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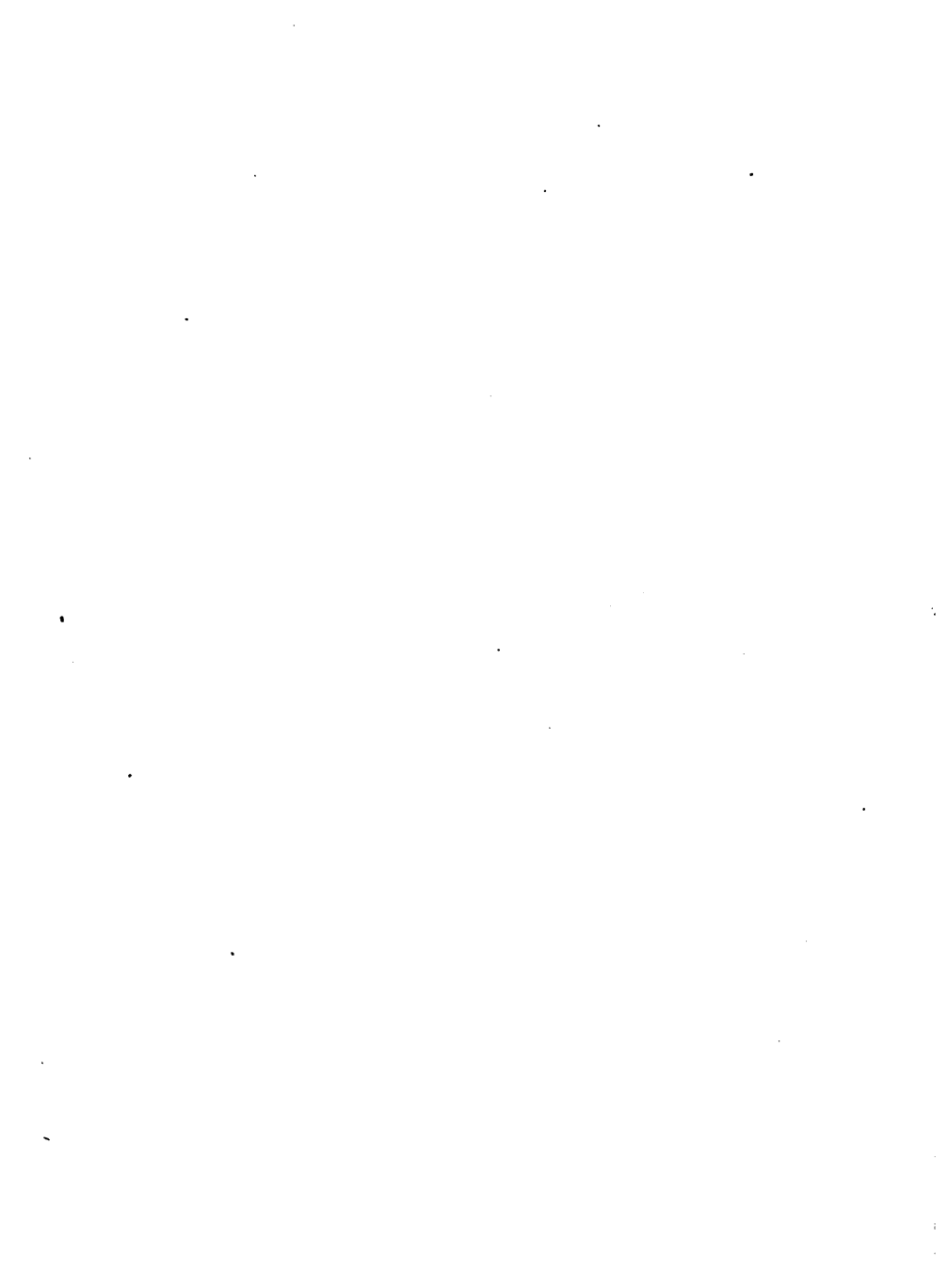


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ELEMENTARY CIVICS

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PREFACE

WE have not attempted to carry out any stereotyped idea of a text book in Civics. Our aim has been to give the child of the upper grammar grades such an understanding of his relation to other people as will make him a good citizen. That understanding can come only with a knowledge of the difficulties the human race has had in learning to live and work together. An appreciation of the advantages to him of the present stage of cooperation can be gained only with a knowledge of the slow and patient steps which have brought us to that stage. A zeal for carrying the human race still further forward in its ability to live and work together can be inspired in the hearts of all our children only when the advantages of the present and the future are made to stand out against the disadvantages of the past. It is faith that we all need; and by faith we mean the belief that we can bring to pass the good we desire for the human race.

We have told the story, therefore, of a few of the struggles which our ancestors have had in order to obtain and transmit to us some of the things which we now consider essential to our comfort and happiness. The child can grasp the idea of a mountain as early as he can grasp the phenomenon of erosion on that mountain. In the same way, he can grasp the great movements of society as easily as he can grasp the petty details of township or county organization. Big things, if taught as simply, are as easy to grasp as little things. If the child is ever to have the proper perspective he must see the great background against which the little details stand out.

We cannot afford to wait for the High School to pro-

vide the background, for that would bar all but the few. We cannot afford to leave it to the continuation schools, for they may be too busy and they, like the High School, do not reach all. We cannot afford to trust the child who has been studying history through the grades to make his own connection of that history with the present. But somewhere in the grades, before he is lost to the school world, we must help him to make it. That is what this book attempts to do.

It is not supposed that the pupils will be expected to memorize facts from this book. The chapters are for reading and discussion, and most of the questions call for thought and investigation rather than memorization. Some of the questions may be regarded as too difficult for some pupils. However, they will be suggestive to the teacher, who must use her own judgment as to the application. A comparison between American institutions and those foreign institutions out of which they have grown is made as often as possible. It cannot be done too often. No matter if the pupil does go to High School and to the University, and studies history, sociology and civil government, we do not fear that he can ever have too much of this sort of training for citizenship.

The authors desire to express their gratitude to Dr. Albert Leonard, Superintendent of Schools, New Rochelle, N. Y., Dr. John L. Tildsley, Principal of the High School of Commerce, New York, and Howard Strong, Secretary of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, for the time and care they have given to reviewing this manuscript, and for the helpful criticisms they have offered.

CHARLES McCARTHY.

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INTRODUCTION

ON the whole the teaching of civics in our public schools has been disappointing. There have been brilliant exceptions. Teachers, imaginative and resourceful, have here and there hit upon stimulating methods. Pupils have been taken to visit local institutions and have been led to examine the administration of them. In one town the school garden area is apportioned in accordance with the provisions of the Federal land law. In many places elections are held with all the formalities of legal balloting.

Devices like these ought not in themselves to be overestimated. They are significant of new ideals and a new spirit. The best teachers are rebelling against conventional methods and traditional text-books. Until recently these texts have dealt with the technicalities of political machinery. The vast majority of teachers have lacked the proper perspective and the first-hand contacts with community life and its problems.

A new conception is making its way into the teaching of citizenship. It is the philosophy of social evolution. Institutions are seen not as static, but as the outcome of past conditions, as serving a social purpose in a given situation, then as gradually modified in adjustment to new problems. This evolutionary point of view, which has transformed all the sciences and is so essential to an interpretation of social development, has been too exclusively a conception of higher, to some extent of secondary, education.

Moreover, political activities have been thought of too much as existing in and for themselves. There seems to have been an idea that governmental affairs could somehow be understood apart from the economic and social life of city, state, or nation. This fallacy of abstraction has too generally made civics a detached, mechanical, rather dull pursuit. There has been little appeal to imagination, and a failure to establish the causal connections which give any study vividness and vitality.

The present volume represents an attempt to make the study of government interesting and significant. The why as well as the how is emphasized. An historical background for modern conceptions of political activity is suggested. The concrete problems which have been forced upon city and state by the Industrial Revolution are presented in such a way as to command attention and challenge reflection. The community is represented as a living, growing, changing thing which is constantly reshaping and extending its political machinery to serve its changing and widening purposes.

The attempt to present these ideas to pupils in the upper grades of the elementary school is distinctly worth while. The authors have rendered a notable service in preparing a volume which ought to stimulate the new spirit of social interpretation, and provide the definite, concrete material with which such interpretation must deal. All friends of social science and all who are interested in the efficient teaching of civics in the public schools will warmly welcome this little book.

GEORGE E. VINCENT.

A WORD TO THE BOYS AND GIRLS WHO READ THIS BOOK

One hundred and thirty years ago, at the close of the American Revolution, Josiah Tucker, the learned Dean of Gloucester, said "As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire, under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their difference of governments, habits and manners indicate that they will have no centre of union and no common interest. *They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea and by vast rivers, lakes and ridges of mountains.*"

Every country and every age has its Josiah Tucker. Maybe you yourself are a Josiah Tucker. If you are, study this little book and stop being one. We want to produce men and women for America who will never say about a thing that is good, "It can't be done"; but who will say, "Let us see if somewhere it is not already done; if it is, we will learn there how to do it; if it is not, we will never stop until we ourselves find the way."



ELEMENTARY CIVICS

CHAPTER I

LIVING TOGETHER

The Strong Despoil the Weak. The savage family slept peacefully in its cave. They were all dreaming of the feast of deer's meat they were to have on the morrow. While they dreamed, a big cave dweller from the neighboring hills slunk through the dark woods towards the cave. A few minutes later he slunk back into the woods, bearing a heavy burden. When the family awoke there was consternation. Their feast had disappeared. It was the big robber again, they knew at once. It was too much. Three times they had been raided by this thief.

But what could they do? He was so strong that if the father of the family attacked him, the father would surely be killed, and then who would hunt deer for the family? The cave mother had a bright idea. "The next cave dweller," said she, "is not quite so strong as you. Why don't you compel him to help you fight that giant? You could conquer him, and together you could manage the giant."

"I'll do it," said the cave father, and he started at once.

