote was taken, he yelled at them how they were to vote, and the whole delegation did as he told them. A writer, commenting on this scene, says that "this was not representative government; it was autocracy of the worst kind."

When the convention is over, the work of the delegate is done, and he returns to the obscurity from which he emerged. You will notice that these delegates, though they represent very conscientiously the men who send them there, the active, vigorous workers in the party, cannot be said to represent the people as a whole. Whenever conventions nominate the candidates for the various offices in the government, the people have very little to say about who shall fill these offices. The helplessness of the people is, as usual, their own fault, but it is well to face frankly the fact that they are helpless so long as they remain indifferent onlookers at the game of politics, instead of active participants.

Here is a story of what a convention did to a good candidate. There was, in a certain town, a shoemaker who was widely known, well liked, and honest. He was a man of broad understanding and had taken a deep interest in problems of government. He decided to run for the state legislature. To do that he had to get the nomination from his party convention. The day of the convention arrived and, filled with hope, he drove to the town in which the convention was to be held. Everybody seemed to be for him. He came home in the evening, and his family noticed that he was very thoughtful and not inclined to talk. At last some one ventured to ask him how things had gone at the convention. "Everybody seemed to be for me but the delegates," was his reply.

Even at that he knew only part of the facts. The delegates would have voted for him if they had been free to do so. The local bosses, knowing that they could not control him if he were elected, sent the order quietly to the delegates not to vote for him. His mistake was in not

building up an organization, a following which would demand his nomination.

In the same district the bosses had the nominations dealt out six or seven years in advance. The voters of the party were not consulted. They were expected to vote the party ticket straight. The bosses were naming the candidates. All this could have been avoided if the voters who wished good government had insisted upon electing good delegates to the nominating convention. Then the convention would have been a good enough contrivance for getting good government. They failed to do this, however, and the convention fell into disrepute. This happened in other districts as well. There grew up an insistent demand for something that placed nomination more nearly in the hands of the voters, and the direct primary came.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DIRECT PRIMARY

The purpose of the direct primary is to get the actual nomination of the candidates into the hands of the voters. This, you remember, is the voters' business—to choose the men who run the government, and to tell these men what ends they are to work for. If the voters do not choose the officials, the officials will care very little what the voters want. They will not be in office to do what the people want, but to please whatever power was responsible for putting them into office. If the people do not control the nomination of the officeholders, they cannot control these officeholders, and cannot control the government. The problem before any democracy has always been how to keep the government in the hands of the people, rather than in the hands of a small group. If the government passes into the hands of a few, the problem then becomes, How can we give the government back to the people? That is a question that is often asked in the United States today.

The direct primary is supposed to be a move in that direction. It is an effort to take from bosses and caucuses and conventions and parties the right to name candidates, and to place that right where it has always belonged, in the hands of the people. The method is this: any man may become a candidate for any elective office in his state, provided that a fair number of voters indicate that he is their choice for that office. The voters show their wish by signing petitions to that effect. These

petitions are directed to the election commissioners or to the county judge, and ask that the candidate's name be put on the ballot for a certain office at the coming primary election. If the proper number of registered and duly qualified voters sign, the name goes on the ballot. No person is supposed to sign a petition for more than one candidate for any one office. Any number of petitions may be handed in. There may be one candidate for each office, or there may be more.

The names of all the men for whom correct petitions have been filed are printed on ballots. As a rule nominating is by parties, and the names of the candidates of the Republican party will be printed on one ballot, those of the Democratic party on another ballot, and so on. When the voter presents himself at the polling place on the day set for the primary election, he states which party he belongs to, and is handed the ballot of that party. The theory is that no Republican should have anything to say about what men are to be the candidates of the Democratic party, nor has any Democrat a right to express himself as to the Republican choice. The men who win at the primaries are entitled to have their names printed on the ballot to be used at the regular election that follows. Provision is also made to print on this ballot the names of candidates not affiliated with any party, who are running independently, and for whom proper petitions have been presented. You will notice that the primary is an election, but it elects candidates, while the election that follows decides which of these candidates are to hold the offices to be filled.

In some states the law requires that the man who asks for the ballot of a certain party at one primary must

abide by that choice at all succeeding primaries until the next registration. In other states the voter may shift parties freely. Many people suppose that they are required by law to vote the same ticket at the election as they voted at the primary. This is not true.

The direct primary has much to recommend it. In actual practice it has not been an unqualified success. The bosses and the politicians do not like it. They still control the nominations, but it is not so easy as it was. The people are not enthusiastic about it, because the effectiveness of the direct primary demands their intelligent coöperation, and what they are looking for hopefully is some device that will relieve them of responsibility, not one that places a definite responsibility upon them. It requires effort to find a possible candidate whom one is willing to back. It is considerable trouble to circulate petitions for that man. When one has succeeded in getting a really able man to run for the office, and when his name is on the ballot, it requires time and energy to induce one's lazy friends to so much as vote at the primary elections. Many of them admit that they never go near the primaries. They add, virtuously, that they never fail to vote at the "real election."

And yet the primaries are the real elections. No one knows this better than the politicians. The boss knows that a machine can survive many defeats at elections, but that no machine can survive that fails to nominate its candidates at the primary. The machine is never indolent and indifferent, and is not ignorant and stupid. It concentrates every bit of its energy upon winning in the primary elections, and it usually wins. Then the virtuous citizen, when he goes to the polls, has his

choice of voting for a machine-owned candidate with a Republican label or for a machine-owned candidate with a Democratic label. Voting, under these circumstances, is scarcely more than a source of shame and irritation.

Whose fault is it?

CHAPTER XX

THE CAMPAIGN

After the nominations by the parties comes the campaign. The campaign is the struggle for the majority of votes. If our party has nominated the candidates of our choice, we do all that we can to secure as many votes as possible for the candidates in whom we are most interested. We work for "the ticket." If our party has not nominated the candidates we prefer, two courses are open to us. We may support the candidates on our party ticket, or we may support the candidates of the opposing party whom we consider better. Unless there is some very good reason for transferring our support to candidates of the other party, it is best to aid in the election of our own party candidates. By accepting the decision of the majority of the party as reflected in the ticket, we show our respect for majority rule, we strengthen the one organization that we have by which we can express ourselves in politics, and we keep our good standing with that organization. We quite often win in the long run by being good losers. The day may come when our candidate is the candidate of the party, when our present minority has become a majority, and when we shall be very glad to have a united party supporting our candidate.

So we decide to go along and help in the election of the candidates on the party ticket. If we feel that our party is not in good hands, if its officials seem to us to be spending public money unwisely, then we must try to

capture it and get it into good hands. To abandon it scornfully, and assert that we wash our hands of politics is childish and weak. If we cannot get results at once, we must be patient. If we are in earnest in our desire to have good government, we will be willing to suffer defeat year after year, till at last we get control of the party and make it an instrument for good government.

Let us suppose that our party has good candidates. The campaign to elect these candidates usually begins immediately after the nomination, and lasts till the voting stops on election day—till the polls are closed, to use a technical term. Our part of the campaign is to induce as many voters as possible to cast their ballots for the ticket of our party, or at least for the candidates in whom we are most interested. The most effective way in which this can be done is for those of us who are interested in the candidates to call personally on as many voters as we can, present the case for our candidates, and ask the voters to consider their candidacy. Sometimes it is possible to get definite pledges for the candidates. Calling on voters and asking their support is called canvassing. In places where the boss is energetic and effective, we find that the men whom he sends to canvass have complete lists of the voters in the territory assigned to them. They know how each will probably vote, what ones to let alone, and what ones may possibly be persuaded to vote the ticket. Under the direction of a successful boss each worker is expected to keep his voters voting, and voting for the men whom the boss favors. This is good business. We who are working for good government would do well to list our voters with equal care, and keep after the ones that are open to persuasion.

This canvassing is important. It is the only way at present in which we can hope to get the sort of government we want.

Sometimes another form of campaign work is open to us. Quite generally parties print and circulate great quantities of campaign circulars. These circulars appeal to some voters who object to the personal canvass. They also reach people that the canvassers have missed. They often contain really valuable information for the voters. Party workers are needed to help in directing envelopes or otherwise aiding in the distribution of this literature. It is a good practice for you to begin collecting this literature of the campaigns. Bring to class whatever political circulars you can get. They come through the mail. You will often find them scattered over the floors in the vestibules of city apartment houses. Pick them up and bring them to class. The more copies the class has of a given document, the easier it is for the class to study it. If you have room in your homes to store these circulars, keep a collection of them. Learn to tell the difference between those that have weight and dignity and those that are pretty raw.

You may be able to be useful to your party in helping with the arrangements for political meetings. In the later days of the campaign the parties hire halls and hold "mass" meetings in them. Candidates, and other speakers, appear in these halls on the evenings set and address the audiences on the issues of the campaign. It is important that these meetings be well advertised, and that the halls be filled. In a single evening a candidate travels from hall to hall and addresses the audiences waiting there. In cities a speaker sometimes addresses

eight or ten audiences every evening for several weeks. This is hard work. We can do our share in spreading notice of these meetings and in asking people to go to them. Go to some yourselves. It is part of your education. Go especially to some meetings held by the other side. Watch the audience, notice what they applaud, and observe how easily the rank and file of the common people can be and are deceived by clever speakers.

As a rule the canvassing and the other work of the campaign are done by persons who expect the party to reward them. A canvasser of this type says, in substance, to his friends: "Harrison is running for a certain office. If he is elected, there is something in it for me. If there is something in it for me, there is something in it for you. Vote for Harrison, will you?" This form of appeal is not very noble, but it succeeds much of the time. The men who use this method do most of the canvassing and get out most of the voters. Such men are very much in earnest. Political reward means much to them. They see a few months spent in pursuing the voters, and then four years of indolence with a good salary insured.

Citizens who would not take political jobs cannot be drawn into political work by hope of such rewards. Their reward is more remote. It does not have the strong appeal that the job has for the place-hunter. They can, if they will, end the protection of the criminal, secure justice for all in the courts, insure a wise expenditure of public money, and get for the whole people a safer place to live, a more beautiful place to live, and a far larger measure of happiness. Is the inducement too small?

Discussion

1. What do people mean when they say that a certain man is "the kind of man we want"?

2. What is the purpose of "front porch" campaigning?

3. Why should a man who wishes to be President kiss the babies along the route of his campaign?

4. Why do campaign managers circulate stories about the candidate's pet dogs, or his fondness for a corncob pipe, or what bait he prefers in fishing?

5. One candidate always used to throw kisses to his wife as he left the house in the morning. Is this good campaigning?

6. Why are the papers fond of printing pictures of the candidate surrounded by his family?

7. Will you ride to the polls to vote on election day in an automobile provided by the other party? If, on the way, you are urged to vote the ticket of the other party, will you answer? Will you tell what ticket you are going to vote?

8. What is a spellbinder?

9. What is a demagogue?

10. "When we have heard an early-Victorian bishop called **Soapy Sam** half a dozen times, we get a firm conviction of his character without further evidence." Clever nicknames have political value. Is this sort of appeal directed at the intelligence of the voter? Will the intelligent voter be on his guard against such tactics in a campaign?

11. "Never defend yourself before a popular assemblage except with and by retorting the attack; the hearers, in the pleasure which the assault gives them, will forget the previous charge." Do you believe this? Do you rate the intelligence of the audience high?

CHAPTER XXI

REGISTRATION

Citizens who wish to vote are expected to register. State laws quite generally require the voter to appear before the election officials of his precinct or district for this registration. Here he gives his name, age, birthplace, and the length of time resident in the state, county, ward, and precinct. Before answering these questions, the person registering is asked to take oath to the correctness of his statements. There are generally three officials present, each with a large book. In each of these books the name of the person registering is entered, and, on the same line, the answers which he gives to the questions asked. The page and line on which this entry is made have the same numbers in all three books. If the person registering will remember these numbers and give them to the officials on election day, it is considered a mark of consideration.

In giving one's age to the officials, it is enough in some states to say, "Over twenty-one." Try this on your officials. If they do not accept this answer, give the exact age without hesitation. There are voters who will register if they can dispose of the age question with the answer "Over twenty-one." Many have refused to register because they thought they had to tell their ages. Do what you can for these voters by training election officials to accept the other answer. Some people have valid objections to telling, under oath, their exact age. They are entitled to consideration.

Give correct answers. Then, when you register again, or are asked, for some reason, to repeat your answers, you will know what to say. Remember the advice that a father gave to his boy who was about to go into the principal's office: "Always tell the truth. Then you will not need to remember what you say."

Names, especially first names, go through strange changes. If you have about decided on a form of your first name to keep through life, if you have decided to drop initials permanently, if you have decided to drop the "y" and the "e" from Edythe, get your name in its permanent form on the registration list.

In some states one registration will last as long as you live in that state. This is known as permanent registration. In other states there is a registration every two years. This registration takes place in the even-numbered years, and before the election of congressmen. Before a man can vote for congressman, he must register. Generally two days are set aside for this registration. Register either day. Special registration is provided for other elections.

Registration generally takes place in the polling-place, a room rented or otherwise secured for that purpose. The primary and the election are held in the same room. There is one polling-place to a precinct. There is one precinct for every one hundred and fifty to six hundred voters. You will easily know the number of your ward. You must remember also the number of your precinct.

Do not forget to register.

CHAPTER XXII

VOTING

Registration makes it possible for us to vote both at the primaries and at the elections. To vote at a primary or at an election, we go to the polling-place. We give our names to the officials who are seated at a table with the lists of voters before them. The officials refer to their records and, if there is no irregularity, one of the officials hands the voter a ballot on which the official has written his initials.

In the polling-place there are little booths. The voter takes his ballot into one of these. If all the booths are filled, he waits his turn. In the booth one usually finds a narrow shelf, lighted by a candle. There is a pencil on a string. The voter marks his ballot, and should observe the following rules:

1. Always mark the ballot in pencil.
2. Always have the crosses entirely within the squares.
3. Never put a cross in a party circle at the top of the ticket.
4. Always have with you a list to guide you in marking the ballot, unless you can remember easily how you wish to make it.
5. Always mark without delay. There are others waiting to use the booth.
6. Fold the ballots in such a way that the initials of the election official are on the upper side of each ballot, and in plain sight.

7. Hand the ballot to the official at the ballot box. If he asks you to do so, push the ballot through the opening in the box.

8. If the official deposits it, see that the ballot gets into the box.

9. If you have the misfortune to make a mistake in marking your ballot, take the spoiled ballot to the official and exchange it for another.

10. The only marks that the voter should put on the ballot are the crosses which indicate how he wishes to vote. Any other mark will invalidate the ballot.