The Weak Combine Against the Strong. The scheme worked smoothly. When the cave father had conquered

his weaker neighbor and the two together had the giant in their power, they decided that the giant might be a valuable ally against other enemies. So the three agreed to consider themselves as relatives, and to form a clan which would conquer other hostile individuals or groups.

Thus a strong man was made to respect the rights of the weak; and the strong and the weak alike learned that what an individual cannot do, the collected strength of many can do.

Civilization. States Grow Larger. When we study history, we study the steps which the human race has taken in learning to live together. We call the progress it makes "civilization." If we could continue to watch our savages, we should see that they progress in three directions. At first, the family group that slept in the cave was against every other family group, and expected attacks from other family groups at any time. The family was a little state all by itself. But by and by we find that this family has conquered or been conquered by another family or families, and that they all live peaceably with each other while at war with everyone else. The state has thus become a larger group; a clan. Follow them far enough down the road of civilization and you will find that clans have been welded into larger groups called tribes. Follow still further and you will find the tribes organized into cities, then cities organized into nations, and finally nations organized into great empires like the British and Russian empires today. Thus the number of people who can live peaceably together in one state is increasing; the state is growing larger.

More and More of the Citizens Desire to Take Part in Government. Our savages are progressing in a second way.

All the families in the neighborhood had suffered from the raids of the big cave man, but one family took the lead in his punishment, and that family became the ruling family of the clan. Follow the clan a little further and you will find that other families wish to help in making the plans as well as in doing the fighting. They think that if cooperation is more efficient than individual effort in fighting, it will also be more efficient in planning.

Activities of the State Constantly Widen. There is still a third direction in which our savages are progressing. When the two pursued the thief they were cooperating for the purpose of protection against violence. As time has passed they and their descendants—and we are their descendants—have learned to cooperate for many purposes other than protection against physical violence.

Three little children were playing "house" not long ago. A big chair stood where they wanted to locate their garden. Each tot tried again and again to move the chair. Finally two of them accidentally pushed it at the same time. They were surprised to see it move. They had learned a lesson in cooperation. Just so older people have learned to cooperate in order to build comfortable houses, good roads, and schools, to fight dirt and disease, and to do hundreds of things which they can do better together than they can do separately.

Our histories have emphasized the stories of the struggle of states to grow larger. We are going to spend most of our time talking about the progress we are making within the state, in extending self-government to more and more citizens of the state and in learning to do more and more things together which we once did separately. Before we

are ready to think about ourselves, however, we need to refresh our minds with the story of how we come to have self-government instead of one-man rule.

The Difficulties of Self-government. Self-government is easy in the family, because the group is small. Father, mother, and the older children can come together to talk things over. It is harder for the city, because it is more difficult for its citizens to come together to talk things over. It is still harder in a nation. The ancient Greeks learned how to let all the free men of the city take part in the government of the city so long as their number permitted them to assemble in one meeting place. The Romans founded a larger state than the Greeks had done, and they were unable to work out a plan by which all the free men of the empire could take part in governing themselves. In many cities of the Roman Empire the free men governed, but that was the extent of democracy in the Roman Empire.

Since it was so difficult to have self-government in a large state, how does it happen that although the world is being united into larger and larger states, these states are growing more democratic?

Self-government in a Large State Made Possible by the Representative System. The device which made that possible is representative government, i.e., government through a small number of people selected by the real rulers, the mass of the people, to put into operation the will of the latter. For this device we are indebted to the Teutonic immigrants into the Roman Empire. Different groups of these Teutons, such as the French, the Dutch and the Germans have worked out various forms of representative government. The form which is most copied by the rest of the world,

however, is the form which was worked out by the group which settled in the island of Britain, now England. That is why we have to study England a while before we are ready to understand our own or any other form of government.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER I

1. What is civilization?
2. Are you civilized? Prove it.
3. In what directions does civilization seem to be moving?
4. In which stage is your state—the family, clan, tribe, city, or nation stage? Prove it. Give examples of people in each of the other stages.
5. Would you rather be in the family stage or the nation stage? Why?
6. What do we call a state in which one person is permitted by the people to manage their affairs? Would you like to live in a state like that? Why?
7. What do we call a state in which many of the people help to manage their affairs? Would you like to live in a state like that? Why? In which of these two states would the amount of intelligence used in government be greater? Why?
8. Would you be ruled better by a king?
9. Read this description of the great ruler of the Roman Empire, **Marcus Aurelius**, by the historian **Bury**:

“To come to the aid of the weak, to mitigate the lot of slaves, to facilitate manumission, to protect wards, were the objects of **Marcus** as of his predecessor.”

Now read this paragraph from **West's Ancient World**:

“The five good emperors end with **Marcus Aurelius**. His son, **Commodus**, was an infamous wretch who repeated the crimes and follies of the worst of his predecessors. He was finally murdered by his officers.”

Which is better, a monarchy or a democracy? Why?

CHAPTER II

HOW ENGLAND WORKED OUT REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT FOR THE WORLD

The English. Nobody sat down and thought out the scheme of representative government and then put it into practice. The English stumbled upon it, in a way. The English consist of a layer of Celts whom the Romans conquered and civilized, and then three layers of Teutons, or Germans. The first German layer was put on in the fifth century when the Angles, Saxons and Jutes migrated to England; the second set of Germans, the Danes, arrived in the ninth century, just as the first set had succeeded in welding itself into one group and had absorbed much of the Roman civilization which they found there. Three hundred years later, in 1066, when the Danes and Saxons had become one nation, the third and last Germanic people, the Normans, arrived. As each people had come, they had found the inhabitants united under landlords to whom and to whose castles they looked for protection against the invaders. Each conquest meant a change of landlords, for the conquerors took the castles and lands into their possession. So when the Normans came in 1066, William the Conqueror turned out the landlords and made his own friends lords of the castles as fast as he took possession of them.

Self-government for the English Landlords. It had been the custom among the German tribes before they moved into

the Roman Empire, and it continued to be their custom afterwards, for the leader or king to call together all the chief men of the tribe for consultation on important matters, such as deciding upon war, and determining the amount of provisions to be furnished by each. Since these chief men were given the large estates, they became great landlords; so that when the king called together his great council he really called a meeting of all the landlords. In the feudal period, practically everyone held land from a lord, so that the king thus reached everyone in his kingdom. When the king had subdued England thoroughly, he began to make war upon other countries: upon France, and upon the Turks. On account of these distant wars the necessity for calling the Great Council became more frequent, as did the demands upon the landlords for money in place of provisions. Some of the great landlords began to sell off their land in order to get money to go to war or to buy the comforts and luxuries with which contact with Europe and Asia made them acquainted. Thrifty peasants thus had a chance to become small landowners.

Representation for the Small Farmer. Much land was sold, and the small landowners were freed from the power of the landlords. Consequently, when the king called together a Great Council of his landlords, there was a large number of peasant owners whom he never reached. This would not do, but of course not all these small landowners could be called in: the assembly would be too large. As a solution to this problem in 1253 the small landowners in each county were directed to send one of their number to meet with the great landlords.

Representation for the Property Owners in the Towns. Meanwhile, other people besides the farmers were becoming independent of the landlords. Domestic and foreign trade was developing and an ever increasing number were leaving the land and gathering together into groups to make things to sell. Towns thus sprang up everywhere and the townspeople often secured their independence from their landlord by buying or forcing charters of privilege from him. Thus the landlords were not free to tax them and when the king called together his Great Council, he was no longer able to reach all the people in his kingdom. Consequently, in 1265 the property owners in the towns were directed to send one or more of their number to the Great Council to meet with the great landlords and with the representatives of the small landlords. Gradually the representatives of towns and small landowners cliqued together and it became the custom for matters to be presented to the great landlords in one room or house and to the representatives of the small landowners and property owners of the towns in another room. Thus developed the House of Landlords, or Lords, and the House of Commons.

Objection of Farmers and Townsmen to Representation. At first the small landowners and townspeople did not like to send representatives, because they could not see that they benefited by it. Every time they were called they knew they were going to be asked for money. Neither did the men selected like to go; in fact, there are cases on record of their running away and having to be brought back by the sheriff and forced to serve.

Growing Popularity of Representative Government. Soon, however, they found out that sending representatives was

not entirely bad. If the king asked them for money, they could make a bargain with him. You have read in the constitution of the United States many things which seem to you to have little meaning; the rights of members of Congress to be free from arrest during the session and in going to and returning from it; the rights of freedom of speech and of the press; the right of petition; the right not to have soldiers quartered in your house in time of peace, and many others. Practically all these fundamental rights were originally not rights at all, but simply one side of a bargain made with the king; they were the privileges which the English king sold to the people through their representatives in return for the money which the representatives promised the king from the people. On account of these bargains, the people came to cherish this system of representation.

Defects. - The system was rude and imperfect. Usually the well-to-do classes in the towns were organized into guilds which selected the representatives. The rest of the population, unorganized and poor, had nothing to say about it. Their representation was unfairly distributed. Little towns were represented and big ones were not. Within the towns only a few could vote. This was true in the American colonies as well as in England. By the latter part of the eighteenth century there was a loud demand for better representation. The people wanted to vote for representatives, and they wanted the representatives to be fairly distributed. This demand was increased by that greatest event of modern times—the Industrial Revolution. How many of you know what is meant by the Industrial Revolution? Some of you know more about the French Revolu-

tion than you do about the Industrial Revolution, and yet the Industrial Revolution is far more important to most of you.

The Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution is the change from the use of hand power to the use of water, steam and other forms of power, together with the changes in living which have come from this change in industry. The Industrial Revolution has had so much to do with making the world more democratic, that we need a separate chapter to show how it has done it.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER II

1. Name the countries which have representative government.
2. Name the countries which have democratic government. What is the difference between representative and democratic government? What is the relation between the two?
3. What has become of the Great Council which the English king used to call together?
4. Why did the great landlords help the king to rule?
5. How did the small farmers come to help the king and the landlords to rule?
6. How did the well-to-do townspeople come to help the king and the landowners to rule?
7. What was the origin of the House of Commons?
8. Why did the farmers and townsmen not want to have anything to do with government at first? Why did they change their minds? Do you know any people like them now?
9. Would democratic government be possible in a state the size of the United States without the use of the representative system.
10. In order to have democratic government, is it necessary to have everybody vote on every question of government? Is it necessary that each one should vote on the question of the number of men required to man a battleship? On the kind of trees to be planted in a park in his vicinity? Why?

CHAPTER III

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE BALLOT

No matter in which of the forty-eight states of the United States you live, your father, if he is a citizen, can vote. If you live in one of eleven states your mother likewise can vote. You yourself will vote when you have reached the legal age. How do you come to have this right? We must go back again to England to find out; back to the beginning of the Industrial Revolution there.

Why the Workmen Wanted to Vote. The Industrial Revolution helped to bring about political revolution in this way. The use of water power and steam power made machinery so big and expensive that it took the work out of the homes into buildings called factories; and men who had been working at home with their little tools had to give them up and go into the factory. Thus the number of men who belonged to a guild and had some property in the shape of a shop and tools, decreased; and the number of detached workers increased. These workmen without property realized how much had been gained in the past from the king through representation. Gradually they came to understand that great numbers of them must always work in some one else's factory, using some one else's tools, during the hours when they were expected to work, without any hope of individually owning their own tools and work-place; that is, without any hope of becoming capitalists. They

began to see that they needed in some way to control the conditions under which they worked; that there were things which they needed to get from the men who owned the land and factories and that if they were represented in Parliament, their representatives could bargain with the representatives of the property-owning classes just as the representatives of the property-owning classes had bargained with the king. So they began to agitate for the right to vote for representatives. They tried to secure this right at first by peaceful organization and agitation. Not succeeding in this, they resorted to burning haystacks, breaking windows and barricading streets.

Effort to Obtain the Privilege. In 1832 they succeeded in obtaining a uniform property qualification for towns and counties somewhat lower than it had been in most places before; in 1867 after a long struggle, the qualification was again lowered; again in 1864; and the probabilities are that by this time every sane man in England would be able to vote for members of the House of Commons if the war had not interrupted the agitation for manhood suffrage as well as the agitation for woman suffrage.

The Desire for the Ballot Spreads to the Women. But the ballot agitation does not end there. The same industrial revolution which took the work of the men out of their homes into the factory, has also taken the work of the women out of the homes into the factory. The women have been forced, like the men, only more slowly, to follow their work from the home to the factory. As they have gone into the workshop, they have found themselves confronted by the same problems of long hours, low wages, and bad sanitation which have confronted the men. The women

have been slower to react under it, partly because many of them stay in the industry only a short time before they marry, and so do not have the same interest in permanent



THE SCHOOLHOUSE AS A VOTING PLACE (Los Angeles)

improvement of working conditions as the men, who know that they are going to stay with the industry; partly because the married woman at home, even though she may want to improve the conditions in which her husband and chil-

dren work, finds it hard to reach other women and work cooperatively to that end. But they are gradually overcoming the obstacles in the way of organization, and learning to work together, instead of separately, for their common good; and the demand for the right to vote for representatives who may bargain for them is only one manifestation of increasing skill in the business of learning to live together.

The Desire for the Ballot Extends to Asia. The desire to vote is not confined to English men and English women. Throughout the nineteenth century the Italians, the French, the Germans, the Russians, in fact all the peoples of Europe have striven in their own countries for the right to vote. Today the same struggle is going on in the countries of Asia—in China, and in India. When we assume a superior attitude toward these “foreigners” we are likely to forget that seventy-five years ago white male citizens were working for the ballot in the states of the United States, in many of which property ownership or membership in a certain church was required of the voter. Thus we find that everywhere, as people grow more intelligent, they have opinions about their community life which they want to express by the use of the ballot.

The Struggle to Wrest Power from the Represented Classes. Just as the two houses called Parliament labored with the English king to wrest powers from him, so the unrepresented classes of England and every other country have been and are laboring with the represented classes to wrest power from them. At the same time, in England, the two houses of Parliament have been struggling with each other; the one house working all the time in the interest of the small landowners and the well-to-do townspeople, and the other

house, the House of Lords, working in the interest of the landlords. The result of this struggle over the power of making and enforcing laws is the system known as the responsible ministry or cabinet system. This system we shall describe in the next chapter, which shows why we vote in parties.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER III

1. What was the Industrial Revolution? Is it still going on? Prove it.
2. In what ways has the Industrial Revolution been a bad thing? In what ways a good thing?
3. How would your home be different if the Industrial Revolution had not occurred?
4. What have been the effects of the Industrial Revolution upon:
 - (a) The men?
 - (b) The women?
 - (c) The old people?
 - (d) The children?
5. Why has the Industrial Revolution made people more anxious to take part in government than they were before?
6. Does your father care to vote? Why?
7. Do you want to vote? Why? Would you have fought for the right to vote if you had lived when men were fighting for it?
8. What laws have we which would not have been passed if workingmen had not had the right to vote?
9. Why is it more difficult for women to organize to secure what they want than for men to do it?
10. Would it be possible for every man, if he were industrious and careful, to own his own tools and place of work and thus to control the conditions in which he works?
11. Are most great factories owned by one person or by many persons? What do we call the persons who own an interest in large businesses? Do those who work in the factories usually own an interest in the business? What do we call the system by which the employees receive a share of the profits? Suppose the employees owned all the stock in the corporation, what would we call the enterprise? Give examples of these three forms of organization?

CHAPTER IV

WHY WE VOTE IN PARTIES

How Parties Originate. Do we have things our own way as soon as we have the right to vote for what we want? Not by any means. As soon as we can vote, we have to go in search of more people whose purposes are similar to ours. We cannot find people who desire everything which we would bring to pass, but we can find people who desire some of these things. When we have found them, we form an organization with them. This organization we call a party. Then we make out a list of our common objects. This list is the platform of the party. Then we try to elect to office men who will support the items in that list. If our party is successful, we may be able to secure some of those things. At the next election, perhaps another party will be successful, and carry out some of the planks in its platform.

In talking about party government, we have to return again to England, because it is there that this scheme, like many other aids to democracy, has been most highly developed. In the first place you need to remember that the king of England has bargained away, as we described before, practically all of his power. He cannot even veto a law, as our President can. In the second place the House of Lords has lost most of its power. Its consent is no longer required for the enactment of a law. Some of you may remember the story of how this came about.

How the House of Commons Controls the House of Lords.

It happened in this way. In the year 1909 the Liberal party had a majority in the House of Commons. They introduced through the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. David Lloyd George, a bill to raise money by levying taxes upon gasoline, automobiles, and land and by increasing the tax on inheritances. The bill passed the House of Commons and went to the House of Lords. There was great excitement there. The taxes would fall heavily upon practically every member of the House of Lords. Men who had never taken an interest in politics came up to London to fight it. Members who had been helpless invalids for years were wheeled in chairs into the House of Lords and down the aisles to vote against this attack upon their property rights. The bill was defeated. A new election for the House of Commons was held. The newly elected House of Commons passed the same bill. The Liberals in the House of Commons insisted that the king should create a sufficient number of new members of the House of Lords who would favor the bill to pass it. The Lords, fearing that this would be done, surrendered. A majority of them voted for the bill and it became a law.

How the House of Lords Lost Its Veto Power. But the House of Commons was not content. There were other things which the party in power wanted, such as Home Rule for Ireland, and universal manhood suffrage. These they believed the Lords would not grant. To have to resort to coercion of the king every time was a nuisance. For years radicals in the lower House had been introducing bills for the abolition of the upper House. Now a bill was introduced to take away from the Lords their right of abso-

lute veto and leave them merely a suspensive veto. By its terms a bill might be rejected twice by the Lords and be thus postponed for two years, but when passed by three successive sessions of the House of Commons, it would become a law without the consent of the Lords. Anxious to escape without being altogether abolished, the Lords accepted the bill. With the House of Lords and the king helpless, the House of Commons really makes the laws for the country.

The Cabinet. Yet it is not exactly the House of Commons which makes the laws, but rather the party which is in the majority in the House of Commons. That party not only makes the laws, but it also enforces them. That member of the House of Commons who is the leader of the party which is in power is appointed by the king as his principal assistant or "prime minister" to administer the laws. In reality he is the real executive of England and not the king. This prime minister selects other leaders from his party to help him administer the affairs of the nation. This is the English cabinet. They divide up their work into departments; for example, one of them, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, looks after the finances of the nation, another looks after colonial affairs, and so on.

Its Responsibility to the House of Commons. Since the members of the English cabinet are the leaders of the party, they are entrusted by the party with the duty of working out and presenting to Parliament the chief bills which come before it. Since these ministers are members of Parliament, they come before the two Houses to explain the bills—what they are and why they have presented them as they are. The members of Parliament can also call their ministers before them and demand an explanation

of anything they are doing. When a member of the cabinet no longer represents the will of the majority, the majority can vote for and secure his dismissal. Every member of the cabinet is thus held responsible to Parliament for everything he does. That is why we call this system the "responsible ministry" system.*

This is one device to secure efficiency of democratic government which the nation and states of the United States have not adopted. Almost all of the states of Europe have copied it, modifying it to suit their purposes. So have most of the English colonies—among them Canada, South Africa and Australia.

Why We Need to Study the Government of other Countries. You are probably asking, "What has all this to do with me? What do I care about England? I thought we were going to study about living together in our own country. I shall never need this."

We can assure you that this is just exactly what every intelligent citizen of the United States does need to know. One reason why we do not progress more rapidly in securing efficient government is that most of us do not know about other systems and so have nothing with which to compare our own, and nothing except our own experience from which to gain ideas. A second reason for our lack of progress is that we often grow tired of trying to improve our system. A few failures discourage us. We need all the examples we can obtain from history to show us that the degree of efficiency we have reached today is the result of centuries of patient effort and repeated disappointment and that in the end perseverance in a good cause wins.