Some of these directions need explanation. Why mark a ballot in pencil? Just by chance the law reads that way. A ballot marked with pen and ink ought to be good, but it is not. Use a pencil, obey the law, and have your vote count. Why carry with you into the booth a record of how you intend to vote? For one reason it speeds up the voting. Another reason is that the voter need not depend on his memory. A third is that the list represents careful investigation, made at the voter's leisure. If he depends on the choices that come into his mind in the booth, he will not vote so intelligently. He should have given his choice of candidates careful thought. His work in the booth should be merely to record by his vote the result of his thought and investigation.

What is the objection to putting a cross in the party circle, and thus speeding up the process of voting? To put a cross in pencil in the party circle at the top of a column of candidates is to vote the party ticket straight. It rarely happens that all the candidates of a party are better than their opponents on the other ticket. If they

TO THE VOTERS OF COOK COUNTY

The election of Tuesday, November 4th, offers you an opportunity of lightening your tax burdens, and restoring the prosperity of the nation which was greatest at the time that a Democratic National Administration was in power. Taxes will be reduced when honest men are in office and government expenses are thereby reduced. Rents will fall with reduced taxes. To obtain these things take this ballot to the polling place with you, mark it as indicated and cast it as marked.

MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF COOK COUNTY,
T. J. CROWE, Secretary — MARTIN J. O'BRIEN, Chairman

SPECIMEN CANDIDATE BALLOT

(X) DEMOCRATIC

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
JOHN W. DAVIS

FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
CHARLES W. BRYAN

FOR ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
- ☐ PETER A. WALLER
- ☐ DICK H. MUDGE
- ☐ JOHN K. TRAEGER
- ☐ HENRY HORNER
- ☐ RICHARD W. CLIFFORD
- ☐ JOSEPH HONAN
- ☐ CHARLES S. THORNTON
- ☐ HARRY P. BEAM
- ☐ PAULINE PRINCE
- ☐ ROBERT W LARKIN
- ☐ ADELAIDE GLENNON
- ☐ ANTHONY W. BUDNICK
- ☐ JAMES G. CONDON
- ☐ OSCAR F. MAYER
- ☐ CHARLES L. SCHWARTZ
- ☐ CORNELIUS REARDON
- ☐ JOHN C. STIRES
- ☐ IRA J. O'HARRA
- ☐ FRED C. WOLFE
- ☐ GAYLORD BALL
- ☐ EDWARD Y. FAHEY
- ☐ BEN W ALPINER
- ☐ CHAS J MULLIKIN
- ☐ HARRY HIGBEE
- ☐ GEORGE H. LUKER
- ☐ J. K. SENNOTT
- ☐ DAVID L. WRIGHT
- ☐ JOHN L. COOPER
- ☐ MERCEDES Y. WALL

FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR
- ☐ ALBERT A. SPRAGUE

FOR GOVERNOR
- ☐ NORMAN L. JONES

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
- ☐ FERDINAND A. GARESCHE

FOR SECRETARY OF STATE
- ☐ ANDREW OLSON

FOR AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS
- ☐ EDWARD J. HUGHES

FOR STATE TREASURER
- ☐ JOHN C. MARTIN

FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL
- ☐ THOMAS F DONOVAN

FOR TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS (3 to be elected)
- ☐ BUELAH WILSON CAMPBELL
- ☐ LOUIS C. MOSCHEL
- ☐ HARVEY D. McCOLLUM

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS—STATE AT LARGE (2 to be elected)
- ☐ MARY WARD HART
- ☐ ALLEN D. ALBERT

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS 1st Congressional District

FOR STATE SENATOR 3rd Senatorial District (To Fill Vacancy)

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY 3rd Senatorial District

FOR JUDGE OF THE CIRCUIT COURT OF COOK COUNTY (To fill vacancy caused by the death of John K. Prindiville)
- ☐ FRANK COMERFORD

FOR JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF COOK COUNTY (To fill vacancy caused by the resignation of Charles A. McDonald)
- ☐ JOHN J. KELLY

FOR JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF COOK COUNTY (To fill vacancy caused by the resignation of Frederic R. De Young)
- ☐ J. M. ARVEY

FOR STATE'S ATTORNEY FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ MICHAEL L. IGOE

FOR MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF REVIEW OF THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ P. A. NASH

FOR MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF ASSESSORS OF THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ CHRIST A. JENSEN
- ☐ CHARLES WURSTER

FOR RECORDER OF DEEDS FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ FRANK F. ROEDER

FOR CLERK OF THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ LEO J. WINIECKI

FOR CLERK OF THE SUPERIOR COURT FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ MITCHELL C. ROBIN

FOR CORONER FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ MICHAEL SOLAR

FOR COUNTY SURVEYOR FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ LEWIS H. GRAY

FOR TRUSTEES FOR THE SANITARY DISTRICT OF CHICAGO (3 to be elected)
- ☐ THOMAS F. BYRNE
- ☐ JOHN J. CLARK
- ☐ STANLEY J. KUFLEWSKI

( ) REPUBLICAN

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
CALVIN COOLIDGE

FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
CHARLES G. DAWES

FOR ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
- ☐ R. A. OAKLEY
- ☐ OTIS R. FOSTER
- ☐ CHARLES R. PENDARVIS
- ☐ BERTHA D. BAUR
- ☐ DANIEL W SCANLAN
- ☐ HARRY W. HARVEY
- ☐ WM. STERLING BATTIS
- ☐ RICHARD POULTON
- ☐ ISIDORE L. BUCHHALTER
- ☐ FRANK DeMONEY
- ☐ ALBERT M. SWEARINGHAM
- ☐ JOSEPH SPOSITO
- ☐ WILLIAM WRIGLEY, Jr.
- ☐ OTTO W. ULRICH
- ☐ HOWARD M. SNAPP
- ☐ ISRAEL DUDGEON
- ☐ CHAS BENT, Jr.
- ☐ HARRY S. MARSH
- ☐ J. M. LORING
- ☐ W. S. HAWTHORNE
- ☐ MRS. NATALIE FORTER PEGRAM
- ☐ CLARENCE W HINTON
- ☐ BEN P. ALLEN
- ☐ HARRY W. SHAFER
- ☐ HARRY C. MILLER
- ☐ H. GUY KNEDDLER
- ☐ MARION BOLES
- ☐ FRANK C SIBLEY
- ☐ FRED D. NELLIS

FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR
- ☐ CHARLES S. DENEEN

FOR GOVERNOR
- ☐ LEN SMALL

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
- ☐ FRED E. STERLING

FOR SECRETARY OF STATE
- ☐ LOUIS L. EMMERSON

FOR AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS
- ☐ OSCAR NELSON

FOR STATE TREASURER
- ☐ OMER N. CUSTER

FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL
- ☐ OSCAR E. CARLSTROM

FOR TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS (3 to be elected)
- ☐ ANNA WILMARTH ICKES
- ☐ GEORGE A. BARR
- ☐ FRED L. WHAM

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS—STATE AT LARGE (2 to be elected)
- ☐ RICHARD YATES
- ☐ HENRY R. RATHBONE

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS 1st Congressional District

FOR STATE SENATOR 3rd Senatorial District (To Fill Vacancy)

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY 3rd Senatorial District

FOR JUDGE OF THE CIRCUIT COURT OF COOK COUNTY (To fill vacancy caused by the death of John K. Prindiville)
- ☐ WILLIAM V. BROTHERS

FOR JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF COOK COUNTY (To fill vacancy caused by the resignation of Charles A. McDonald)
- ☐ WORTH E. CAYLOR

FOR JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF COOK COUNTY (To fill vacancy caused by the resignation of Frederic R. De Young)
- ☐ HARRY B. MILLER

FOR STATE'S ATTORNEY FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ ROBERT E. CROWE

FOR MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF REVIEW OF THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ WILLIAM H. WEBER

FOR MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF ASSESSORS OF THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ CHARLES RINGER
- ☐ CHARLES KRUTCKOFF

FOR RECORDER OF DEEDS FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ JOSEPH F. HAAS

FOR CLERK OF THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ THOMAS D. WALLACE

FOR CLERK OF THE SUPERIOR COURT FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ SAMUEL E. ERICKSON

FOR CORONER FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ OSCAR WOLFF

FOR COUNTY SURVEYOR FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ FRED NOBLIN

FOR TRUSTEES FOR THE SANITARY DISTRICT OF CHICAGO (3 to be elected)
- ☐ AUGUST W. MILLER
- ☐ JOHN K. LAWLER
- ☐ FRANK J. LINK

( ) SOCIALIST

FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR
- ☐ GEORGE KOOP

FOR GOVERNOR
- ☐ ANDREW LAFIN

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
- ☐ TILDEN BOZARTH

FOR SECRETARY OF STATE
- ☐ THOMAS L. SLATER

FOR AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS
- ☐ ANSEL M. BROOKS

FOR STATE TREASURER
- ☐ JOHN Y. WHITLOCK

FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL
- ☐ SAMUEL BLOCK

FOR TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS (3 to be elected)
- ☐ ELLA M. ROBERTS
- ☐ BERTHA HALE WHITE
- ☐ MARY O'REILLY

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS—STATE AT LARGE (2 to be elected)
- ☐ JOHN C. FLORA
- ☐ GUS C. SANDBERG

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS 1st Congressional District

FOR STATE'S ATTORNEY FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ DANIEL A. URETZ

FOR MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF REVIEW OF THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ ADOLPH DREIFUSS

FOR MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF ASSESSORS OF THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ MAURITS DE JONG
- ☐ PHILIP GODINA

FOR RECORDER OF DEEDS FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ PIERCE L. ANDERSON

FOR CLERK OF THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ CHARLES POGORELEC

FOR CLERK OF THE SUPERIOR COURT FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ MAX SILVERMAN

FOR CORONER FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ RAPHAEL S. GREEN

FOR TRUSTEES FOR THE SANITARY DISTRICT OF CHICAGO (3 to be elected)
- ☐ FRED EHLING
- ☐ FRED FRESE
- ☐ WILLIAM STELE

INDEPENDENT FOR PUBLIC SERVICE (By Petition)

FOR STATE'S ATTORNEY FOR THE COUNTY OF COOK
- ☐ HOPE THOMPSON

( ) PROGRESSIVE (By Petition)

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
BURTON K. WHEELER

FOR ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
- ☐ JULIUS KESPOHL
- ☐ JOHN M. WALKER
- ☐ HIRAM VROOMAN
- ☐ MARIE C. PLUMB
- ☐ ANNA E. HULBURD
- ☐ DONALD R. RICHBERG
- ☐ FRANK FARRINGTON
- ☐ W. T. RAWLEIGH
- ☐ K. F. NAPIERALSKI
- ☐ J. H. HALLSTROM
- ☐ SAM LEVIN
- ☐ SWAR JOHNSON
- ☐ CHAS. J. SEARLE
- ☐ RICHARD W WOLFE
- ☐ B. H. JEWELL
- ☐ D. L. THOMAS
- ☐ W. J. McGUIRE
- ☐ OLAF K. RAY
- ☐ HERMAN SCHWAKE
- ☐ LOUIS J. LINK
- ☐ CHAS. J. HOEPFNER
- ☐ FRANCIS LA PIANA
- ☐ WM. A. SPANIER
- ☐ A. SEWELL
- ☐ ROBERT C. PITCHIE
- ☐ M. M. LOVETT
- ☐ W. K. RODRIGUEZ
- ☐ EDWARD M. NOCKELS
- ☐ JANE ADDAMS

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS 1st Congressional District

are all better, put a cross in the square before the name of each. Thus you may establish a record for never having voted a straight ticket in your life. With the present condition of politics, this is a record to be proud of.

Do not be afraid of a little extra effort in exercising the duties and privileges of citizenship. Voting merely brings us up as high as zero in the scale of performance of patriotic duty. Put some zest into the performance. Honor each candidate for whom you wish to vote by putting a cross in the square before his name.

Do not forget to vote.

CHAPTER XXIII

ELECTION DAY

Election day marks the end of the campaign. If we are not careful, we may lose at the election much of the work that we have put into the campaign. On election day we must get out our voters. We must make sure that they vote as the good of the country requires, and we must have an honest election.

We do not have a real democracy if we do not have a large vote. If majority rule means that a majority of those voting rule, and if the number voting is not more than sixty per cent of those entitled to vote, we have the rule of the minority. The citizens who do not vote are below zero in their efficiency. The least that a citizen can do for his city or for his country is to vote.

At our polling-place there are, let us say, two hundred voters registered. Of these one hundred and ten are to vote our ticket. Our party workers have a list of these which they have made for the campaign. They stay near the polling-place and check the voters as they go in. They have automobiles running to the homes and the offices of the tardy voters, to make it easier for them to reach the polls before the closing time. They leave large and conspicuous cards for those whom they cannot locate, notifying them that this is election day, and urging them to hurry to the polls.

Your party leaders may ask you to serve as watchers or challengers at the polls. Each party is entitled to have a watcher at each polling-place. His business is to see that

no dishonest votes get into the ballot box, and that the votes are counted honestly. Some election officials are expert with a very short pencil. With it they put crosses in the squares opposite the names of candidates whom they favor. They do this while handling the ballots in the process of counting. Watchers must look out for this and other irregularities. Challengers question the right of certain persons to vote. It is quarrelsome work, especially in boss-ridden cities. Without challengers a polling-place might be overrun with repeaters. Repeaters are men who go to many polling-places on election day and vote at each under an assumed name. There is a legend that some years ago a mischief-loving young man of pleasing manner voted two hundred times, at a certain election. If the name and address used have been looked up since they were put on the registration list, and have been found to be false, the offender may be brought into court and sentenced to the penitentiary. An alert challenger can make repeating dangerous. The young man mentioned above landed in the penitentiary.

The election day, which would seem to be the end of our activities, is properly the beginning. Unless the officials that are elected are encouraged and supported in all that they do which is for the interest of the people, and watched closely when they seem to be straying from the wise course, and frankly questioned when they adopt policies that seem to have no justification, and unceremoniously turned out of office when they are found to have betrayed their trust, we shall not get the service that we want and have a right to expect. Show them deep respect, support them cordially, pay them generously, and demand results.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SHORT BALLOT

As the work of government has increased, it has become necessary to have more and more officials to do this work. Clinging to our original idea that the officials of the government should be chosen by the people, we have continued to choose them directly, by popular election. As a result of this the ballots on which we vote have grown bigger and bigger, and longer and longer, until now a single ballot, instead of being a slip of paper is sometimes several feet long and contains the names of one hundred and fifty, or even two hundred candidates. The ballots are clumsy to handle, and hard to fold into any convenient size. The array of names is bewildering. Even a conscientious voter of unusual intelligence is puzzled as to how to vote. Although he may spend much time and effort in informing himself as to the merits of the different men, he can get just a little idea of each. When he makes a decision, he has to make a memorandum of it and take it with him to the voting booth. The facts that he needs to know are too many for any ordinary person to remember. Most voters give it up. A highly intelligent citizen announced cynically after a recent election that he had just voted for twenty-one people not one of whom had he ever heard of before; that he had picked seven with Irish names, seven with English names, and seven whom he judged to be Jews, and he thought that that was a fair distribution of power.