* Cf. pages 99 and 101.

How Ideas Have to be Spread. We have now seen how the English party system works. In the last chapter we shall look at the parties of our own country. But while we may find it convenient to organize into parties to secure what we want, we must not imagine that searching for people who already believe as we do is the only way to secure results. Many times people are hostile to ideas because they do not understand them; because they have had no opportunity to become acquainted with the facts. Any means which secure publicity, which carry good ideas to the people are not to be despised. To get these ideas into newspapers and magazines, to get those newspapers and magazines into the hands of the people; to reach people through all their organizations—through social clubs, young people's societies, and churches—these are important problems for all organizers of parties.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER IV

1. What is a responsible ministry? Do we have one in the United States? How does the president's cabinet in the United States differ from the English cabinet?

2. How does the American House of Representatives differ from the English House of Commons? The American Senate from the English House of Lords?

3. Which would you rather be, a member of the British House of Lords or a member of the American Senate? Why?

4. If you had been a member of the House of Lords, would you have voted for the Lloyd George Budget?

5. Who is the prime minister of England? To what official in the United States does he correspond?

6. What party is in the majority in England now?

7. What party is in the majority in the United States?

8. Is organization necessary in order to secure what we want? Do you know of any objects secured without organization?

CHAPTER V

FROM THE CAVE DWELLER TO MODERN BOSTON

WHILE we have been learning to live in larger groups; while we have been growing more democratic; and while we have been working out a machinery of government which makes these two developments possible, we have also been learning to do together, within each group, many things which we once did individually. Sometimes work is done by a few people who form a corporation for the purpose; sometimes a whole city, or a township, or a county, or a state, or even a nation undertake to do together things which no person or small group of persons can do alone.

We seldom stop to reflect upon the number of things we have learned to do together. But if we compare the daily life of the cave dweller of not so very many centuries ago with that of his American descendant of today, the difference seems wonderful. The cave dweller and his family dwelt apart from and on the defensive against the encroachments of every other family. Read in class this story of one day of a Bostonian's daily life, and see how his life is interwoven with that of the community—of the city, the state and the nation. If any one had told the cave dwellers that in a few hundred or thousand years their descendants would be living thus, all the "Josiah Tuckers" in the crowd would have shouted "Never! Not in a million years! As long as human nature is what it is, it can't be done."

Yet here is the story as it was told by Eugene Wambaugh in the *Atlantic Monthly* (January, 1898), and even the "Josiah Tuckers" of today will admit that it is true.

A DAY IN BOSTON

"Our Bostonian begins the day by bathing in water supplied by the public through an elaborate system of public pumps and reservoirs and pipes. After it has been used, the water escapes through the citizen's own plumbing system; but this private plumbing system has been constructed in accordance with public regulations, is liable to inspection by public officials, and empties into sewers constructed and managed by the public. When he has dressed himself in clothing of which every article is probably the subject of a national tariff intended to affect production or price, our Bostonian goes to his breakfast-table, and finds there not only table linen, china, glass, knives, forks, and spoons, each of them coming under the same national protection, but also food, almost all of which has been actually or potentially inspected, or otherwise regulated, by the national or state or municipal government. The meat has been liable to inspection. The bread has been made by the baker in loaves of a certain statutory weight. The butter, if it happens to be oleomargarine, has been packed and stamped as statutes require. The milk has been furnished by a milkman whose dairy is officially inspected, and whose milk must reach a certain statutory standard. The chocolate has been bought in cakes stamped in the statutory manner. The remnants of the breakfast will be carried away by public garbage carts; and the public will also care for the ashes of the coal that cooked the meal.

“Nor do this average Bostonian and his family escape from public control upon rising from the table. The children are compelled by law to go to school; and though there is an option to attend a private school, the city gratuitously furnishes a school and school-books. As for the father himself, when he reaches his door, he finds that public servants are girdling his trees with burlap, and search-



BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

ing his premises for traces of the gypsy moth. Without stopping to reflect that he has not been asked to permit these public servants to go upon his property, he steps out upon a sidewalk constructed in accordance with public requirements, crosses a street paved and watered and swept by the public, and enters a street car whose route, speed, and fare are regulated by the public. Reaching the centre of the city, he ascends to his office by an elevator subject

to public inspection, and reads the mail that has been brought to him from all parts of the United States by public servants. If the dimness of his office causes him to regret that sunlight appears to be outside public protection, he may be answered that there are regulations controlling the height of buildings and prohibiting the malicious construction of high fences. If now he leaves his office and goes to some store or factory in which he owns an interest, he finds that for female employees chairs must be provided, that children must not be employed in certain kinds of work, that dangerous machinery must be fenced, that fire-escapes must be furnished, and probably that the goods produced or sold must be marked or packed in a prescribed way, or must reach a statutory standard. Indeed, whatever this man's business may be, the probability is that in one way or another the public's hand comes between him and his employee, or between him and his customer.

"Leaving his store or his factory, this average man deposits money in the bank, which is carefully inspected by public officials; and which is compelled by the public to refrain from specified modes of investment and also to publish periodical statements of its condition. He next makes a payment to an insurance company, which is subject to even stricter statutory regulations. He then goes to East Boston and back upon a ferry-boat owned and managed by the public.

"When finally all the business of the day is finished, this imaginary Bostonian walks through the Common and the Public Garden, and soon enters the Public Library, a building that is the latest and most striking expression of the public's interest in the individual. Leaving the Public Library, he strolls past a free bath-house sustained by the

public, and then past a free public outdoor gymnasium; and at last he hastens home through streets that public servants are now beginning to light."

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER V

1. Which of these services are performed for the Bostonian by the city, which by the state of Massachusetts, and which by the United States?
2. Which of these things in your community are done by the local authorities? Which by your state? Which by the United States?
3. What do you owe because of these services?

CHAPTER VI

HOW THE CITY DOES ITS WORK

SOME of you live in the country, some in little groups or villages, some in towns and some in cities. If you live in a city, you are subject to the laws of the city, of the state and of the nation. If you live in the country, you are subject to the local regulations of the township or county, to the laws of the state, and to the laws of the nation. Wherever you live, your welfare is so bound up with the welfare of neighboring city and country people that you need to know all about the lives of both, especially about their organization for government. Let us observe first the organized life of people in the cities and later the organized life of all the people in the state, both city and country, and finally the organized life of all the people in our nation.

Why City and Country Must Organize. The Industrial Revolution has made it necessary for great numbers of us to live close together in cities or towns, and to depend upon other people in the country to provide us with raw materials while we supply them with manufactured articles. City and country are thus tied together. They can injure each other by exchanging products laden with disease germs; they can help each other by securing efficient marketing of products. City people have organized to protect themselves against unsanitary products from the country,

country people have organized to protect themselves against disease from the city.

Organization Against Destruction. City people have organized to protect themselves against each other also. Every city dweller may innocently, through ignorance and carelessness, do much harm to his neighbors. He may let his chickens scratch in his neighbor's flower bed; he may fail to teach his children not to cut across lawns; he may build unsightly and unsanitary houses; in carrying on his business he may fail to prevent unnecessary smoke, odors, and noise; by being filthy he may breed disease with which he infects his neighbors. These are some of the destructive things against which people must organize.

Organization for Construction. In addition, there are many constructive things for which people organize. We all want water, pavements, light, streets, shade, fire protection, parks, schools for our children, libraries, and proper disposal of sewage, garbage and ashes. If each person is left to provide himself with all these things, some will be unable to do so, and the entire community may suffer. For example, in a certain American city, each family has to pay a man \$3.00 a year to remove its garbage. The well-to-do families do it, and the poor ones do not, and for that lax system the whole town pays the penalty.

The Need for Expert Knowledge. The form of organization best suited to carry on all these different kinds of business is a live question in most cities. Charles W. Eliot, in an address at Williams College in 1909, described the problem in this way:

“The recent changes in the nature of city business go

far to explain the failure of the American democracy to provide capable and honest city government. The business of a modern city is almost all new in kind. I have personally seen during my lifetime the coming in of everything which we now regard as city business. There is hardly a single department of city business today which existed at all when I was a boy in Boston. Indeed, there is nothing now done by the city of Boston which was done in the same way when I was a boy in that old town. What cities need now is to apply to public work sciences of all sorts—chemistry, physics, medicine, bacteriology, and engineering. Fifty years ago there was no such need and no such knowledge. For example, when I was a boy in Boston, there was no public water-supply—none whatever—there was no sewer in the entire town, and no pavement except a cobble-stone pavement in a few streets, a rough pavement made of rounded beach stones. There were no lights to speak of in the city streets—only a few widely scattered whale oil lamps. There wasn't such a thing in the world as a street railway. No use of electricity was known—no electric lights, no electric transmission of power, no telephone, and hardly any telegraphic communication. Consider how absolutely different the business of a city was then from what it is now. Water works, gas and electric light works, paved streets, clean streets, sewers, garbage removal, preventive medicine, and schools carefully organized, well heated and lighted, thoroughly equipped, and inspected by medical officers—all these things we regard as everyday work for a city. None of these things existed sixty years ago. I have seen pigs moving freely through the streets of Albany, the capital of a great state, the only scavengers known to the city.



MUNICIPAL BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY, WITH OLD CITY HALL IN FOREGROUND

“Now it is this newness of a city’s business, and this absolute necessity for experts to superintend all this business—an expert for each department indeed—which makes so difficult the work of municipal reform.”

The Private Corporation. In your community there are many groups of people organized to carry on private business. One group buys clothing from a distance and sells to the neighborhood; another buys and sell groceries; another buys raw materials, makes it into glass bottles, and sells the bottles. Each group is called a corporation, and those who have their money in the business are called stockholders. The stockholders usually elect a president and board of trustees or directors, who manage the business. They determine whether or not to borrow money, or to make additions to the plant. These directors select a business manager to look after the details of the business and make recommendations to them, in regard to carrying on the business. They can dismiss him if he does not manage to suit them; and the stockholders at the end of the year, usually can dismiss the directors if they desire.