This very large number of elective offices which we are asked to fill at each of our rather numerous elections greatly discourages many voters. Some settle it by voting the straight party ticket, some vote for the few about whom they have some information and ignore the rest, and some give up voting altogether. And yet there is a way that is satisfactory to the voter by which he can get better officials than by voting directly for them. Let him vote for all the important officers, such as President, governor, and mayor. Every citizen of ordinary intelligence has a fairly clear idea of the men who are candidates for these offices, and he values his right to express his choice. Let these men, when elected, appoint the men who are to serve under them. It is possible to hold a governor strictly responsible for the men whom he appoints. It is not so easy to hold the people responsible for the men whom they elect, or to hold that elusive thing which we call the machine responsible for the men whom it nominates.

The idea of appointing officials is not radical, nor is it at variance with our plan of government. Many judges are appointed. They do not suffer in comparison with the judges whom the people elect. The President appoints his Cabinet. The members are as efficient as the state treasurer and the attorney general of the state whom the people elect. The mayor often appoints the school board. The members certainly compare favorably with the members of the various local boards elected by the people. The official given the appointing power feels his responsibility. He has one great advantage: he is able to make his selections from a wider list and from better men than the voters can. He can offer appointive

positions to men whom the politicians would not nominate, and who, if offered the nomination, would probably decline, shrinking from the wear and tear of a political campaign.

The present method of electing most officials instead of appointing them has tradition back of it. Direct election is considered highly democratic. It also has back of it the strong political machine, which finds it an admirable means of defeating democracy. Consider carefully the merits of the Short Ballot.

CHAPTER XXV

THE SPOILS SYSTEM AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

"What are we here for if not for the offices?" These are the words of a delegate at a convention. He was frank. He stated the real purpose of parties as they are organized and administered at present. The question implies that the office, with salary attached, is the recognized reward for serving the party. It means that, on the defeat of the party in power, the men holding salaried positions under the government will be turned out to make vacancies for office-seekers of the victorious party. This practice has been called the spoils system.

In the early history of our country no such plan was followed. The first change in party came with Jefferson. He was besieged by office-seekers. He felt compelled to tell them that there were no vacancies, that the offices were all occupied. He complained that no vacancies occurred, saying of the clerks and postmasters: "Few die, and none resign." The custom of making vacancies by the removal of thousands of clerks and postmasters came with President Jackson. Mr. Root says that the most familiar statement of this practice was made by William L. Marcy in the Senate of the United States, in the debate on Jackson's nomination of Martin Van Buren to be minister to England. Marcy said:

> "It may be, sir, that the politicians of New York are not so fastidious as some gentlemen are as to disclosing the principles on which they act. They boldly preach what they practice. When they are

> contending for victory, they avow their intention of enjoying the fruits of it. If they are defeated, they expect to retire from office; if they are successful, they claim, as a matter of right, the advantages of success. They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy."

To the thoughtless person Mr. Marcy's justification of the spoils system seems rather convincing. There are, however, two facts that he does not make clear. The system demoralizes the public service, and demoralizes the party organization itself. It demoralizes public service, because men holding government positions do not know how soon they will lose their jobs. They do know that good faithful work will not keep them in their positions. The thing that will make them safe so long as their party is in power is good faithful work for that party. When their party goes out of power, nothing will save them. This situation forces them to try to satisfy the boss of their party rather than to satisfy the head of their department. This results in divided authority.

How does this system demoralize the party organization itself? Again we quote Mr. Root:

> "The application of this principle is not confined to the demand of the individual party worker upon the successful candidate for a recognition of his personal services; it goes a step further back and affects the action of the party worker in the selection of the party leaders who will support and press the party worker's claim to recognition from the public officer when elected. It determines the selection of the party committees and their chairman,

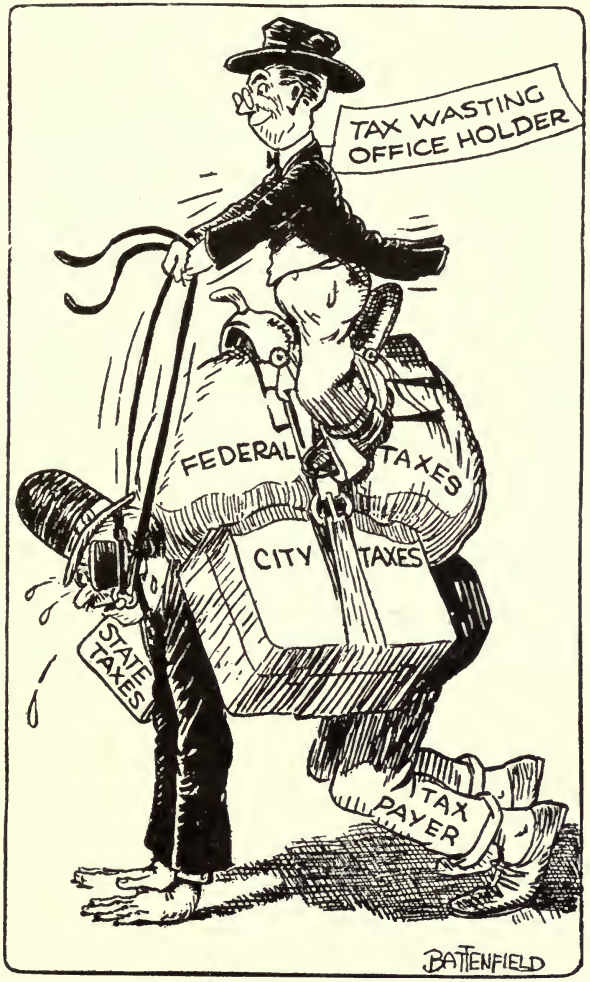
> from the lowest local committee up through the county and state committees to the chairman of the national committee who directs the vast machinery of the Presidential election. It converts the whole party organization, commissioned by the voters of the party to conduct proceedings to advance their political principles by their votes, into an organization primarily for the parcelling out of offices, and incidentally for the promotion of party principles."

The spoils system, then, has a tendency to fill all the posts in the party organization with men who are willing to pay their political debts at the expense of the public. This is treachery to the taxpayer. It is he who pays the salaries of these officials. If there is a recognized system by which he is forced to pay salaries to men who are not working for him, but for unscrupulous politicians, the taxpayer has a right to resent it.

The evils of the spoils system have been fairly well understood. An effort has been made in large cities, in some states, and in the national government to substitute for it a merit system. The movement to introduce a merit system is called Reform of the Civil Service or Civil Service Reform. The term **civil service** may puzzle you. A person may serve his government in the army or in the navy. These form the military service of the government. Those who are minor employees of the government in any other capacity, on salary and by appointment, are in the Civil Service. The Civil Service is made up of the great body of employees working for the government.

How should these employees be selected? You re-

member the method of the spoils system put into every job a good party worker. No other qualification is of



Courtesy of The Journal, Chicago

great importance. Friends of good government wish to take these positions out of politics; to appoint competent men and women who will be assured of their jobs so long as they do their work well. In that case no changes of party will cause any dismissals. Not only are

BUREAU OF STANDARDS, WASHINGTON
Could a mere spoilsman do this work?

these workers to be free from the need of working for a party, they are expected not to work for any party. This is the reform in the Civil Service that is in force now at Washington and in many of our cities.

Just what is the method by which persons are selected to fill these positions? Wherever the law is in force,

there is a Civil Service Commission. The Commission employs a chief examiner. It conducts written competitive examinations, open to practically all citizens. Notice of these examinations is given in the newspapers. All who wish to take them are encouraged to do so. Heads of departments having vacancies to fill select appointees from those who have passed the examinations and who stand highest on the list. After a period of satisfactory service, the appointment becomes permanent. The Civil Service Law also provides ways for the removal of incompetent employees.

Examinations are not always a conclusive test of ability. The best excuse for using them is that, as yet, no one seems to have been able to devise a better method of sorting people by wholesale. It is to be expected that there would be many people who would jeer at Civil Service Reform, and these people usually talk much of the nature of the examinations. We ask you to remember the important features of the plan. Appointees under the Civil Service are under obligations to nobody for their appointment, and are free to serve the public. They are not given permanent positions until they have proved, by the quality of work they do, that they are competent. They are then assured permanent jobs. They do not need to contribute to the campaign expenses of any party, and "no person in the public service has any right to use his official authority to influence the political action of any person or body."

Discussion

1. "The most formidable obstacle in the path of civil service reform is not the avarice of the politician. It is the deep-seated popular conviction that any able-bodied citizen, whatever his competence or

lack of it, has an equal and indefeasible right to a place on the public pay roll."—MUNRO. Do you believe that there exists an attitude such as described above?

2. Have you ever heard a man or a woman object to a girl's teaching on the sole ground that she "had a father to support her, and had no business to be taking a job that ought to go to some girl that needed it"?

3. Have you heard a similar argument about married women who were teaching—that they had husbands to support them, and should not take the jobs that "belonged" to some other women?

4. Would any business submit to hiring its employees on a charity basis? Do you approve of such an attitude toward employees in the public service? Will it get the best available material?

5. A man interested in public affairs once let it be known that he intended to send out students of his to check the amount of work done in an hour by the men hired by the city to clean out catch basins. He found the record excellent. The amusing part of the incident was that he had sent out his investigators also before he advertised his intentions. The two records showed a wide difference. Which cleaning work showed greater efficiency, the first or the second?

6. Would getting a day's work for a day's pay out of the men employed by the city hall be a miracle? Would it be easily possible? Is it the usual thing?

CHAPTER XXVI

THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES

"Two tests of practical efficiency may be applied to the government of a city: What does it provide for the people, and what does it cost the people?"

JAMES BRYCE.

The government of cities is an important subject because it involves so many persons. Statistics show that there is a constant movement of population to the cities, and that the farming parts of our country are not gaining in numbers, and that many villages are actually losing. At present over half our population live in cities. Furthermore, the number of persons in a city at any given time is usually much greater than the number of permanent residents. Many of us go to cities for a short time and then return to our homes. During our stay in cities we enjoy whatever privileges have been provided for those who live there. If the city has a good government, we find clean streets, good lights, a good water system, comfortable street cars, alert and helpful police, schools of which the city is proud, and plenty of parking space just where we most need it. This list can be made much longer, but it is long enough to suggest the necessity of good government in cities. City government is important because it affects the health and happiness of many people.

The government of cities grows more and more difficult as population increases and as expenditures increase. The work of the city government is not so much the making of laws as it is the expenditure of money,

expenditure to make the city safer and more comfortable. This work, which involves pavements, sidewalks, bridges, lighting, sewage disposal, health, public education, water supply, and many other problems, should be in the hands of trained experts. For example, the

RESERVOIRS AND FILTRATION PLANT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

problem of supplying a city with an abundance of good water is not one that the ordinary candidate for office will be able to solve. The water systems that have been discarded in a hundred cities are evidence that incompetent men who did not know how little they knew had been elected to positions of authority. In the department of health the need for men with special training has been more generally recognized, with the result that this department of city government has usually had a good record.

How do we choose the men who, as government officials, must look after the many important and difficult things that we require? In most of our cities the form of government is the mayor-council system. The voters elect a chief executive, called a mayor, for a term of one, two, or four years. The voters also elect a council. Quite often the candidates both for mayor and for members of the council are obligingly furnished by the Democratic and the Republican parties, and the voter votes the party ticket straight. The members of the council are called aldermen. Each alderman represents a certain definite section of the city, called a ward. The council is a sort of legislative body. Bills passed by a majority of the council and approved by the mayor become the laws of the city, and are called ordinances.

Friends of the mayor-council form of government proudly call it the "strong mayor" type. The name has some justification in the fact that the mayor has the right to fill by appointment many important offices, such as the heads of the police department, of the fire department, and of the department of health. There is little else to justify the term. This form of government has quite generally failed to give the taxpayers "a dollar's worth of service for a dollar's worth of taxes," and complaints against it have become loud and bitter.

Complaints, however, do not often produce results. It took a disaster which cost six thousand lives to bring into existence another form of city government. In 1900 a tidal wave overwhelmed the city of Galveston, in Texas, and destroyed part of it. The "strong mayor" and the council were not equal to the emergency. The business men of the city induced the legislature of the

state to allow them to try a new form of government, which is now known as the **commission form** or the Galveston plan.

In the commission form of government a small number of men, usually five, are elected by the voters to

CITY PARK

take charge of the city's business. These men are called commissioners. In practice the commissioners divide the work among themselves, though this is not an essential part of the plan. A usual form of division is law, finance, streets and alleys, police and fire departments, public works, benevolent and recreation work. One of the five commissioners is nominal head of the city and presides

at the meetings of the commissioners. The plan succeeded so well at Galveston that a number of other cities have adopted it.

Commissioners often find that the work which they are called on to do for the city takes much time. As a result they now often hire a man to relieve them of a large part of this work, and to supply them expert professional knowledge that they feel the need of. This man is called a city manager. The city-manager type is the third and newest form of city government. In almost all cases where it has been given a fair trial it has been highly satisfactory, saving money for the taxpayers and giving the city better service than aldermen and "strong mayors" ever did. It is now in use in several hundred cities, the largest being Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Los Angeles. The profession of city manager is a new one that attracts men of great ability. It offers them a career and a profession that earn them much public gratitude. In deciding how you will earn your livings, do not overlook the possibilities of city-managership. A city manager is promoted from one city to another, much as the president of one railroad may be called to the presidency of another.

The plans, in the order presented, show progressive improvement in the method of governing a city. We must remember, however, that no plan, method, device, or mechanism of local self-government can relieve the citizen of his responsibility for good government. Self-government is self-government. Americans are inventive and resourceful. These qualities have enabled them to surround themselves with machines and contrivances which relieve them of much hard labor. They have

shown themselves ready to introduce and use these labor-saving inventions. But they carry their machine-mindedness too far if they hope for plans, systems, devices, and laws to bring them good government. They can have good government only by their own labor, sacrifice, and watchfulness. The best of plans will fail if we, the citizens, are at a low level of interest, honesty, and intelligence in matters of government.

Discussion

1. Can cities be trusted to govern themselves?

2. Does it make any difference what form of government the city has, if it is controlled by party organizations?

3. Should the mayor be elected for two or four years?

4. Should members of the city council serve without pay? If they are to be paid, should the pay be generous, or merely a slight recognition of their services?

5. Has democracy been cheated by the city-manager plan?

6. Have not the people a right to any kind of government that they want? Do you believe that a man has a right to commit suicide?

7. Why is it easier for city people to have gas for cooking and heating than for people in the country?

8. Is the water supply of Boston, New York, or Los Angeles as good as that on the average farm?

9. Do country people use more water a day per person than city people? Why? What are the advantages of having water delivered under pressure in the house?

10. Do you know any persons who have their own water systems or lighting systems in their homes? Which break down and fail more often, those in cities, or the private ones?

11. Why are many willing to endure the high taxes of cities?

12. A practical estimate of the cost of asphalt pavement, including excavation and foundation, is fifty-seven cents a square yard. A contractor in a large city recently offered to make asphalt repairs to a pavement at eight dollars a square yard. How are we to explain the difference?

13. Can you find out whether most city governments are Democratic, Republican, or nonpartisan?

14. Which give better city government, Republicans or Democrats?

15. Of what advantage is it to citizens and taxpayers to have the city government operated by one of the two parties?

16. What new enterprises for our pleasure and convenience should cities undertake?

17. How will these new undertakings affect taxes?

18. A man was charged $50, special assessment, by the city to have the street lowered in front of the lot he owned. Ten years later he was charged $47.50 to have the street raised. Is this efficient city government?

19. Do you know of sidewalks put in at different levels? How does this happen?

20. Is a city within its rights if it passes ordinances intended to prevent unnecessary noises? Are those who deliberately break these laws good citizens?

21. Do you favor city ordinances directed toward lessening the smoke nuisance? Does the soot of the city add to the cost of living? In what way?

22. Is it possible to interest people in the problems of their city? What methods would you suggest for arousing their interest?

23. Are the newspapers to any extent responsible for the kind of city government we get? Can you show in what way they might be responsible?

24. "The city has many inhabitants, but few individuals." What does this mean?

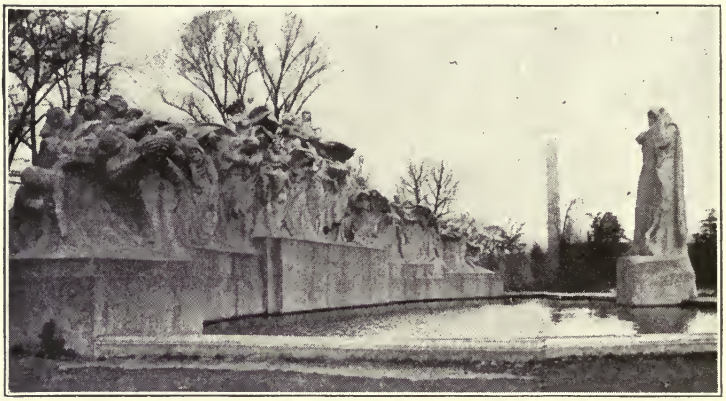
25. For whom should traffic regulations be designed, the convenience of motorists or the safety of pedestrians?

THE ATHENIAN PLEDGE

> We will never bring disgrace to this our city, by any act of dishonesty or cowardice, nor ever desert our comrades; we will fight for the ideals and sacred things of the city, both alone and with many; we will revere and obey the city laws, and do our best

to incite a like respect and reverence in others; we will strive unceasingly to quicken the public's sense of civic duty; that thus, in all these ways, we may transmit this city, greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us.

26. Do you like this pledge?



THE FOUNTAIN OF TIME
Sculpture by Lorado Taft

CHAPTER XXVII

TAXATION

Government spends each year a sum of money so enormous that the figures mean very little to the ordinary man. The federal government alone spends over three billion dollars a year. In addition to the federal government we have, as you know, the state, the county, and the city, all spending money. It is easy to see where much of this money goes. Government really furnishes our world for us. It puts in roads and sewers and water systems, builds docks and bridges and tunnels, gives us parks and boulevards, courthouses, libraries, and schools. The business that government transacts requires an army of clerks. The number of government employees runs into the millions. For all of this the people pay.

The process by which government collects from the people the money which it needs to meet its expenses is called taxation. A tax is a sum of money collected for the use of government. We all pay taxes, directly or indirectly. We expect to. This is not a world in which one gets something for nothing, and no self-respecting man wishes to. There are just two questions about taxation which every citizen is entitled to keep constantly in mind: first, Am I paying at the same rate as my neighbors, or do some get their taxes reduced because they have political influence? secondly, Am I getting a dollar's worth of service for every dollar that I pay in, or is part of the tax money being wasted, and part

of it being stolen? Both of these questions involve the honesty of government officials. We are back once more to the same old necessity: citizens, if they expect good service, must choose able, honest men to serve them. Since these men handle billions of dollars every year, they should not be subjected to unreasonable temptation by being allowed to use slovenly methods of accounting. A strict accounting should be required of all who handle public funds. This account should not only be accurate; it should be definite and clear, so that any intelligent citizen will be able by careful study to understand how the taxes are being spent. And all citizens who have the necessary intelligence should make it their practice to give respectful attention to these published records.

Most forms of government which are working to secure wise expenditure of public money have found it useful to make budgets. A budget is an estimate. It combines into one statement the estimated needs of the various departments of the government for which the budget is being prepared. The estimate usually covers one year. When the budget has been made up, the legislative body (city council, legislature, Congress) votes to appropriate the money for the purposes mentioned in the budget, or as large a part of it as the treasury allows. The budget plan is not altogether liked by politicians. They prefer to appropriate as much as they please for whatever projects they please. A budget is a step forward in securing for government expenditure sensible, businesslike methods. The printed budget is a good textbook for interested citizens.

In addition to the two questions which every citizen

should ask himself in regard to taxation, there are others that occur to young people with a lively curiosity or an alert intelligence. Who pay taxes? Are all taxed for the same amount? How is it decided what sum each ought to pay? Does any one pay no taxes at all? What is

©*Underwood and Underwood*

A NECESSARY ROAD THROUGH A WILDERNESS

indirect taxation? What would happen if some one refused to pay his taxes? Just what does the government tax? Is the best government the one with the lowest taxes? Some of these questions we can answer easily.

The people who have created government and who wish it to continue to exist pay its expenses. Some pay large taxes, some small, and some think that they pay no

taxes at all. One theory of taxation is that those who have plenty of money shall pay more taxes than those who do not have so much money; and that persons who can barely make a living shall not be taxed. Each is to pay according to his ability to pay. The plan does not

©Underwood and Underwood

AN IMPORTANT TRUNK ROAD AND SCENIC HIGHWAY

work quite as was hoped. Everybody, rich or poor, pays taxes; if not directly, then indirectly.

Indirect taxation is the name we give to the system by which those whom the government taxes may collect from others the money they pay in the form of taxes to government. They collect this money from others in the form of higher prices. For example, government taxes

an apartment building. Those who pay rent for apartments in this building pay the taxes on this building. The tax is included in the amount charged for the rent. The owner of the building is in this case not a taxpayer, but a tax-collector. He may himself pay taxes on other things. Perhaps he buys an automobile. The price of the automobile is a few dollars higher because of the taxes that the manufacturer pays, and the rent that the dealer pays. The buyer is helping to pay the taxes of these two. All taxes that can be shifted to others are promptly shifted. We do not like to pay taxes. The only way to escape taxes is to have nothing and to buy nothing.

No honorable man wishes to evade or to escape his taxes. Government must have money to do the things we expect of it. It does not intend that any man shall neglect to pay his share. If taxes are not paid promptly, the amount is increased in some states. If the tax is not then paid within the stated time, the property taxed is taken by officers of the law and sold at public sale.

State and local governments get a large part of their money from taxes on real estate. Real estate is easy to tax because the owner cannot hide it or conceal its value. Personal property is also taxed. By personal property is meant property other than real estate. The tax on personal property has not been satisfactory, because it is difficult to find out just what personal property a person owns.

The federal government taxes some goods brought into this country from other countries. It also taxes certain goods produced in this country, such as the various forms of manufactured tobacco. It formerly taxed tickets of admission to places of amusement. It taxes large in-

comes, both of persons and of corporations. It taxes inheritances.

A French statesman of the days before the Revolution (1789) said that one of the problems of taxation was like the problem of getting feathers from a goose—"to get the most feathers with the least squawking." From this point of view our federal government has solved the problem of taxation better than the state and local governments. For example, in Illinois the federal government collects each year about $220,000,000. The state and the local governments in the state do not collect in taxes a sum much, if any, larger than this. There is less complaint about federal taxes in Illinois than about the others.

While economy in government and lower taxes are much to be desired, we should secure them only by ending waste and graft, and by introducing good business methods into government. Sometimes selfish legislatures and officeholders, wishing to make a record for economy, have cut off appropriations from useful departments, thus crippling them badly. In many communities with low taxes citizens get less for their money than in communities where taxes are high. We must not hope to demand constantly increasing service from government and then ask for a lowering of the cost of the service. It is in a measure true that the people of the United States do not care much what they pay for things so long as they get what they pay for. We should begin to apply this principle to government service.

Sometimes taxes do not bring in enough money at the time when it is needed. Ordinary taxes do not meet the needs of a city suffering from an earthquake, a serious

flood, or a great fire. Neither will the ordinary taxes provide for the expense when a young town pulls itself out of the mud and raises its standard of comfort all at once by a new lighting system, a chain of parks, and the construction of water works, sewers, pavements, and sidewalks. In case there is such a program of improvements, how is the money to be obtained to pay for them? Governments borrow. All, or nearly all, governments are in debt. Can you find out how large your state debt is? Most city debts are constantly growing. Debt is not so common among counties. Many school boards are in debt. Our national government owes billions, which were borrowed to carry on the Great War. So your city, with its program of water works, sewers, and pavements, will borrow to pay. Your state, with a program of education and road-building, will borrow. Many school boards borrow to build new schoolhouses.

In the financial columns of our daily papers we see frequent notices that the United States government is offering for sale short time notes. This means that it is offering its promises to pay in a few months. Bankers buy these promissory notes: that is, they lend money to the government. In a few months enough tax money will have come into the Treasury to pay these notes. Many cities follow this same plan, especially when a new administration comes in.

The method of borrowing about which we know more is that of selling bonds. A bond is a promise to pay. It bears interest. Most cities and states have borrowed by selling bonds. The favorite denomination for a bond is a thousand dollars. Others are for five hundred and one hundred dollars. To tempt the "little fellow" to lend,

the government of the United States sold fifty-dollar bonds during the Great War. Bonds issued by minor governing bodies, such as cities, park boards, and others, are for convenience called municipal bonds. Properly this term applies only to city bonds.

Municipal bonds differ in several respects from bonds issued by persons or corporations. They are issued by governing bodies that have the power to tax. These governing bodies are, in a sense, the community itself; and experience has shown that communities pay their debts. There is no security behind municipal bonds other than the promise of the governing body that issues them. The credit of this body is so good that these bonds bear a low rate of interest. If the owner of these bonds needs money, the bonds find a ready sale. The holder of a municipal bond can take it to the bank and borrow money on it. These qualities make municipal bonds sound investments.

Borrowing implies repayment. Money for repayment must come from the taxpayers. What shall we say then of allowing the voters to decide whether money shall be borrowed or not by issuing bonds? Shall we refer the question to the voters at some election, and ask them to vote Yes or No on the bond issue? This practice of referring the question to the voters has become so general that only some states and the United States issue bonds without first referring the question to the voters. Allowing the voters to decide is called a referendum. Is a referendum fair and honest? Some professional patriots and a few politicians have called it bolshevism. Are they right?

There is no limit set by law to the amount that states

and the United States can borrow. Cities are limited in the amounts which they can borrow. The limitation is either in the charter of the city, which is granted by the state, or in the laws of the state.

How rapidly shall debts be paid? The policy of the United States government has always been to reduce the national debt rapidly. This makes a great saving in interest. Our cities have not been so conscientious about paying as the national government has. Repayment of debts should be in money, but governments of badly managed cities quite frequently offer new issues of bonds to replace the old. Thus one generation borrows and spends, while a later generation pays. City officials have weakly argued that the improvements made with borrowed money are a benefit to posterity: then let posterity pay for them. How do we know what improvements will be satisfactory twenty years from now? How can we know what posterity will need? Those who have gone before us have left us narrow streets, rough pavements, and absurdly planned sidewalks and crossings. Do we know any better than they did what the future will need?

New York has adopted the pay-as-you-go plan. By this method taxes are higher and bond issues rarer. This plan is a credit to any city that adopts it. Other cities will in time see the necessity of adopting the plan.

Taxation is a highly technical matter. The ordinary citizen believes that the choice of methods of taxation should be left to experts. Still the same principles of honesty and economy that hold in private business are good guides here. Borrow for grave emergencies or for necessary improvements of a permanent nature. Do not borrow for wasteful and extravagant expenditures. Pay

debts as soon as possible. Let every man who is able pay his fair share of the expenses of his government.

Discussion

1. Should a person pay taxes according to his ability to pay, or according to the benefits which he receives from government?

2. A man with a salary of $1800 a year has eight children in the public schools of his city. It costs the taxpayers an average of $100 a year per pupil to educate the children in the schools. Is it right that this man should pay nothing toward the support of the schools?

3. Does a citizen who lives in a city get any benefit from the public schools if he has no children to send to these schools?

4. A man bought a two-dollar theatre ticket and paid twenty cents tax on it. Was he taxed according to his ability to pay?

5. Two surgeons of world-wide reputation operate a well-equipped and beautifully managed hospital. People come long distances to this hospital for difficult surgical operations. Suppose these surgeons charge each patient a fee for an operation equal to the income which the patient receives in a month: is this according to his ability to pay, or according to the benefit received?

6. Can your grocer shift his taxes?

7. Can a home-owner shift the taxes which he pays on his home?

8. A man who has retired has $100,000 in six-per-cent bonds. How much is his income per year? He pays an income tax. How can he shift it?

9. On many of the goods brought in from other countries there is a heavy import tax. The men who import these goods pay this tax. Can they shift it?

10. What benefit do railroads get from the school taxes that they pay?

11. Is it true that a "tax is a one-sided transfer of money"?

12. Which is the easier to impose upon a people, the direct tax or the indirect tax? Do the people think clearly if they prefer the indirect tax?

13. There are boards of review before which a citizen may appear, to protest in case his property has had a wrong value placed upon it by the tax-assessors. If you were sure that a value had been

placed on your property which was twice as high as you could sell it for, would you protest? Suppose that a value had been placed upon it which was not more than one-half of what you could sell it for, would you protest?

14. When a referendum is held as to a proposed bond issue, does the bond issue usually go through? Why are people so willing to vote in favor of bond issues?

15. Is there usually a heavy vote on bond issues, or a light one?

16. Are bond issues of any practical importance to citizens? Are they of greater or less importance than the election of short term candidates?