The City a Public Corporation. A city is a business corporation. But the city has more different kinds of work than the average corporation; in fact its business is so much like that of the housewife in respect to the variety and kinds of things it does that we have learned to speak of city government as housekeeping on a big scale. Cities have plans made for their development just as a family has a plan made for its home; they build streets, sweep them and scrub them; they lay sewers, own and operate telephones, water works, gas plants, electric lights and transportation systems, schools, hospitals and homes for dependents of

various kinds; they try to prevent disease and to furnish medical treatment to those not able to pay for it. They lend us books to read, they employ bands to play for us, they buy land for parks and playgrounds. They put out fires, they protect us from dangerous members of the community. They punish us if we break the rules of the



ULM ON THE DANUBE.—WORKINGMEN'S HOMES OF THE NEW TYPE.

A story-and-a-half brick house for \$1500. The gardens here have just been planted.

community. Some cities have buildings where groups of people can meet to talk or to listen to speakers; some have buildings called markets to which the people from the country can bring their goods which the market director sells in the town or sends to places where there is demand for those articles. Many European cities even go so far as to buy land and build houses for people to live in. Pro-

fessor Ely tells about this in his description of Ulm on the Danube (*Survey*, December 6, 1913):

“As a result of its landownership the city has built houses for laborers and for its own employees and sold these houses to them outright; it has assisted building associations by selling or leasing them land; it has also leased lands to individuals for agricultural purposes, especially



ULM ON THE DANUBE.—ONE FAMILY HOUSES FOR WAGE-EARNERS SOLD ON PAYMENTS OF TWENTY-FOUR CENTS A DAY.

family gardens, and to manufacturing companies for long periods to encourage industrial development. Consequently private activity has been stimulated instead of repressed.”

The Work of German Cities. By placing restrictions on purchasers, Ulm attempts to prevent overcrowding. The city reserves the right to repurchase property whenever use is made of it contrary to the general aim of the city. “Though the city can repurchase if the purchaser fails to

make his payments as they fall due, every possible consideration is shown the honest man who is doing his best, and he is helped by loans. The city can repurchase, furthermore, whenever the owner wishes to sell the house; if the owner rents rooms or dwellings at a higher figure than the maximum fixed by the Council; if without permission the owner places a second mortgage on the property; if the owner in spite of repeated demands does not occupy the house himself; if he shamefully neglects to keep up his property and it consequently falls in value; if he becomes bankrupt; if he takes lodgers without authorization; or if without authorization he allows part of his house to be used for industrial or commercial purposes."

"The mayor claims that the city can build more cheaply than private individuals. It seems to the American almost incredible to see an attractive brick house a story and a half high, beautifully situated on high ground and learn that the city is able to construct and sell it for \$1500."

Business Methods of German Cities. Since cities must carry on more activities, it is clear that they need even more intelligent and skillful business management than do private corporations. Let us look at a typical German city and see how it is managed. S. S. McClure describes one thus:

"Once in six years a citizen, we will say of Frankfort, comes to the polls and votes for a ticket, the length of which is one name. This name he himself may select, or a small group may select the name. There is no official selection of any name to vote for. Every man can nominate his own candidate. *Not only that, but if there is a better man within fifteen miles of his ward he can pick that man and nominate*

him. They demand that freedom. They will not limit themselves to a citizen of the ward to be their councillor if they can find a better man in some other ward. It sometimes happens that no one gets a majority. Then within eight days the people vote again at the same place for one of two men who get the highest number of votes. Those two acts constitute the entire pre-electoral activity of the citizens of Frankfort. And that is a very good practice, for I have never known a people to get good self-government where elections are very frequent.

The German City Employs the Best. "This man when elected finds himself a councillor of the city of Frankfort and he finds there a mayor who is just now finishing the end of his second term, having been there nearly twelve years. The mayor came there already a distinguished mayor. He had performed distinguished services in another city as mayor and had been called to preside over the fortunes of Frankfort. The mayors of German cities are selected from among the best men that can be found. This councillor also found twelve other experts who had been chosen in the same fashion. Merely to illustrate the system, I will tell you of an incident that occurred some years ago. They were enlarging their sewer system and laying out their street railroad system and they required a man of unusual ability. They sought all over Germany unsuccessfully for such a man. Finally they found the best man to be an Englishman and they brought him from England, made him a member of this board of experts, and he remained there until his death."

Organization of the American City for Business. Now let us see how the cities of the United States are doing their work.

In the last twenty years we have been trying very hard to work out a good system of city management. Previous to that, our cities copied the organization of the nation. The city was divided into districts or wards, and each district elected one or more representatives to form a body to make the laws for the city. This body was usually called the city council or the Board of Aldermen and its laws were called ordinances. Some cities even went so far as to elect two sets of representatives to form two houses, just like the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.* In addition to this law-making body, the people elected a mayor to enforce the laws made by the council; a judge to decide on cases that came up under the ordinances of the city, and minor offences under the laws of the state; a prosecuting attorney to bring before the judge persons who were accused of breaking the laws; a clerk to be the bookkeeper for the city; and perhaps a treasurer, though the city's funds are sometimes cared for by the county. The mayor appointed, with the consent of the council, a chief of police and members of the police department. The council or the people elected the members of the school board, and other boards, such as the board of public works and board of health. The mayor was usually elected for from two to four years; the members of the council for two years.

The Commission Plan. In 1901 the city of Galveston, Texas, tried a new plan. They abolished the large city council elected by districts, and instead elected at large

* There are still nine of the larger cities left in this list: Philadelphia, Kansas City, Baltimore, Providence, Louisville, Atlanta, Worcester, Richmond, and Cambridge.

five commissioners, who were not only to make the regulations, but also to carry them out as the mayor of other cities was doing. They divided the work into five departments, each one taking charge of a department.

The Referendum. Soon other cities adopted the plan. They made changes in it. The city of Houston put a check upon the power of the commission by providing that when it gave permits or franchises, as they are called, to corporations to supply the people of the city with certain articles or services, such as water, telephones, and street transportation, such franchises should be submitted to the people in order that they might say whether or not they would accept its conditions. This provision for reference to the people is known as the referendum.

The Initiative. Then the legislature of Iowa passed a law giving cities the right to adopt the commission form of government with these modifications. The people were to have the right to have referred to them not only franchises but also city ordinances. If they wanted ordinances which the commission would not pass, they could draw up petitions asking to have those measures referred to them. This is called the initiative, or the right to begin or suggest laws.'

The Recall. If the policy of any officeholder did not please the citizens, on petition of twenty-five voters, an election could be held to see if they would dismiss him. This is the recall.

The City Manager. Still another step has been taken in the development of city government. In a number of commission-governed cities, the commission is selecting a business manager, or city manager. The city of Dayton

makes him responsible for the enforcement of all city ordinances. He must attend the meeting of the commission and discuss and recommend measures; must report to them on the finances and needs of all the different departments of city government; and he may investigate the working of any department of the city's business. In order that he may be held responsible for all these things, he is given the power to appoint the city attorney, the directors of public service, public welfare, public safety, and finance; the health officer, the chief of police, fire chief, city accountant, city treasurer, and city purchasing agent.

This city manager plan is nearer the German plan than anything we have yet had in this country. The city council of the German city elects a mayor who is really a business manager, giving all his time to the needs of the city. If he serves a small city well, some larger city is pretty sure to hear of him and ask him to take charge of their city. So he goes on to larger and larger cities if he gives good service. For the business of managing cities is a real business which it takes a lifetime to learn. Our city government will be efficient when men are chosen, not because they belong to the Democratic or Republican party, but because they understand their business and are willing to give their best service.

Keeping in mind the way the business of a city is managed, notice now the way the business of running a battleship is managed.

Building a Battleship. The United States decides through the political party which is in power in Congress, to build itself a new battleship. Congress does not, as a body, superintend the building of the ship. It leaves that

to the administrative department which has charge of the navy. It is content to determine the policy and leave the details to experts. Everything about the battleship is new and shining; it will be easy to keep in order. But it must be kept in perfect order—always ready for the emergency which may or may not come. The selection of the captain of the ship is therefore a very important matter.

The Ship is Finished. The captain will be in the employ of the people of the United States. Should the people, therefore, select, or as we call it, elect him? No, everybody would consider that absurd. How could the people of the United States as a whole give their time to searching for a suitable employee? Instead, they deputize the President whom they have elected to look after that part of the business of the country to select the commander of the vessel.

Training the Commander of the Battleship. Where will the President find a suitable man? Will he appoint some one because he is a Democrat or a Republican, or because he is a prominent attorney who worked for the President's election, or because he is a "good fellow," or because he needs the money? No, indeed. He will select one from the group of men whom the nation has been training for years for this very work, first in school at Annapolis, and later working under other commanders subject to the strictest discipline. For the United States recognizes that the management of a battleship requires expert service; that it needs a man trained to do this as a life profession.

We realize the importance of expert management of the army and navy. There are signs that we are beginning to demand expert management of a business much more complicated and much more vital to our welfare than the

business of running a battleship. Our city, our state, our nation are great business concerns. Perhaps sometime we shall use all our intelligence in deciding what enterprises these concerns shall undertake, and then engage to carry out our wishes experts who have been trained to serve us. As the demand for these experts increases, our colleges and universities are beginning to offer training for public service. Students of our universities are being put to work with city and state officials and are receiving university credit for this apprentice work. At the same time, cities and states are putting more of their employees on a permanent basis. Those employees who have little to do with determining what shall be done, but whose business it is to use all their ability in doing the thing which the community orders, are being put under a civil service system which employs them through a competitive examination.

Training the Managers of Our Public Business. The movement for a short ballot, which would make necessary the permanent filling by appointment of many offices now elective, would make possible the selection and retention of experts. Governor Capper of Kansas, in the 1914 campaign said: "There is no more excuse for a partisan administration of a reformatory, an educational or charitable institution than for the political administration of a hospital, a school or a bank. When I advertise for a printer to work on my newspaper, I don't say: 'Wanted: A printer who can carry the third ward.' I say: 'Wanted: A printer who can print' and I pick out the best printer who applies for the job."

Government work is coming to be looked upon as busi-

ness which vitally affects us all, and not as a good thing to be handed around as a reward for political service. It looks as if the time is coming when a person may prepare himself as carefully to serve the public interests as he now prepares himself to serve private interests; and as if he may sometime be as secure in his position when he is engaged in serving the public efficiently as he is now when he is engaged in serving private employers efficiently.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VI

1. What is the form of government in your village, town, or city, or the city nearest your home?

2. What is the lawmaking body called? How many members has it? Does each one represent one section of the town or does he represent the whole town? Do these men represent the different ideas of different classes of people,—that is, of manual laborers, manufacturers, merchants, teachers, lawyers, etc., or do they represent the ideas of only one or two of these classes?

3. Whose duty is it to see that the city ordinances are enforced? Who holds that office in your city?

4. What body administers justice? What kinds of cases come before this body?

5. Make a list of the elected officials in your city and of the duties of each one. Let each member of the class find out the duties of some one of these. Discuss each office as to the following points:

- (a) Does the official have to determine policies, or does he simply carry out policies?
- (b) What training is needed for the office?
- (c) Could the work be done better by a permanent official?
- (d) Could the official be appointed? Who would appoint him?
- (e) What are the advantages to the people of having to vote for only a few officers? The disadvantages?

6. Which of the following departments of business does your city have: health,* education, fire, police, public safety, finance, civil service, parks,* libraries? Are there any others? How is each of these departments com-

* Discussions of health and park departments are given in Chapters VIII and IX.

posed? By whom are the members of each department selected? Who are the members at present in your city? What are the duties of each department? Do any of these departments act together? To whom are they responsible for their actions? How may you cooperate with these departments? (See Appendix, p. 218.)

7. What knowledge must a fireman have of his own city? Why? Make a list of the causes of fires. (Appendix, p. 213-216, will give some help on this paragraph.) What ordinances are there in regard to fires? Observe public buildings, tenements, elevators, stairways, and note if these ordinances are observed. Explain,—“Fire prevention and civic cleanliness are possible of attainment at the same time.” What influence may fire insurance companies exert in a city for better fire protection? What other duties has the fire department besides putting out fires? What are some of the local regulations designed to prevent fires?

8. Let each member of the class talk with some member of the police department as to the duties of the latter, and report in class. What conditions make a large police force necessary? How can these conditions be remedied?

9. If your city has a civil service commission what employees come under it? Look up in your histories the “Spoils System.” Consult the index and read the advance made in civil service.

10. Besides these departments supported by the city, what other organizations are at work for the improvement of your city?

11. Some of our great cities contain more inhabitants than entire states. The city of Chicago with its more than two million inhabitants of every nationality, scarcely less than the entire population of the great state of California, has problems of government to solve which are as difficult as those of any state. A study of the chart of Organization of the Government of the City of Chicago (see Appendix, p. 175) will show something of its complications and expense. But a resident of the city of Chicago is not merely a citizen of the city; he is also a citizen of Cook County, and has duties with respect to its government; he is a citizen of a certain park district, and has duties connected with it. These duties are chiefly the selection of officials and the payment of taxes.

The Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency has prepared a pamphlet on “The Nineteen Local Governments in Chicago.” It is from this pamphlet that the Chicago charts in the appendix are taken. The chart (Appendix, p. 176) entitled “Why the Chicago Voter is Dazed” is an interesting long ballot document. The table (Appendix, p. 177) shows the same thing in a different way, and the table (Appendix, p. 179) shows the situation as regards women voters. Study these tables, keeping in mind the following questions:

ELEMENTARY CIVICS

- (a) How can the Chicago voter get his information regarding the qualification of candidates for office?
- (b) How does the government of Chicago compare with the government of your own city with regard to (a') Number and character of elective offices; (b') Number and character of appointive offices; (c') Salaries.
- (c) What suggestions can you make for the simplifying of the problem of the Chicago voter?

12. What forces in your community tend to the increase of poverty? What forces tend to the prevention of the increase of poverty? What provision does the city make for the care of the poor? What organizations have private citizens formed for that purpose? Does the city help to support any of these organizations? Why do we have charity bureaus?

13. How much did your city spend upon charity last year?*

14. If a worthy person asks you for charity, what should you do? What is indiscriminate charity? How may this kind of giving injure the individual, the community?

15. What provisions are made for the care of the sick, the aged, and orphan children in your city?

(a) By the city?

(b) By private agencies?

16. Would you rather live in the Boston described in the previous chapter or in the Boston described by Ex-President Eliot?

17. Would you like to be business manager of your city?

18. Would being a good lawyer qualify one for that position? A good physician? A good real-estate agent? A good iron-moulder? A good merchant?

19. What kind of training would you suggest for a person who intends to manage the business of a city?

20. Should the business manager be an inhabitant of the town which he is to serve?

21. Take a vote in class on the person in your community best suited to hold that office.

22. In what way can you apply this quotation: "So use your own property that you will not injure another in the use of his property"?

* See Appendix, p. 180 and note proportion of New York City budget assigned to Charitable Purposes.

CHAPTER VII

HOW THE CITY PAYS ITS BILLS

THE longer you wait to pay your butcher's bill, the more it hurts you to pay it. It is not nearly as bad if you put a quarter into the butcher's hand as he puts a little package of meat into yours. But when you have eaten the meat and forgotten it, the bill seems very large and the benefits received very small.

It is always that way with the bills we owe the community for the services it gives us. Indeed those bills are the most painful of all to pay. We only pay them once or twice a year—at the county court house or the city hall. We say we are going to pay our taxes, and we sometimes talk as if we are giving a present to the community, forgetting that we are really buying services; health, police and fire protection, education, parks, playgrounds, removal of sewage, garbage and ashes, and many other things.

What Shall We Pay for Public Service. How to determine the amount which each of us shall give for those services is a difficult matter. Should we pay according to the services we receive, or according to our ability to pay? Does the rich man or the poor man, the property owner or the person without property receive the most benefit from public schools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, police and fire protection, collection of sewage, garbage and ashes?

Some cities say "Let every one pay according to the amount of property of all kinds which he owns in the city,

real estate, that is, houses and lands; and personal property; money, furniture, stocks and bonds, notes, automobiles, motorcycles, and other movables." These cities send assessors from house to house to determine the amount of property of each resident. When they report, the total amount of wealth in the city is calculated. Each department reports how much it needs for the next year and the total of their needs is calculated. Then the city council, board of estimate and apportionment or commission determines what per cent of the wealth of the city must be taken in order to meet the expenses. We call that fixing the rate of taxation.

Kinds of Taxes. In some cities, especially in some of the western states of Canada, the city taxes each person only in proportion to the land he owns in the city—every other form of wealth is exempt.* This is known as the Single Tax. Many cities derive much of their income from licenses on certain kinds of business, such as peddling and the selling of liquor. Sometimes individuals or localities are compelled to pay for improvements which are supposed to be of special benefit to them, such as parks

* In the province of Alberta, two of the six cities, Edmonton and Medicine Hat, collect taxes on land values only. The Village and Town Acts of 1912, respectively, require all villages and towns to raise in that way the necessary funds. In the province of Saskatchewan, the Assessment Act of 1911 forbids cities and towns to assess buildings at more than 60 per cent of their value and land at less than its full value. Any city or town may reduce the assessment on improvements 15 per cent each year until investments are totally exempt. In 1914 Regina, the capital, had reached the point where buildings were assessed at only 15 per cent of their value. In British Columbia the cities of Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster have exempted improvements. Although this provision does not apply to cities and towns, it is interesting to note, in this connection, that in the rural communities of Manitoba, agricultural improvements are exempt.

and boulevards in the neighborhood and the paving in front of their houses. This is called special assessment.

Cities as Borrowers. Cities, like individuals, pay cash for some things and go into debt for others. Expenses which have to be met anew every year are paid by the taxes from year to year. For permanent improvements, the benefits of which are spread over a long period of time, the city usually goes into debt. It borrows money, generally from its own citizens, and gives the lenders its notes, called bonds, payable at a certain date with interest. Most states have a debt limit beyond which cities cannot borrow. This debt limit sometimes prevents cities from buying or establishing their own water works, electric light, gas or other public utility system.

Cities as Land-owners and Speculators. German towns have what may seem to you at first a very strange scheme for paying their expenses: they make much money by buying and selling real estate. Mr. William H. Dawson tells about these "Land policies of German towns" in this way:

"The extent of land owned by German towns will probably surprise those who are unacquainted with the large view of municipal enterprise held in Germany. There, large towns are as ready to spend a quarter of a million pounds in buying land as the average English town of the same size is to spend ten pounds upon a watering-cart. . . . During the period 1880 to 1908 Breslau expended over a million and a half pounds in the purchase of land within the communal area, of which sum £1,199,000 was expended on land needed for public purposes and £330,000 on land intended for resale. In addition, land was purchased to the value of £308,000 outside the municipal area, £139,000 being expended in purchases in the immediate neighbor-

hood of the town. At the present time Breslau owns about one-quarter of the entire municipal area and six times as much outside that area. . . .”

“As a rule it will be found that where forest and woodland surround a town the municipal authority has taken care to secure as much as possible for the use of the inhabitants. . . . Many of the small communes of Baden derive much of their revenue from forests; in some cases the proceeds amount to 30 s., and even 40 s., per head of the population. The inhabitants of two little towns, Wellendingen and Oberinnden, are exempt from taxation owing to the yield of the public forests, and the Oberinnden folk are supplied with fuel free of charge. The village of Langenbach, with 780 inhabitants, owns land and forest yielding in limestone and timber £2500 per annum, an amount which covers all local expenditure and the cost of water, and leaves a balance to be added to the credit of the commune yearly.”