17. Is the excellence of the purpose for which money is being voted the only determining factor as to how a man should vote on a bond issue? How about the extent of the debt that the city has already accumulated? Suppose the administration in power, which would have the spending of the money, had established a record for foolish and dishonest expenditure: would you vote it more money to spend?

18. In some countries there is a sales tax. Under this tax every sale of a dollar or more pays a cent's tax on each dollar in the sale. Are you in favor of this? Would it be a nuisance to pay this tax? To collect it? Would it be a more serious annoyance to the poor than to the rich? Under this tax what would be the largest possible sum that a man having a salary of $4000 a year could pay? This tax has been seriously suggested in the United States Senate. Are you in favor of it?

CHAPTER XXVIII

CONSERVATION

When our ancestors first settled in North America, they found a very rich country. There was plenty of fertile land, plenty of water, plenty of wood, and everywhere fish and game. Later they discovered coal in abundance and all the minerals needed for manufacture. It is a commonplace fact, familiar to all of you, that no one sets a high value on anything that is abundant and easy to get. The American people did not set a proper value on the natural resources of their country. They were spoiled by their riches. They had plenty of land, so they developed wasteful methods of farming. If these methods brought a poor yield to the acre, they planted more acres. There were plenty of acres. If, because of these wasteful methods, they needed more farm land, they cut down beautiful tracts of woodland, and burned the trees impatiently, just to get them out of the way. If they robbed the soil of its fertility by ignoring the scientific methods of farming that had been known in Europe for years, they moved indifferently a little farther west. In mining they took the coal and the minerals which were easy to get, and wasted the rest.

Only in recent years have the people of the United States awakened to the fact that this cannot go on forever. The free land is gone. Many of the forests are gone. What the pioneers were not forced to cut in clearing ground for farms were turned over to lumber companies, who cut the timber with utter disregard for the

future needs of the country, wasting and ruining as much as they marketed. No effort was made to replace the trees that were cut. As a result lumber is no longer to be had in the United States at a low price. As to our "inexhaustible coal mines," it is gloomily predicted that the coal supply of the United States may be gone in fifty years. If not that soon, there is no question that the end is in sight. Many farms have been worn out and abandoned. Streams have been "fished out." Many forms of game have become so rare as to be curiosities.

Even now the masses of the people do not concern themselves. Many say quite shamelessly that they guess the supply will last as long as they will. They are much like irresponsible tenant farmers, who work to get a single harvest, with utter disregard for the fields which they are steadily robbing of their fertility. That the United States should have so ignorant and selfish an attitude toward the beautiful country to which it has fallen heir has seemed intolerable to some of our far-sighted and truly patriotic citizens. Under the vigorous direction of these men a campaign was started some twenty years ago for an honorable policy of decent thrift in the use of our national resources. All the resources that are used are to be used wisely, in such a way as to get the full value of them; all that can be replaced are to be replaced as rapidly as possible; whenever it can be done, the present supply is to be increased. This policy is known as conservation.

The policy of conservation has been more fully developed in connection with our forests than in any other of our natural resources. Forests are important for more than one reason. The desirability of saving for the

United States an adequate supply of lumber is easily understood. The close connection between forests and water supply is not so well understood. It is highly important that we keep the forests and their undergrowth on the higher lands where many of our rivers start. Rainfall on a forested area does not run off rapidly. It is caught and held by the leaves, needles, moss, fallen twigs, and underbrush. Thus more water finds its way into the earth, and is delivered underground to streams. Sometimes it is months in finding its way into rivers. Thus forests distribute rainfall gradually to our streams.

This work of the forests has a definite effect on water power, floods, and navigation. We have said that forests tend to distribute rainfall gradually to the streams, and so keep the supply of water uniform. The water in these streams is used to operate mills and factories, just as it has always been. This is not, however, its important use in modern times. The modern practice is to use water power to generate electricity. When the supply of water is uniform throughout the year, the plant operated by it can be depended on to furnish a certain amount of power. If the water goes downstream in a flood, and the river has low water the rest of the time, the service of the power company is less satisfactory. What we need is forests to deliver water on the installment plan, with some uniformity.

Floods do great harm. They are merely too much water in the lower valleys. Forests along the water courses and about the head waters make floods less frequent. The Ohio River furnishes an interesting illustration. In the Ohio, just below Parkersburg, there is an island. On this island, about the year 1800, a man named Blenner-

hasset had a beautiful home. At that time the island was never under water. Now it frequently is. No one attempts to live there any more. Why are conditions different? The wholesale cutting of trees on the western slopes of the Alleghenies answers the question. Floods in the valley of the Ohio will lose their fury when the uplands where its tributaries start are thickly forested again.

Navigation is well served if streams have no very high or very low water. Steamboat men are hindered in their work if this month's water went down the river in last month's flood. If you stop the floods, you help navigation. Low water hinders navigation. Keep the water up by delivering it into the rivers gradually. Forests help.

Cutting the trees from large areas, especially from slopes, has another disastrous effect: it greatly increases the erosion of the soil. Water delivered to rivers through moss, leaf mould, soil, and rock is beautifully clear. Water that runs on the surface of the land is muddy. Which has done more damage to the soil? Muddy water on its way to rivers is carrying away the best part of the soil. The faster it moves, the more soil it carries off. Can we help by reducing the quantity and the speed of the surface water moving toward our rivers? Forests will help.

Just what is the government doing to save and build up the forests? There is at Washington a Bureau of Forestry. Many of the states have departments of forestry. There are schools of forestry at most of our state universities. The public is being educated. There is good work being done in planting new forests. The desolate tracts from which trees have been cut, many of which have little value as farms, are being planted with

young trees and cared for by the government. Sometimes this work of reforesting is done by the national government, sometimes by the governments of the states. There is an interesting branch of government service called the forest rangers. The forest rangers are men en-

BURNT FOREST

Ruin caused by careless campers.

gaged in this work of preserving the old forests and building up new ones. They are especially charged with preventing forest fires. Forest fires have been the most tragic cause of waste of our forests. Everywhere an effort is being made to educate the public to this danger. Sparks from locomotives have been responsible for countless fires. Locomotives are now forced to wear fine screens on their smoke stacks when the train is passing through dry forested areas. In some regions the

steam locomotive is taken off, and an electric locomotive is substituted, as an additional precaution. States have passed the most severe laws against camp fires. Printed warnings face the thoughtless camper at every turn.

The national government set the pleasant fashion of setting aside public lands on which fine forests were growing as forest reservations. Over these the government maintains absolute control. They are used, but used wisely. States also have their forest reserves. These are beautiful spots, saved to the people, a gentle reminder of the beauty that was. All this attention to forests has brought about an increasing respect for trees. Towns and cities plant trees, and carefully doctor their ailing ones. A fine desire to add to the beauty of the world in which we live is shown by many acts of individuals, which we have to offset the practices of the lumber companies. The author recalls several incidents which illustrate the different points of view of our fellow citizens. One concerns a young son of a very wealthy lumberman of the Middle West. He was at a week-end

©Underwood and Underwood

FOREST RANGERS' CLUB
A flag-raising

party in northern Wisconsin, and was taken out to see the moon rise behind three tall and stately pines. These pine trees were the especial joy and pride of his host, who could not resist asking for admiration for them. The young man shrugged his shoulders indifferently. "Sorry," he said. "I'm afraid I'm like my dad. I'd like better to see them floating down the river." That is one point of view. Another has to do with Minnesota in the late sixties. A young couple from New York had taken up a homestead there. The work before them was endless, and cruelly hard. Yet almost their first act was to plant on their farm, at the edge of the road, a long row of trees. The young man dug the holes, the young woman carried the saplings, and set each one carefully in place. A two-year-old boy trotted at their heels. A third story is of an old lady, well along in the seventies. Fortune moved her from place to place, to spots more or less barren at times. Every place she lived she planted trees. At last her husband was moved to protest. "Why," he asked, "should people of our age plant trees? We'll never live to see them grow to any size! It's all foolishness." "Well," his wife said tranquilly, "all our lives we've been sitting under trees that other people planted. I'm inclined to think that I'll just plant a few for those who come after me."

There are many forms of conservation besides the conservation of forests. The national government has control of the navigable waters of the country, most of which are rivers. It also owns the water power of streams in the newer part of the country. In its earlier years, when our statesmen knew no better, the government sold water rights with the land. This is unfortunate, as the

interconnection and exchange of electrical power is reaching out every year into greater and greater areas. Thus a temporary shortage of electrical power in Chicago may be supplied from the Boston district. Such organization of what is called superpower will in time be either government owned or government controlled. In either case it is better that the government own the power sites. The government is in a better position to make uniform the supply of water to these power plants. This it can do by reforestation, control of erosion, dredging, canal construction, and other large undertakings beyond the power of even the largest corporations. The point of view of the conservationists in regard to water is that water that could be used to develop power and is not being used is being wasted. This is an interesting point to keep in mind.

Conservation can prevent some of the waste of our minerals. Waste of minerals is peculiarly unfortunate. We can reforest our cut-over lands, and thus make good the waste that has devastated them. We can in time restore the fertility to soil. Each year nature gives us a supply of water, which we need only to use properly. But minerals, once used, can never be replaced. The best we can do with minerals is to use them economically and to permit no waste in mining them. When we open up a vein of coal, we use a little over half of it. The rest remains in the ground, or is wasted in other ways. Better methods of mining coal are sometimes employed. If the coal is near the surface, the surface is removed and the coal exposed. The coal is then mined with electric shovels. There is such a mine south of Joliet, Illinois. Some men do not manage their businesses so wisely. They do not

manage them with much regard for the interests of the nation. It is pleasant to know that the United States Steel Company is a good example of a practical monopoly that has handled the natural resources of which it has made use in a manner beyond criticism from the point of view of conservation. Successful businesses that are well managed often show this enlightened selfishness.

Soil-conservation is important. The food supply of our nation depends on our farm lands. We have called attention to the fact that in some places farms are being slowly washed away. The damage is much hastened by cultivation. We know that grass lands wash more slowly than ploughed fields. The muddiness of our streams measures the loss of fertility on our farms. Care in the sort of crops planted will help somewhat. So will contour ploughing. The agricultural colleges devote considerable attention to this problem. Much farming has been thoroughly unscientific, mere soil-robbing. Good farmers keep up the fertility of their lands. They return to the soil each year all that they can. Tenant farmers, however, who lease from March to March, have no incentive to keep up the fertility of the land they rent. Farm leases should make some provision for this.

Another form of land-conservation is to increase our area of farm land. We have added to our farm acreage by draining the water from swampy land. This is accomplished by the construction of ditches and by tile drainage underground. We have increased the number of available farms by bringing water to lands where the rainfall is scant. The watering of lands in regions where there is little rain is called irrigation. The government has undertaken a number of these projects in our western

states. It has spent many millions on dams, canals, and ditches. It has made great valleys productive by bringing water to them. The original plan was to sell these lands to farmers, who in turn were to pay for them by installments. The plan for financing was not entirely successful.

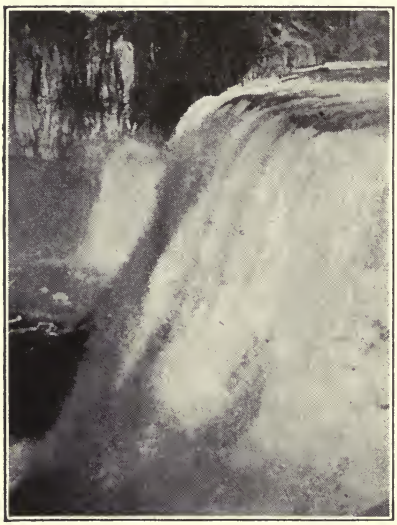
State governments and the national government have made great efforts to prevent the extinction of fish and game. All the states along our northern border, as well as the mountain states, have worked to keep fish in their lakes and streams. The average cost of fish caught in these states is probably not less than a dollar a pound. We find the same policy in our states regarding game. One state prohibits the shooting of rabbits for the greater part of the year. Yet it is a fruit-growing state, and rabbits do harm to fruit trees. In the same state a man might be fined fifty dollars for killing a skunk. Skunks are fur-bearing animals, and under the protection of the law. This is the less serious side of our policy of conservation. After all a country is vastly more interesting which has succeeded in protecting all the little birds and all the little beasts. Even skunks add variety to existence.

Conservation of natural resources should be a recognized part of the policy of every good American. Public opinion should show its approval of it, coöperate in bringing it about, and make and enforce laws to control those who would selfishly disregard it. We should take only what we need, without wasting. What we do not need, we should leave for those who come after us. So far as we can, we should provide for the replacement of what we have taken.

Discussion

1. Conservation has been defined as the greatest use with the least waste. Since the use of the passing water does not lessen the future supply of running water in a stream, is not the most complete development of all rivers and waterfalls for power purposes to be regarded as conservation? What is the method of harnessing a river to produce power? How does this affect the use of the river for other purposes? Is there such a thing as conservation of beauty?

2. When water is diverted from Niagara Falls to develop electric power, who is benefited? What is lost, and by whom? Ought all the water at Niagara to be used for power, if needed? If so, who should decide the extent of the need? the power company? Who does actually control the amount of water that can be used?



©Underwood and Underwood

Shall we keep this to look at?

3. Suppose a brook flows across your grandfather's farm. Whose permission must you get to dam the brook, and make a swimming pool? If the brook formed the boundary between your grandfather's farm and his neighbor's, whose permission must you get? Suppose, instead of a brook, it was a navigable river. Could your grandfather and the man across the river from him build a dam or a bridge across the river without consulting anybody else? Why should the matter concern anybody else? Whose permission must they get? Would the situation be complicated if your grandfather and the man across the river lived in different states? In different countries? Could this happen? Show on a map some places where rivers form boundaries between states; between countries.

4. Find out all you can about the effects—economic, hygienic,

aesthetic—of constructing the dam to create a water supply for Los Angeles; or the damming of the Wisconsin River at Kilbourn; or the damming of the Bronx River near White Plains, New York; or the building of the dam at the irrigation project nearest your home; or the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals. You may choose any big dam that you have seen, or that is located in the part of the country in which you live.

5. Just as it is necessary for the good of the greatest number to take the control of streams and rivers out of the hands of the individual property owners along the banks, so it is necessary for the government to control the cutting of trees about the headwaters of important streams. Name as many as you can of the bad effects of destroying such forests. All of these effects are well illustrated in the country watered by streams rising in the Southern Appalachians. Where are the Southern Appalachians? The Southern Appalachian Forest was finally created to end the havoc. Do you know of any state or national forest nearer home that was created with a similar object?

6. Does conservation as applied to forests mean that no trees are to be cut? Make as long a list as you can of the things that should make it possible to keep forests permanently about the headwaters of important streams and yet to use the forests as sources of lumber. Is it possible to observe these practices and still make money from lumbering?

7. Is there such a thing as conservation by consumers? When a farmer uses creosote to keep his fence posts from rotting, is that conservation? Is using strawboard boxes and barrels conservation of wood? Make as long a list as you can of ways in which wood is conserved today where it was wasted or used carelessly by our forefathers. How much of this is due to the fact that wood, being scarcer, is more expensive? Is it safe to let cost control the use of wood in the interests of conservation?

8. What is meant by single cropping? by rotation of crops? by fertilization? by contour ploughing? In what sort of country is this last most needed? Who is more apt to conserve his soil, the man who owns the land, or a tenant farmer? Why?

9. If farm land is to be rented, which is better for the farm, a long-term or a short-term lease?

10. Conservation of soil also includes increasing the amount of land that can be cultivated by draining swamps and lakes, shutting

water out of lowlands by levees, irrigating dry lands, etc. Should all swamps be drained? Suppose that a farmer has a swamp on his farm that is grown up with wild blueberry bushes. In a good season he makes more from selling blueberries than he could from a cornfield the size of the swamp. Should he drain the swamp? Are swamps and marshes ever valuable for anything besides blueberries? Are they ever harmful?

11. Suppose that it were possible to drain Lake Michigan, or any of the Great Lakes, and convert its basin into farm land. Would this be good conservation?

12. An ore has been defined as rock containing a metal that can be profitably extracted under existing circumstances. Can you think of any circumstances that might change so as to make rock that is not an ore today become an ore tomorrow?

13. Suppose that a high grade ore is closely associated with rock containing the same metal in smaller quantity. Should the low grade rock be disregarded?

14. If an ore of one metal contains small amounts of several other metals, should they be thrown on the dump or lost in the smelting?

15. If a man buys a farm, or is given one out of the public lands, and later it is discovered to overlie valuable deposits of coal or iron or oil, should he enjoy complete ownership and power to dispose of the deposit below the surface? Is it possible to separate the surface and subsurface rights to the land?

16. Mineral deposits cannot be increased, but we can avoid wasting them. Are there any mineral deposits in your state? in your own neighborhood? Do you know of any waste in their production? Is anything done to keep the producers from using wasteful methods?

17. Do you use any mineral products in your own home? Do you practice conservation in your use of them? When you paint your screens to keep them from rusting, is that conservation or economy or both?

18. What good is accomplished by smoke-consumers? by mechanical stokers? Do they pay?

19. Gold is a precious metal. Iron is a base metal. Would you rather have a present of an ounce of gold or an ounce of iron? Of which would you take better care? Would you rather live in a country that was rich in gold or one that had large deposits of iron?

CHAPTER XXIX

PUBLIC OPINION

"The public is not short of intelligence; it is chronically short of facts."

ROBERT W. KELSO.

Public opinion has been defined as the mind and the conscience of the whole nation. If this national mind and national conscience interests itself in government, it is actually the greatest power in the United States today. It is greater than bosses, greater than organized parties, greater even than the Constitution of the United States. If the conscience of the people is sensitive to a certain evil, that evil will not be tolerated in public life. The fine traditions of a people tend to keep a properly sensitive national conscience. Wherever these traditions are known and cherished, they are carefully respected not only by those who have inherited these traditions and of whom they are a part, but by men who are indifferent to them personally, but who do not dare show their indifference.

To illustrate, there have been certain wholesome traditions that have grown up about our President. We have had an almost unbroken record for having Presidents who were honest men. Let a well-founded accusation of graft be brought against a man who has a good chance for being nominated for President, and that will end his chance. The people will not stand for it. Public opinion turns down the candidate. The strongest boss in the world, the most wilful national committee would not dare defy this public opinion. So the people have,

after all, an unquestioned sovereignty in this country when they choose to exercise it.

The people of the United States have also kept a decided preference for public officials who have had no scandals connected with their private lives. They are rather exacting about this. Knowing this, unscrupulous politicians will always drag into the limelight any unsavory story which they can unearth about the candidates of the opposing party. If they cannot find any, they have been known to invent them. These incidents of campaigns are rather painful, and the facts dragged forth have little bearing on the real issues of the campaign. On the other hand, many a machine-owned candidate has gained a comfortable number of needed votes because he was advertised as a kind father and a good provider.

In the execution of laws we see the great power of public opinion. Make a law that the people disapprove, and the law will never be properly enforced. You recall the thousand indictments and the two convictions. The death penalty, which is the legal punishment for certain crimes in most states, is not inflicted so often as the circumstances would seem to warrant. It is a commonplace that it is almost impossible to hang a woman. Though capital punishment for certain crimes is the law of the land, public opinion does not fully support it, and the law is ineffective. Even dignified Supreme Courts bow to public opinion. We quoted the case of the Supreme Court of a certain state, which granted a new trial to a man guilty of a serious crime because the word **the** had been accidentally left out of the indictment. Public opinion was outraged. Judge Kavanagh states

that public reproach hastened the death of the judge who wrote the decision; that, as a result, when a similar case came up later, the Supreme Court specifically overruled six of its own former decisions and decided the omission of the article the to be immaterial.

Since public opinion may wield such enormous power, it is of the utmost importance that it be wisely directed. To command respect public opinion should be based, not on sentimentality, or on foolish fears and prejudices, or on ancient taboos, but on a fairly complete knowledge of the facts which bear on the subject under consideration. In order that the public may make the proper judgments, when given the facts, the public conscience must not be dulled, and the intelligence of the public must be well developed. As to the public conscience, the power to see clearly what is right and what is wrong when given the facts in a situation, must always depend upon the early training of the individuals who make up the public. The government cannot provide its citizens with consciences. It must leave that to the fathers and mothers, to the religious training which the Church gives, and to all who teach our little children. It is to be hoped that the world in which the children grow to manhood will furnish them with enough examples of straight conduct and honorable standards that they will not lose faith in the teachings which they received in their youth. Every little act that is contrary to the honorable traditions of the nation weakens the national conscience. It is from this point of view that a weak and dishonest President would be a national calamity.

For the intelligence to interpret facts a sound education is most desirable. A part of this education should be

of the formal sort, the old disciplinary education that gives the student the power to think straight. If we could develop the power to think clearly in the great majority of our citizens, we could, in a single generation, wipe out most of the evils from which we suffer today. The more citizens that we produce who can think at all, the nearer we come to a sane and happy world.

We have said that a part of education should be formal and disciplinary. In addition to this we all need the education that comes from experience with the world. The broader the experience, the more thorough and satisfactory the education. While travel and acquaintance with many communities is of great value, a friendly acquaintance with many groups in one small community will do almost as much toward broadening one's point of view. If you come to know well the problems in the life of your washerwoman who came from Georgia last winter; of the young man who brings you ice, who lived in Sweden till he was grown; of the man who peddles vegetables in the alley, who brings you Greek sweetmeats at Christmas; of the little New England seamstress next door; if you can get invited to a labor demonstration by the business agent of the milk drivers' union, that much-feared dictator, with the white hair and the pink cheeks and the sweet smile, who looks like somebody's nice grandpa; in short, if you will meet with interest and attention and respect all the little world about you, you can get a liberal education. The world is at your door.

Such an education supplies one with many facts upon which to form judgments, but not with enough facts. Our days are too short, our contacts too few to enable us

to get many facts by personal experience. Most of the facts we use we are forced to take second-hand. "It is often very illuminating" says Mr. Walter Lippmann, in his thoughtful book *Public Opinion*, "to ask yourself how you got at the facts on which you base your opinion: who actually saw, heard, felt, counted, named the thing about which you have an opinion? Was it the man who told you, or the man who told him, or some one still further removed?" We must turn our attention thoughtfully to the sources of information within our reach, and choose with care the ones to which we shall pin our faith.

One uncomfortable fact for thoughtful people to face is that the great mass of grown Americans have one main source of information about the outside world, and that is the newspaper. Almost every man has his favorite paper. He quotes it as respectfully as if it were the Bible. From it he gets most of the facts that he has. On this scanty and not entirely dependable information he forms his opinions. Or he goes a step farther, and takes his opinions ready-made, often from the headlines.

It has not been unusual for students of government and democracy to speak rather bitterly of the press. They seem to feel that newspapers should make their one aim the patient collecting of facts of real value and the presentation of all facts bearing on issues of importance, in a delightful form for the education of the unwilling public. They would place upon the newspapers the full responsibility for training the electorate, and for forming a wise and effective public opinion. All for three cents. Of course we can expect nothing of the sort. Newspapers are business enterprises. Their prosperity depends on their circulation. They feed the public for the most part

what they think the public wants, and their judgment of the public is not always flattering. Mr. Lippmann puts the situation so clearly that we find ourselves, half unconsciously, borrowing his expressions. He says that facts are painful to some and very dull to the rest of the world. The newspapers do not suspect the public of an "appetite for uninteresting truths." They do not devote much space to these. A few really noble examples of the newspaper trade have owners who have adopted a superior policy. These papers, famous all over the world, print facts, and take an intelligent interest in world problems. We must be grateful to them. We should be patient with the others. Newspapers are not in the business of reform, and there is no use in hoping to reform them. We can, however, train ourselves to place a correct valuation on the information which they give, and be grateful for the great service which, with all their shortcomings, they render us.

But now we are at sea. If we cannot depend on our morning paper, where shall we go for facts? The question is a puzzling one. We must have the facts, if we are not to resign ourselves to a weak and hollow democracy. At this point, if we are to be honest with ourselves, we must distinguish two kinds of facts: there are those which the ordinary citizen should know, and those which his elected representatives should know. The great mass of information necessary to insure wise decisions on such technical matters as the ever-present tariff, Muscle Shoals, flood-control, water-power projects, federal tax revision, can never be within the range of the ordinary man. It is not within the range of any single man. The one policy that we can work for is that the government

have experts on these questions study the situation and prepare careful reports with recommendations as to policy. These reports should be primarily for the instruction of our representatives, but will, of course, be available to any private citizen who has a mind to make a study of any special proposition. We have ample intelligence in the United States to solve these problems. We must devise some method of making this intelligence available to the public.

What are the facts that an ordinary man must know if he is to do his part creditably? He must know what important problems are before the country for settlement, who is responsible for making the decisions on these problems, and how well fitted these men are to decide wisely; he should know whether they have consulted experts, and what these experts have recommended; he should know whether the experts are disinterested, and whether the men who are to decide are disinterested. He must be in a position to jog his representatives if there is any evidence that they are being subjected to improper influences.

Once more we are forced to leave with each of you the task of deciding how you are to make yourself a fit citizen, who shall measure up to these standards. In the next chapter we have ventured to suggest a system of training for citizenship that is open to most of us, and that would be interesting and profitable for those who have the faith to follow it.

Discussion

1. Propagandism is an organized effort to impress upon the public certain opinions. These opinions, with the arguments in favor of

them, are called propaganda. Do you believe in propagandism? Why?

2. In its best sense propaganda is merely material that is being distributed for the education of the public. It is an effective way of forming public opinion. Has any one a right to try to form public opinion? Do you believe in propaganda in favor of war? against war? in favor of prohibition? against prohibition? In all discussions of public policy the voter is entitled to hear both sides, and should wish to. Does propaganda ever present both sides with impartiality?

3. Recently bond issues totaling hundreds of millions of dollars were proposed in a certain city. The matter was to be voted on at the next election. Do voters usually approve or disapprove of this painless method of taxation? Certain public-spirited organizations who were appalled at the steady increase in indebtedness of the city prepared a statement of the arguments against these issues, and circularized the entire body of voters. The vote against the issue was decisive. Was this a justifiable method of forming public opinion?

4. Suppose that instead of public-spirited citizens men with selfish interests at stake send out skilful propaganda against a very good proposition. How can the public protect itself? Can't the other side also issue propaganda? Suppose one side has money and the other side has none. Is the side that controls money always the one that has right and justice on its side? Does it cost anything to educate the public to an idea? Do you respect anonymous letters? Would you give full respect to anonymous propaganda?

5. In recent years there has been an increasing tendency for our newspapers to combine. A paper that commands money will buy up all its hard-pressed competitors. Do you see any bad effect that this might have upon the reading public?

6. Do the two or three cents that we pay for a daily paper pay the expenses of that paper? What does pay the expense?

7. Ordinarily the success of a paper depends upon its circulation. There was a period during the War that the more copies of the paper were sold, the more money the owners of the paper lost. How could this be possible? Remember how it is that newspapers make their money.

8. A diplomat, whose business it was to keep himself correctly informed as to the way that public opinion in the country was drift-

ing, made the statement that there was only one department of the paper that reflected it correctly, and that was the "humorous column." The other parts of the paper are not reflecting the opinion of the people; they are trying to form it. Under what circumstances is a newspaper justified in propagandizing?

9. "Facts are painful to some, and very dull to the rest of the world." Can you name any individuals or groups to whom facts might be painful?

10. Is it easy to repeat, with absolute accuracy, a story that you have heard? Is it easy to describe a scene or an incident accurately? Does the ordinary man have the power to do this if he wishes? Can this power be developed?

11. Is there any temptation to twist facts or to embroider them in telling a story? Give several motives that might induce a person to tell a story without any great attempt at accuracy.

12. If most people are inaccurate without intending to be, and many people are inaccurate because the account in its revised form suits their purposes better, is it a simple matter to get facts from hearsay?

13. Let one member of the class read a good, lively anecdote with which the class is not familiar. Ask the class to write this same anecdote immediately after it has been read. Test the power of accuracy in reproducing that the class has.

14. Read to the class an account of some interesting experiment. The account should contain a few statistics of a sort easily remembered. The next day ask the class to write an account of the experiment. Test the class for accuracy.

15. Take a class on some short excursion. When they have returned, ask each member to write what he saw on this trip. Let the class see the wide variation in the answers.

16. We all live in the same world. Do we all see the same world? Julius Caesar says that men usually believe what they want to believe. Is this an attitude to encourage in oneself?

17. Are all experts disinterested? Are experts paid? Might experts also permit themselves to believe what they wish to believe? In a given situation there are often two sets of facts, one pointing clearly in one direction, one in the other direction. In a murder trial in which insanity is the plea for the defense, which set of facts will the

experts see who are hired by the defense? Do you begin to see the meaning of such words as clear thinking, straight thinking, intellectual honesty?

18. How many weekly publications can you name that discuss public affairs?

19. "You can sell an idea to the people in the same way that you sell them any other commodity, from a Liberty bond to a breakfast food."—MUNRO. Suggest the process. Can you give examples of any ideas that have been sold to the people?