Greater profits are made, however, in the buying and selling of land. “In the administrative year 1911-12 Düsseldorf made a profit of £21,400 on the turnover of its municipal land fund. Magdeburg bought land on the south side of the town at 10 s. 9 d. a square metre, to a total value of £300,000, and succeeded in selling two-thirds of it at £4 a square metre, for £1,300,000, while it bought land on the north side of the town at 23 s. a square metre, to a total value of £30,000, and succeeded in selling two-thirds of it at £4 a square metre, for £1,300,000, while it bought land on the north side of the town for 23 s. a square metre and sold it for 43s.”

Taxes Sometimes a Poor Investment. Our reluctance to pay taxes is often justifiable. Many of us who are willing to

pay for the things we receive object to paying for things we do not receive. We object also to paying more for the things which we buy as a city than we have to pay for them as individuals. The fear which many people feel of having the city, the state, and the nation go into business, such as the management of the street railway system and the water works, is based on their experience of mismanagement in their own and other communities. "Since the city," they say, "shows itself so extravagant and incompetent in handling such matters as it now has in its charge, would it not be folly to intrust it with more?" Certainly we all agree that if the city is to take up various kinds of business, it must prove that it can manage them as well, even better, than individuals have in the past.

Increasing Efficiency in Public Business. There are indications that cities are learning the lessons of economy and efficiency. We have seen how they are doing away with the old complicated machinery of government, and substituting the simpler forms—the commission and business manager plan. We have seen how they are learning to fill positions by competitive examination, and to retain the "civil servants" whom they obtain this way, even after a change of administration. In addition to these changes they are adopting businesslike methods of planning ahead for the city's needs, and of keeping accounts.

The Budget. The plan for spending next year's taxes, which the business manager, or the commissioner, or the comptroller makes out, is called the budget.* Each department, such as the department of public safety, department of health and department of education, is asked to make an estimate of the amount of money required to do its work next year. Formerly those estimates were very general;

* See Appendix, p. 180 for the budget of New York City.

but the new zeal for efficiency and economy requires that they shall be very carefully itemized, and that the departments shall not be permitted to waver far from these items. In addition to that, the attention of the public is being invited, so that the citizens, after careful scrutiny of the items, may intelligently advise their representatives who vote on the appropriations.

Some of us, in home as well as municipal matters, are too lazy to take much interest in our accounts. We did not keep any last year so we do not know where we should have to cut down expenses in order to keep within our income. It is irksome to determine now just how much we may spend on different items in order not to exceed our earnings for the next year. So we borrow money as long as we can. So have cities. But there comes a time when neither of us can borrow more, and we have to stop and study the situation.

When cities have reached their debt limit, they have to raise by taxation the money they need. It is very difficult for the office holders to raise the tax levy without being put out of office at the next election by the angry voters. The new business method of managing a city recognizes this, and seeks to make the voter a partner in the levy of the tax by securing his interest and sympathy in the objects for which it is spent.

How Cities Publish Their Accounts. Just how to make the people acquainted with the way their money has been spent, and how to help them to decide whether or not they wish a certain department to spend money for a certain purpose, is a difficult problem. Several cities have solved the problem by having budget exhibits. These exhibits are

usually held in a public and accessible place. They aim to show the work of each department of government, its expenses in the past, and the kind of work which it hopes to do next year if the public gives it financial support.

New York City's first exhibit was held from October 3 to October 28, 1910. A great sign stretched across the front of the building in which it was held bore the invitation: "The City invites you to see how your money is



THE OFFICER WHO BUYS "LEMONS" IS APT TO ARGUE WELL FOR BUDGET INCREASE.

New York Budget Exhibit.

spent." The same invitation was sent to every taxpayer, was posted on the Brooklyn bridge, and was published in the newspapers.

The people came in crowds. The first exhibit they saw was that of the department of weights and measures, which proved its value to the public by a great pile of confiscated light weights, short measures, measures with false bottoms, cans with double sides and false scales. The Tenement House department displayed models of the old-law and the



"SHORT" WEIGHTS AND MEASURES CONDEMNED BY INSPECTOR. Cincinnati Budget Exhibit.

new-law fire escapes. Traveling libraries made up sample packages. The purchasing department discussed their



IS INSPECTION NECESSARY?

Cincinnati Budget Exhibit.

methods of buying, the cost and the required standard for coal, oats and other supplies bought. The Water Depart-

ment presented a leaky faucet which would waste \$6.00 a year for the person who paid the water rent.

At the Cincinnati Exhibit in 1912 a fireman gave instructions on turning in an alarm. It was explained why the city purchasing agent buys all the coal for the city by the



STREET CLEANING DEPARTMENT.

Cincinnati Budget Exhibit.

number of heat units rather than by the ton; how he tests samples of coal; how he saves money by making the soap and paint used by the city; how the street and sewer department makes a good pavement by grouting old brick and stone block; and what dairy inspection is doing for the milk supply.

Such things as these and many more are brought before the public in different city exhibits. Charts comparing expenditures of different years, and plans for suggested improvements are made as clear as possible to the people who have to decide whether or not they want these improvements.

This system of taking the public into one's confidence is not a new one. Long ago in Florence the members of the guild wished to give the city a memorial in the form of bronze doors for the Baptistery of the Cathedral. They advertised a contest to secure the best talent to design the panels. The sculptor who presented the best sample panel was to be given the contract.

The contest narrowed to two famous sculptors, Brunelleschi and Lorenzo Ghiberti. Brunelleschi shut himself into his room and worked away at his panel in secrecy. Ghiberti, on the contrary, invited in his friends and worked with his door open to all. Interested visitors dropped in to watch him work. They criticised freely and Ghiberti welcomed their criticisms.


The two panels were finished and presented for judgment. Brunelleschi's panel was surprisingly beautiful. But when he saw Ghiberti's he retired from the contest. It was, indeed, a marvel. Each human figure in the beautiful scene was so lifelike that every one who looked upon it was satisfied. Each one felt that it was as he himself would have liked to produce it. Ghiberti had invited the criticisms of the public, and the public accepted the work which they had helped to produce. The combined wisdom and taste of the populace was superior to that of one man.

Could our public accounting be as open as Ghiberti's carving? Would public opinion on the wisdom of their

actions be as valuable to the men who manage our public business as it was to the man who gave the world the famous bronze doors?

The public health department, police and fire departments cannot sit with their accounts open in a little room

FOR **36** CENTS
PER CAPITA PER YEAR
YOUR
CHILD HAS THE
OPPORTUNITY
OF OBTAINING A
COLLEGE EDUCATION
DOES THE
UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
PAY ?



Cincinnati Budget Exhibit.

by the side of the road. But they can publish in the newspapers their plan for expenditures in the succeeding year, as the New York Bureau of Municipal Research suggests. They can arrange for public meetings with the taxpayers to talk over their plans, just as the English cabinet members talk over their plans with the English Parliament. They can help to form in the people the habit of studying public

expenses and public economies, so that the people can give credit where it is due and inform themselves as to what they are receiving for their taxes. They can encourage the giving of helpful suggestions in place of destructive criticisms.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VII

1. On what basis are the expenses of your community divided among the citizens?
2. What was the rate of taxation last year?
3. Should the city go into debt to pay for the salaries of its officials? For keeping up its parks? For building a city hall? For buying a waterworks system?
4. Is there any difference between the desirability of going into debt to buy a park and the desirability of going into debt to buy the street railway system?
5. Debate the question, "Resolved, that the city should pay for its school-houses as it builds them."
6. What is the debt of your city? The debt limit?
7. For what purpose has your community borrowed money during the last two years? How much interest does it pay?
8. Should the city help pay for the improvement of the country roads leading to it?
9. Do you know of any American city which pays all its expenses out of business which it carries on without taxing the people?
10. Has your city the power to purchase more land than it needs for a particular purpose in order to profit by the increase in land values?
11. Study the budget of the city of New York for 1915. (See Appendix p. 180). Name the different departments in the order of their expense, noticing the total and per capita cost of each.
12. What were the total expenses of your city (or town or township or county) last year? What was the expense of each department? The per capita cost? Do you think the service you received from each was worth the cost?
13. Why are playgrounds for children economical investments for a city?
14. Find out how much your own family paid last year for the services of the community. Calculate for yourself what per cent of that was used by each department. Do you think you received your money's worth?

15. Do you keep an account of your own expenses? Does your family keep account of its expenses?

16. What per cent of the family expense is rent? Food? Clothing? Amusement? Other things?

17. Among what items are your own expenses divided?

18. Make a budget exhibit showing the expense of running your own schoolroom and the benefits derived from it. Calculate the cost of instruction (you can probably get an average of the cost per pupil from the superintendent's office and multiply that by the number of pupils) the cost of janitor service, heat, light, books, rental value of the room and every item you can think of; make diagrams, charts, collections of articles, etc., to show that cost. Think out and carry out methods of showing the public how they are getting the full value of their money. Invite your parents and friends in to see the exhibit.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CITY'S HEALTH

“It is within the power of man to drive all infectious and contagious diseases from the earth.”

THAT is what the great French physician, Louis Pasteur, said. What he did was as much to the point as what he said, for he spent his life fighting disease. As our population increases, and we are crowded closer and closer, we find that if we are to live at all, we must fight constantly against disease.

Why Be Particular? Fighting disease is really fighting dirt—dirt in the air, in the food, in the water, and on the things we touch. We have to be more and more careful in order to secure fresh air, clean food, pure water, quick and safe removal of garbage and sewage and to prevent the transmission of disease in all our communications with our fellow citizens. Sometimes people laugh at us for such care, and say “What’s the use in being too particular? Our grandfathers and great-grandfathers slept in closed rooms and ate anything they liked. They didn’t have their meat and milk inspected. They didn’t have screens to keep out the flies and mosquitoes. They weren’t talking all the time about sanitation. And they lived just as long as we do.”