CHAPTER XXX

AMERICANS TOMORROW

> "The man who demands the facts, who is willing to stand or fall by the facts, who forms his convictions deliberately and adheres to them tenaciously, who courts patient inquiry and 'plays fair,' is a tower of strength in any group to which he may be related."
>
> CHARLES E. HUGHES.

The course of action which we outline below requires steadiness of purpose, patience, self-control, and far-sightedness. If it does not demand a devotion to country wholly unselfish, it certainly requires enlightened selfishness. And yet, after thirty years of close acquaintance with young people of high school and college age, we have the courage to suggest it. Lord Bryce has said that there is "the existence in the American people of a reserve of force and patriotism more than sufficient to sweep away all the evils which are now tolerated, and to make the politics of the country worthy of its material grandeur and of the private virtues of its inhabitants." If an Englishman, of rich experience with democratic governments, faintly disillusioned by the events of a long lifetime in the public service, could soberly express so kind a faith in the American people, surely we Americans should blush to show a meaner spirit. We therefore suggest this plan of training for citizenship. It is, at least, something definite and concrete.

Let every graduate of a high school or college decide that during the years from twenty to thirty he will take a post-graduate course in citizenship. Let him say to

himself that he is giving this in return for the opportunities which he has had, opportunities which would have been rare in any country with a less generous policy toward its young citizens than the United States has had. He might add that he is ready to give this time to a study of his government because of his firm belief that he will continue to profit personally from living under a wise and efficient government; and because of his earnest desire that his children may never be denied the opportunities that he has had.

Let him, then, enroll in a course in practical politics. Let him decide that he will devote to this course an equivalent of two evenings a week—four hours a week, at least—for ten years. The object of this course should be:

1. To broaden his own life, and give him something to think about other than his routine work.
2. To give him a better understanding of human nature, and to aid him in establishing contacts with a larger number of people than he otherwise would. This will not merely give him personal satisfaction, but should react favorably upon his everyday task of making a living.
3. To give him an actual knowledge of his government. Although this has been given last, it is the most compelling reason of the three. There are other ways in which the first two ends may be reached.

A clear understanding of one's government is necessary to a good citizen. No man who is in favor of democratic government can justify himself in maintaining an attitude of complacent ignorance toward his own govern-

ment. A man who clearly understands the way in which his government is actually run is in a position to influence to some extent that government; to save it when it is in danger from enemies from within. During the Great War we heard a great deal about "doing our bit." Life was made very uncomfortable for any man who did not respond promptly to the demand upon his energy, his strength, his purse, or even his life. Perhaps there is as real a need for us to do our bit now, to save the world to democracy, though the brass bands have departed and the flag-waving has died down.

The plan of the course each person will enjoy working out for himself. It will differ with different personalities, and in different communities. Some general suggestions can be made.

1. During this entire ten years the student's task is to learn and to observe and to listen, not to instruct or to attempt to reform. It is questionable whether even the humblest suggestions would be wise until after a long period of apprenticeship.

2. One feature of the course is systematic reading. This may include;

a. Books of recognized merit on government. Draw them from the public library to try them out. Buy one a month. You will have an interesting case of books at the end of your apprenticeship.

b. Current magazine articles on either men or measures. In connection with this you might find it interesting to keep some record, a small card catalogue perhaps, in which you list accurately the articles read, and give a

very brief summary of each. Or you might make an old-fashioned scrapbook, and paste in it statistics that interest you. In the later years you may arrive at the dignity of a filing cabinet. Remember that facts are a useful and dignified foundation for arguments.

c. A good weekly paper which is known to give intelligent comment on current politics. Change occasionally. The author has in mind such papers as the *Springfield Republican* and the *Manchester Guardian.*

d. Two daily papers, of opposite political views.

e. The published pronouncements of leading men and women of any political party, and of any country.

3. Another feature of the course might be the regular attendance at public meetings at which prominent men and women appear. Go, and listen to them all, no matter of what faith. It is an education to hear a great union leader, as well as a great engineer or financier. Never be afraid of facts.

4. Some benefit and instruction, and some profit, may be got from visiting the various governmental bodies: Congress, the Supreme Court, the State Capitol, the County Board, the City Council, the City Hall, the meetings of the Board of Education.

5. Incidental contact with practical politics, and some good training, as well as opportunity for service, are afforded by the various organizations for bettering local conditions, such as local improvement associations and social settlements.

6. Active work in the machine. This is the end toward which much of the other work is directed. Remember that close attention to what is going on, prompt obedience to directions, and absolute silence as to your own point of view will be your rôle for the early years. You are there to learn, first-hand, exactly how the machine works.

There is enormous power in organization—in organized business, organized political work, organized charity, organized crime. Mr. Lippmann uses the phrase "organized intelligence," and makes a convincing plea for it. You all know how much can be accomplished by your school organizations: a small organization will get much more done for the school than a large number of well-meaning individuals without organization. Perhaps it is deluding oneself to suppose that all over the United States, in hundreds of schools, there might be formed from the young people about to be graduated groups who wished to join in some course in citizenship. If the number of those who had the courage to continue the work slowly dwindled, there would still be strength and power in those who were left.

Some day the story may be told of a half-dozen gallant young men who had a crusading spirit and a fine love of adventure, and who, with no weapons other than their brains and their courage and their invincible honesty, tackled the job of running down the graft and extravagance and mismanagement in one of the greatest of our American cities. The brilliant success of many of their efforts would read like a happy fairy tale. The dignified bureaus of municipal research which are attacking in a patient, scientific spirit many of the problems of our

cities owe much of their success to a few gay spirits who cannot be bought and who have enlisted in their ranks.

The Emperor Augustus is said to have boasted that he found Rome a city of brick, and left it a city of marble. It would be a proud boast for this generation just being graduated from our high schools if they could say that they found the United States a country with an army of three hundred and fifty thousand criminals, in which there was a more or less open partnership between politics and crime; a country dotted with groups of unassimilated foreigners filled with discontent; a country in which the government was slipping gradually out of the hands of the people: and that they gave it back to the people, united the native-born and the foreign-born, and left it contented, law-abiding, and prosperous.

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

I. No election, local, state, or national, should be allowed to pass unnoticed. Attention should be called to the fact that such an election is taking place, and discussions of the candidates and the issues should be permitted.

In such discussions a thorough grasp of the situation on the part of the pupils—or of the teachers—is scarcely to be expected. On the other hand, it is quite possible to encourage and develop a spirit of fairness, moderation, and mutual courtesy. Debunking should be encouraged from the first year—an alert, intelligent suspicion toward partisan appeals or appeals to prejudice.

In all discussions on debatable questions care must be taken that each side be encouraged to present its case. Presentation of facts should be encouraged rather than mere expression of opinion unsupported by facts. As a rule the teacher will maintain an attitude of receptive audience, with a well-trained mind, but no preconceived opinions.

II. A bulletin board in each classroom may be found of interest. On this bulletin board pupils may be encouraged to display clever political cartoons, striking headlines on the political situation, pictures of candidates, editorial articles, sample ballots, results of elections, graphs that the pupils themselves have made to illustrate points which they wish to emphasize, lists of articles in recent periodicals that have interested them along the lines of study that the class is pursuing, etc.

III. The Glossary of terms in common use in political discussions is to be used at the discretion of the teacher. It will be possible for some classes to understand very well the meaning of every word in the list by the end of the year. Some classes will use it for discussion. Some will use it merely for occasional reference.

IV. In each year some information should be given as to

the correct routine in the conduct of a public meeting. No high school pupil should be totally ignorant of such facts as the following:

1. That a person rising to speak in a public meeting should address the chairman, and should be duly recognized by the chairman.

2. That a motion requires a second.

3. That there should be but one motion at a time before the house.

4. That the chairman is not expected to speak for or against motions, and that a running comment from the chair is in very bad form.

5. That voting by acclamation should not be overdone; that the ballot protects the right of the individual to a free expression of opinion.

6. That no matter how nearly unanimous the yeas may seem, the chairman should punctiliously call for the negative vote.

7. That for all money collected by any group for any purpose a detailed accounting should be given at frequent intervals by the custodian of the fund.

All elections of class officers, all class meetings, all class business should be conducted by the pupils with the most careful attention to the proper routine which has been established for conducting business in any public meeting. Some instruction should be given in the simplest rules of parliamentary law, and, if time permits, lively drill in this. Such drill is a source of amusement and profit to the pupils.

It is good practice to ask a class to try its hand at drafting a constitution for some society, real or imaginary. Printed constitutions of well-organized clubs are easily obtained as models. The usual form in which the minutes of a club are kept and the form of a treasurer's report are useful bits of information for young people.

GLOSSARY

Appellate. Some courts have the right to give another trial to cases that have been tried in lower courts. The one who has lost his case in the lower court appeals to the higher court for justice. Courts having the right to try appealed cases have appellate jurisdiction.

Arbitration is the practice of attempting to settle a dispute or disagreement by referring it for decision to impartial persons not directly interested. Ordinarily each party to the dispute selects an arbitrator and these two select a third. The three form a board of arbitration.

Autocracy is a condition of affairs in which one person manages or directs with none who dare dispute his decisions. If harshness and intolerance are not qualities of an autocracy, we do not think of it as an autocracy.

Bankruptcy. Sometimes a business man finds that he can no longer pay his bills. He is insolvent. He goes into court, or is brought in by those to whom he owes money. The court declares him bankrupt and turns over his property to his creditors. They accept this as payment in full. This lets him out of bankruptcy and he can start in business again without owing a cent, according to law.

Does the moral obligation still remain to pay his creditors in full? Some high-minded men who have been fortunate in business after they have gone through bankruptcy have paid their former creditors, though there was no legal obligation to do so.

Bimetallism. A policy of government regarding money. It has the following conditions. (For convenience the word **dollar** is used for the monetary unit.)

There must be in circulation, or available for circulation, silver dollars and gold coins as we have them now.

There must be a dollar's worth of silver in the silver dollar. The value of the gold in the gold coins must equal the face value of the coins.

Any person may have his bulk gold or bulk silver coined for him at a mint. He may receive the coins made from it or a draft from the government, as he wishes. If there is a fee for coining, he must pay the fee.

The silver dollar must always be a definite number of times heavier than the gold dollar. Before 1873, when the United States gave up bimetallism, this ratio was 16 to 1.

Both kinds of coins must be accepted in payment of debts unless the contract reads otherwise. Courts will enforce this provision in cases brought before them.

No nation now has bimetallism.

Blacklist. Sometimes a corporation or other employer prepares a list of persons whom it will not employ. It sends this list to other employers. Such a list is a blacklist.

Bolshevism. (1) The name given to the theory or policy of the Russian government after the Revolution of 1917. The plan of government is communism. This implies government control of all means of production; also that all property is owned in common.

A part of the Bolshevist plan is to try to start revolutions in other countries, to overthrow what the Bolshevists call capitalistic government, and to bring in the dictatorship of the wage-earners.

(2) A term abusively applied to any idea in government or business that endangers privilege.

Boycott. A boycott is an organized refusal, generally a refusal to buy certain goods or to buy from certain dealers. The purpose is to punish or coerce.

Budget. A budget is a carefully itemized estimate of expenditures, generally for the coming year. On the basis of budgets legislative bodies make appropriations and determine the rate and policy of taxation.

Bureaucracy is the arbitrary administration of a department of government by permanently appointed officials, not under close supervision and not directly responsible to the people.

Charter. (1) A city charter is in reality an act of a legislature establishing the form of government of the city and defining its powers.

(2) Permission to do business granted to two kinds of corporations: one "for profit" and the other "not for profit." It sets limits on the business or activity in which a corporation may engage.

Checks and balances. The restraints which each of the three departments of our national government exercises on the others form a system of checks and balances.

The President checks Congress with his veto power.

Congress checks the President by passing measures over his veto.

One House of Congress may vote against the other.

The Senate may refuse to approve nominations made by the President.

Only the lower house may originate revenue and appropriation bills.

The Supreme Court has declared certain laws passed by Congress unconstitutional. Congress may increase the size of the Supreme Court by adding new judges who will decide against the others.

The **Civil Service** consists of the great body of clerks, employees, and minor officials on the government pay roll. It does not include persons in the Army and Navy, and laborers.

A **closed shop** is one in which only union members are employed.

Collective bargaining is the fixing of wage rates by the employer in conference with the employees or their representatives. It is in contrast with fixing wages by personal contract with each workman.

Commonwealth is a sonorous name applied to a state.

Communism is a form of society in which there is no personal ownership of property. Everything is owned in common. All business is carried on by the government. Communism existed for a short time in the

colonies of Jamestown and Plymouth, early in the history of this country. There are no cases of the permanent success of communism.

Condemnation is an order of a court allowing governmental bodies and public service corporations (especially railroads) to take land that the owner is unwilling to sell. The owner is paid a fair price for the land.

Conservation (of natural resources). The policy of preventing the waste of timber, minerals, water power, land, soil, fish, game, man power, and other gifts of nature is called conservation.

A university definition is: "Maximum utilization with minimum waste."

Conservative. A person who believes in keeping things as they are, who opposes change, is a conservative.

Conservatism is a name given to the body of opinions held by conservatives.

Constituent. Every representative, whether alderman, member of the lower house of Congress, or member of a state legislature, who is elected from a district is elected by the votes of persons in that district. All voters in that district are the constituents of that representative.

Contempt of court is disregard of an order of a judge, or conduct that shows disrespect for a court.

Corrupt practices. The expenditure of unduly large sums of money to elect a candidate to office. Corrupt practices acts are laws passed by legislatures (and Congress) intended to control campaign expenses.

Defendant. A person who is sued at law is the defendant in that suit.

Despotism. (1) Tyrannical control or rule is despotism. (2) An autocracy or tyrannical monarchy is a despotism.

Elector. As used in Article I, Section 2, of the Constitution the word means **voter.**

It also means a presidential elector, as provided for in Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution.

Eminent domain. The right of eminent domain is the right to take any land for a public purpose on paying the owner. Governmental bodies and public service corporations (especially railroads) have this right. It is exercised by a process in court called condemnation.

Executive session. A session of a house of a legislative body or of a committee of it that is not open to the public is an executive session. When a member moves that "we go into executive session," all outsiders should start immediately for the doors. Do not wait to be invited to leave.

Extradition. The surrender by one state (or nation) to another of a person accused of a crime committed in the first state is extradition.

Fascism is the name given to the ideas of the group controlling (1929) the Italian government under the leadership of a man named Mussolini.

Federal government in this country means the United States Government. State government is in contrast with federal.

Filibuster. Any conduct of a member or a group of members of a legislative body that is intended to prevent or delay progress to a vote is called a filibuster. This abuse is not common except in the Senate of the United States.

Fiscal. The adjective **fiscal** means **pertaining to the revenue or income.** Less definitely, it means **financial.** The fiscal year of the United States government ends on the thirtieth of June.

A fiscal year can begin on any day of the year. The fiscal year for most businesses is the same as the calendar year, which begins on the first of January.

Franchise. A grant by a government to a public service corporation of the right to use streets, roads, and alleys in their business is a franchise. Telephone, gas, electric, trolley, and other companies that permanently occupy parts of our streets must have franchises in order to carry on business legally.

Franking is sending letters and other things by mail free. Government business through the mails is franked. Many congressmen use the franking privilege freely in sending campaign material to the voters of their districts. Some do not.

Free Trade. A nation that admits goods from other countries free of tax or with a low tax enjoys Free Trade.

The gold standard. Any of the paper money issued by the United States Government can be exchanged for gold on demand. The government will also redeem in gold every silver dollar. Gold is, therefore, the standard of money value in this country.

Gold is the most desirable form of material wealth in one particular: it can be exchanged for anything that is for sale more readily than can any other article.

Paper money falls in value if the nation issuing it has not adopted the gold standard.

Graft is a term applied to money obtained by public officials for which the public receives no equivalent. Abuse of the franking privilege is a form of petty graft. Generous distribution of passes on the railroads was formerly another source of petty graft. The awarding of contracts at unreasonably high prices is a very common form. Protection of criminals for a consideration is not unknown. Payment for material not needed, sometimes never delivered, is another practice of grafters. Members of legislatures are sometimes kept on the pay roll of large companies who have a vital interest in pending legislation. It is easy for you to give other examples.

Habeas corpus is an order of a judge directing that a prisoner be brought into court. The purpose of this is that a prisoner be given an immediate hearing, to find out whether he should be held for trial or released. This hearing prevents the indefinite detention of a prisoner in jail awaiting a trial that his enemies never intend he shall have.

Human equation. In every problem involving persons or society we ob-

serve that certain traits of human nature are factors. The play of these factors in a problem is the human equation.

Impeachment is the accusing of a person in office of some official act, not necessarily a crime, that is contrary to the laws or Constitution. In the national government the accusation can be made only by a vote of the House of Representatives. It is followed by a trial in the Senate.

Initiative. In some of our states and in some countries the voters, at an election, may direct the legislature to take up at the next session the question of passing a certain law.

In a slightly different form the initiative may allow the voters to pass "over the head" of the legislature a measure which the legislature has refused to pass.

The initiative has had a fair degree of success in Switzerland.

Injunction. An injunction is an order of a court to a person or a group of persons directing them to refrain from certain acts. Violation of the order means immediate imprisonment, without a trial, for contempt of court.

Invisible government. The term "the invisible government" was first used by Elihu Root. He explained it as meaning "government controlled by forces which operate beneath the surface, unseen by the eyes of men."

Control of men in office by organized business and by other groups is another form of the invisible government. See *The Invisible Government* by W. B. Munro.

Left. In many parliaments in Europe members of the minority party are seated on the presiding officer's left. The Socialists have so often been so small a minority in these parliaments that they were described in our papers regularly as "the Extreme Left." The term has been accepted. The ordinary explanation that the Conservatives are seated on the right and their opponents on the left is easily reconciled with the above. The Conservatives are in the majority nearly all the time, and in any case outnumber any other group.

Liberal. A person who is constantly seeking to improve government and trying to strengthen its weak points by changes is a liberal. He should be a good loser.

Limitation of output. Some unions forbid members to do more than a fixed amount of work in a day. In Britain the union rule is that a brick-mason can lay only three hundred bricks in a day. This is known as limitation of output. The purpose is to prevent the men from being driven, to make work for more men, and to prolong employment.

Lobbying is trying to persuade members of legislatures, city councils, Congress, etc., to vote for or against certain bills or ordinances. Lobbying is done at capitals—even in legislative halls.

Not all lobbying is bad. Lobby whenever you have a good measure to work for. Your representative and other representatives wish to know what their constituents think about a measure.

See Kent, *The Great Game of Politics*, Chapter XLV.

Lockout. When an employer refuses to hire his workmen on the terms they have asked, he "locks" his factory and stops production. A lockout is a strike by the employer who refuses to employ his men on the terms that they demand.

Logrolling. In Congress there is passed at nearly every session a bill appropriating money for expenditure in the district of each member. This expenditure in the district of each member is not intended primarily to benefit the district. The money is to be spent with "the right people," and thus becomes the member's reward for having been good—that is, for having voted as the party leaders have dictated.

Any member who criticizes any item in a pork-barrel bill will find that the item for his district has been stricken out. That means that he may not be reëlected, for the "right people" back home wish expenditure of government money in their district. If a member cannot bring back the "pork," he will not have a very good chance of being returned to Congress.

Logrolling is the coöperation of members in passing appropriation bills of the type described above. In early days settlers helped one another to roll logs into piles for burning.

Machine. A group of politicians who dominate a party. The machine operates, with no effort at publicity, to control the expenditure of government money and to distribute positions on the government pay roll. Its power rests on a large number of unthinking voters.

Merchant marine. The merchant marine of the United States consists of all the ships flying our flag that are engaged in commerce to and from our seaports.

Militarism. (1) "A disposition to provide for the strength and safety of a nation by maintaining strong military forces."

(2) "The spirit and temper which exalts the military virtues and ideals and minimizes the defects of military training and the cost of war and preparations for it." Both definitions are from Funk and Wagnalls' *Standard Dictionary*.

Minimum wage laws. Some states have passed laws that it is illegal to pay certain classes of employees less than a stated amount of wages. The classes thus provided for are, among others, women and children. The laws are intended to protect those whose bargaining power is weak.

Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine is a policy of the United States. It maintains that European powers are to keep out of North and South America. It was formulated (1823) by John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State under President Monroe.

Open shop. An open shop is a factory in which there is no discrimination against a workman or employee because of his being union or nonunion.

Ordinance. Ordinances are the laws passed by city councils.

Pair. When a bill is to come up for a vote in either house of a legislative body, it sometimes happens that a member knows that he will be unable to be present when the vote is taken. He finds some member who plans

to vote on the opposite side, but who also must be absent or wishes to be absent at the vote. These two agree not to vote on the measure. Thus there is one less vote for the measure and one less vote against it.

This arrangement is called pairing. The two members are paired. There is a pair. A pair is a part of the record in case the journal gives the names of members voting for or against the bill.

Patronage is a collective term which includes offices available for distribution by the party leaders to party workers and heelers.

Picket. A picket is a striker or a friend of a striker who is stationed near the factory or place of employment in time of strike. The purpose of the picket is to observe who apply for work, to notice who are employed, and to attempt to dissuade prospective employees from seeking work in the factory while there is a strike. They sometimes seek to gain the sympathy of the public for the strikers. Sometimes there is violence connected with picketing. Sometimes one side is responsible for the violence, sometimes the other.

Plaintiff. The one who begins a lawsuit is the plaintiff. He makes the complaint. He alleges that he is the aggrieved or injured party.

Platform. A political platform is a statement of principles for campaign purposes. The party makes the statement or enumeration of principles in its platforms, and alleges that it will be guided by them if it is victorious in the coming election.

A conventional excuse for not keeping the promises made in a platform is that "conditions have changed." It has been said that a political platform, like a trolley platform, is made "to get in on, not to stand on."

Pocket veto. See Constitution, Article I, Section 7. If a President wishes to veto a bill, he must do so within ten days after the bill is presented to him for signature, or it will become a law in spite of him. In the case of bills passed in the last ten days of a session, he may, if he chooses, merely fail to sign, in which case the bill fails to become a law. This is, in effect, equivalent to a veto, and is called a pocket veto.

Pork barrel is a term applied to a bill in Congress appropriating money to be spent on improvements in the districts of the congressmen. Every member is supposed to support the bill, no matter how unnecessary some of the improvements are. The primary purpose is not to make the improvements, but to make public money available to the congressmen. Any member who opposes any item in a pork-barrel bill endangers his political future.

Profiteering is selling at prices that are higher than they should be. Sellers can get such prices when they are in a position to take advantage of the necessities and misfortunes of others.

Propaganda is a name given to an organized and systematic effort to persuade the public to favor or to disapprove certain things which had not previously been brought to their attention.

It takes the form of speeches and lectures, generally by paid propagandists, pamphlets mailed to thousands of persons, newspaper articles signed or unsigned, news items, and magazine articles.

Its purpose is to create and arouse public opinion so as to make action easier on the issue involved. It differs from any great public movement in that, as a rule, it is designed to benefit those who are paying for it rather than the public at large.

Protection, protective tariff. The protective tariff is a tax placed on certain goods imported into this country, with the purpose of giving our own manufacturers an advantage over foreign competitors. The tariff protects the manufacturers.

Public utilities. Custom lists the following businesses as public utilities: gas, electricity, telephone, trolley lines. Custom omits from this list railways and water service, which are really public utilities. Public utilities should be, and generally are, monopolies. They must have a grant of power from city, state, or nation because they use or cross public highways. They are all capable of earning profits.

Radical. The term radical is applied to a person who believes that government and society can be made rapidly better by changes in government. A radical is more extreme than a liberal.

Reaction means a tendency to return to things as they were. One who believes in reaction is called a reactionary. He is a little more conservative than a conservative.

Recall. The recall is a device for removing an official from office before the end of his term. Under the laws in some states, dissatisfied citizens may petition for the removal of an elected official. If the petition is successful, a special election is held. One of the candidates is the official whose recall has been demanded. If he is defeated at this special election, he leaves office, even though his term has not expired. He is recalled.

Referendum. Sometimes it is not known whether a majority of the voters in a district favor a proposed bond issue or improvement. Correct information on the question can be obtained by referring it to the voters at an election. If a majority of the voters vote in favor of the measure, the officials are in a position to proceed with it as the law allows.

The voting on a measure is called a referendum. A referendum differs from an election in being a vote for or against a measure, while an election is a voting for or against a candidate.

Repeater. A repeater is a man who, contrary to law, votes more than once at an election.

Revenue tariff. A tariff is a tax. If the purpose of the tax is to produce income for the government, it is called a revenue tariff, or "a tariff for revenue only." If the sole purpose of a tariff is to procure money for the expenses of government, the rates will not be high. Every revenue tariff serves also as a protective tariff.

Rider. Sometimes a group of members of Congress wish a certain measure passed, but are afraid to put it in a bill by itself. They are not sure that it will pass. They sometimes proceed as follows. Let us suppose that an appropriation bill is in preparation which, among other things, votes to the members their salaries for the coming year. By great skill those who are interested in the pet measure mentioned above induce the committee preparing the salary bill to insert in the salary bill the measure which they wish. The salary bill passes both Houses unanimously and without delay, and the pet measure rides through on its back. Find the rider.

The Right. In parliaments in many countries of Europe it is the custom for members who belong to the majority party to sit on the right of the presiding officer. The Right is the party in power, generally the Conservatives. We associate The Right with the Conservatives.

Rotation in office. Under the spoils system office-holders are turned out when the party in power loses an election. Vacancies thus created are filled with office-seekers from the victorious party. If this party loses at the next election, its office-holders are turned out to create vacancies which are filled with appointees from the winning party. This policy is rotation in office.

Sabotage is generally described as a strike conducted by workmen who do not leave their jobs. It sometimes takes the form of injury to machinery and goods. Limitation of output results from sabotage. Sometimes employers wish to limit the output.

Scab. A scab is an employee who takes the place of a striker.

Sectionalism. Sectionalism is a feeling of devotion to one section of the country and the peculiar interests of that section, without regard to the interests of the country as a whole.

The word has been most often used to name the feeling of the North toward the South and the South toward the North. It has, however, a broader significance. There is sectionalism on the subjects of farm relief, prohibition, the tariff, manufacturing, transportation, development of water power, flood-control, and the exclusion of immigrants.

Senatorial courtesy. According to the Constitution, the President sends to the Senate for confirmation the names of higher government officials whom he has to appoint. The Senate confirms or rejects these appointments. If a senator of the majority party in the Senate objects to a nomination for an office in his state, the other senators of the majority party will vote to reject that nomination. This support of a senator by other senators and against the President is called senatorial courtesy.

Shop. See **Closed shop, Open shop.**

Short Ballot. The short ballot is a proposed reform which would do away with the bewildering number of candidates whose names appear on every ballot, by which intelligent voting is made difficult, if not impossible. The plan of those who advocate the short ballot is that the people shall vote only for men to fill the important offices; that these

men, chosen by the people and responsible to the people, shall fill all minor offices by appointment.

Slogan originally meant a war cry. It is a short, vigorous phrase or sentence for use in political or other campaigns. It must be good enough or catchy enough to stand endless repetition. Its meaning must be so simple that it is within the comprehension of the feeblest intellect. In controversies, no matter how important the issues, it is an effective substitute for thought.

Slush fund. It was once a practice to collect a sum of money to be distributed among certain members of a legislative body or to unprincipled voters, to influence their votes. Such money was called a slush fund.

Socialism is a proposed reorganization of society by which its adherents hope to increase the average of happiness among people. Many socialists believe that "man's inhumanity to man" is caused by the pursuit of personal financial gain. To do away with the pursuit of profits, they propose to have all important businesses operated by the government.

Split ticket. To vote a split ticket is to vote for some candidates of one's own party and some of other parties.

Spoils system. The spoils system is a system by which posts and offices in government are given to members of the winning party as a reward for campaign work. The vacancies are created by turning out of offices the persons who held them.

Statute. Any law passed by Congress or by a legislature is a statute. A statute is a law.

Straight ticket. To vote a straight ticket is to vote for the candidates of only one party.

Strike. A strike is a refusal by the employees to continue work until the employer has granted certain demands that they have made. In a strike the employees maintain that they still hold their jobs.

Surtax. A surtax is an additional tax imposed on those who, by reason of huge profits, are specially able to bear it.

Sympathetic strike. Sometimes workmen whose conditions of work are entirely satisfactory to them will strike to help another group whose working conditions are not satisfactory. Such action is called a sympathetic strike.

Tariff. A tariff is a tax on imports. Our government, by laws passed by Congress, lays this tax on certain goods brought into the country. The importer collects a profit on the tariff, just as he collects a profit on the goods he imports. A high tariff is permission to overcharge.

Vested interests are large businesses which are so well protected against competition that they can control the prices and the output of their products. In some cases they are protected by laws favorable to them.

Wall Street. Wall Street is a short street in the southern part of New York City. It is the largest financial center in the country.

Demagogues use the term in denouncing the abuses of capital, when they wish to send a shudder through their hearers.

For a thoughtful study of Wall Street and what it does in the financial world, see *Main Street and Wall Street*, by W. Z. Ripley.

Walkout. A walkout occurs when the employees leave work in a body. This is a manner of expressing dissatisfaction with their working conditions. They expect to return when the causes of their dissatisfaction have been removed.

INDEX