When people say that, they do not take into consideration certain things. Our grandfathers and great-grand-

fathers slept in log houses in which ventilation was secured through the cracks in the walls and the open fireplace. Ninety per cent of them spent the day in active work in the open air; over fifty per cent of us spend the day in stuffy factories and offices. They produced their own food



WOULD YOU PREFER TO BUY MILK FROM THIS FARM?

and made their own clothing while we buy most of our food and ready-made clothing; and they rode in their own wagons while we are crowded together on street-cars and in railway coaches.

We have been forced to learn that our own health is not a private matter, that the public has a right to know

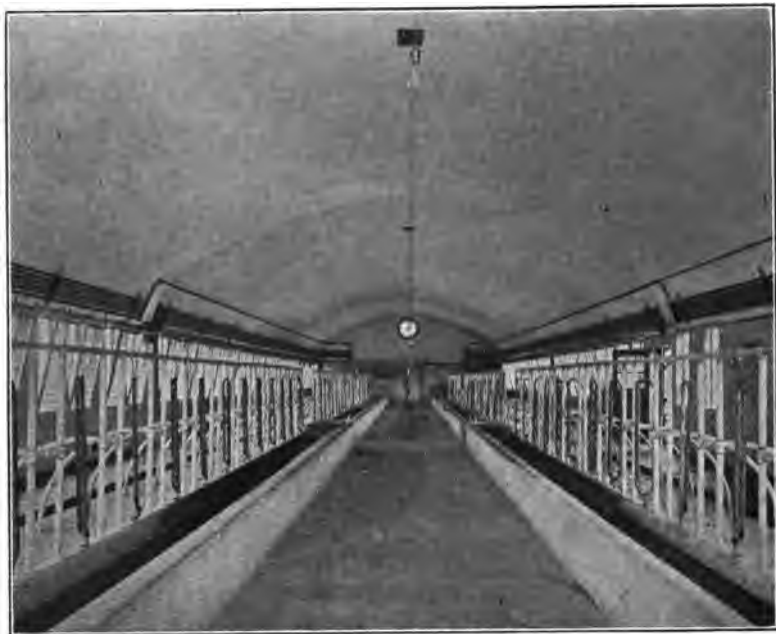
if we have a communicable disease, to protect itself against getting that disease, and even to cure us so that we may not be a menace to the community. Cities have provided free hospitals, sanitariums and dispensaries for people who want to be cured. The city of New York, where the need is greatest, has gone a step farther, and



OR FROM THIS?

sends out detectives to find disease just as it sends out detectives to find crime and poverty. Treatment is provided for those who cannot afford to pay for treatment and who would not go to physicians and hospitals to ask it. New York has adopted the motto that "public health is purchasable" and that "within natural limitations a community can determine its own death rate."

The best way to see what is being done by cities to improve public health is to study some of the ordinances which have been passed to combat disease. A number of these have been placed in the Appendix, pp. 181-195, to be



INTERIOR OF A BARN ON A FARM WHICH SUPPLIES CERTIFIED MILK TO
MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL.

studied in connection with the following questions and suggestions:

1. What did Louis Pasteur do for the world? Robert Koch?
2. In what way does a reputation for good health benefit a community? How does a reputation for having typhoid or yellow fever affect the prosperity of a community?



MILK EXHIBIT OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT AT THE MILWAUKEE BUDGET SHOW

3. Without the aid of the community, what can you do to protect your own health?
4. What means are taken in your home to prevent illness or accident?
5. Imagine yourself a physician giving yourself an examination on the care of your own health. Grade yourself on the following points:
 - (a) Over-eating and eating of unwholesome foods.
 - (b) Rapid eating.

Why All This Fuss About Milk?

"Who ever heard of a Milk Show? All milk looks alike to me."

*Yes, milk generally LOOKS clean because it's white.
If it were not white you could often SEE dirt in it.*

"What harm will a little dirt do, anyway?"

Dirt in milk is dangerous. It often causes sickness and death.

"How can we be sure that our milk is clean when we buy it?"

*One way is to try it on a baby; if the baby dies, the milk is bad.
A better way is to make sure that the Health Department does not allow your
milkman to sell bad milk.*

"Then it's ALL up to the Health Department, is it?"

*Not on your life; after you get the milk, it's up to you.
Many a perfectly good baby is killed by milk because mothers and servants are
careless or don't know enough.*

It's easy to keep milk CLEAN and COLD and SAFE if you know how.

Come to the Milk Show and learn how.

See the difference between good and bad milk.

See how the Health Department guards your health and life every day.

The Health Department will do more when everybody says it must.

BRING YOUR FRIENDS OR GET THEM TO BRING YOU.

Card distributed to all school children in the seventh grade and above to advertise the Philadelphia Milk Show.

- (c) Use of articles, such as alcohol and tobacco, which have no food value but which deplete strength.
- (d) Too little sleep.
- (e) Incorrect posture.
- (f) Lack of exercise.
- (g) Eye strain.
- (h) Bad air—frequent attendance at shows, moving pictures and sleeping room windows closed.
- (i) Failure to take daily bath.
- (j) Neglect of teeth.

6. Where are there greater dangers to health—in the city or in the country? What dangers to health are there in the city which do not exist in the country? What dangers in the country which do not exist in the city?

7. What things are done to make your school-room sanitary?

8. What can a city do to secure clean, fresh air for its inhabitants? Pure water? Clean food?

9. Who removes the garbage in your city? Who pays for its removal? Should you keep it in a closed or open receptacle? How can you keep it clean? Where should you keep it? Are there alleys in your town?



A HOT-BED FOR TYPHOID.

Many of these shacks in a town of the middle west are owned by residents of a city across the river. \$100 invested thus is bringing one man enough income to pay the rent of the pleasant house in which he lives in the neighboring city. Every year the floods drive these people out, and every year they return after the floods to their water-soaked houses,

10. If your neighbor is careless in regard to his garbage can, should you report him? Why?

11. How can you best make sure of a pure water supply—by having your own well or by having a common water supply for the whole community?

12. Do medical inspectors look after the health of children in your school? Name all the cases in which you have come in contact with the board of health. What do you think of a citizen who breaks quarantine?

13. Study the sanitary conditions of the grocery, meat market, and bakeries which you patronize. Make a list of regulations which you would make if you were a member of the city council or the board of health, in regard to such things as the conditions of floors, presence of dogs, cats, spitting, handling of foods, flies, exposure of foods, etc.



ANOTHER HOT-BED FOR DISEASE.

A residence for three families—one upstairs, one downstairs and one in the lean-to addition.

14. Read carefully in class the milk ordinances (see Appendix, p. 181) of the town of Elyria, Ohio, section by section and discuss each section as to

- (a) Its necessity and wisdom.
- (b) Any improvements which you can suggest.
- (c) Corresponding ordinances under which you buy milk, if you live in the city or under which you sell it if you live in the country.

15. Study the scheme for grading dairies and grade according to this scheme one dairy or farm to which you have access.

16. State your views on this question. Should the owner of the cows pay for their inspection for tuberculosis? If not, who should? Should a local veterinarian be employed to make the inspection? Why?

17. What is the special excellence of the milk ordinance of Saginaw, Michigan? (See Appendix, p. 195.)

18. What is the duty of the city council of Roanoke, Virginia, with regard to the public health? Of the board of health? Of the health officer? (See Appendix, p. 190.)

19. Compare the provisions for protecting the public health in Roanoke with the provisions in your own community.

20. How do the ordinances in Seattle with regard to street-cars compare with those of your own city? (See Appendix, p. 192.)

21. Do you see the necessity for strict rules in regard to quarantine such as those of Fargo, North Dakota? (See Appendix, p. 193.)

22. Should you want rules as strict as those of Elyria, Ohio, applied to the bakery from which you buy your bread? Are they?

23. Is the meat which you eat inspected for disease? If so, by whom? Is it clean? Have you ordinances like those of Saginaw, Michigan.

24. What improvement does the Saginaw milk ordinance make upon the Elyria ordinance?

25. Read the Indiana housing act in class and discuss as to the following points. (See Appendix, p. 196.)

(a) Do you know of any tenement houses, i.e., houses in which two or more families are living, which would not meet the requirements of this act?

(b) Would you make any change in any section?

26. "Plain living and simple food will prevent many ailments." Give illustrations to prove.

27. Dr. Hurty of Indiana says: "Elements which make healthful homes are pure air, pure water, simple food, sunshine, cleanliness, pleasant surroundings and cheerful occupation." What do you think?

28. Are you sensitive to impure air? Give proof.

29. How does the adulteration of food affect the public health and how is the practice to be detected and punished?

30. What can be done so that ice and milk can be supplied at a reasonable rate to the poor of a city?

31. In the discharge of their duties Boards of Health often interfere with individual rights. What justifies this interference?

32. What occupations in your city are regulated by law for the sake of public health and safety?

33. What do you think of the Student's Health Creed? (See Appendix, p. 212.) Are you following all of its suggestions?

CHAPTER IX

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL

“Why don't they keep the streets a little cleaner?”

You ask with deep annoyance, not undue;

“Why don't they keep the parks a little greener?”

Did you ever stop to think that *They* means *You*?

The American City Street. A shopkeeper in a certain American city came out of his shop door, looked up and down the street to see if a policeman were near; satisfied himself that the police were out of sight, and dumped a pile of rubbish into the gutter.

No policeman saw him, but a German did.

“Now I see,” said the German, “why your cities are not kept clean. In America you put your refuse into the waste boxes because some one may be watching you, and in Germany we put it into the receptacles because we wish to keep our cities clean.”

If you stop to think about it, you are almost compelled to admit that the German is right. Did you ever look up and down a street in your town and wonder how it would appear to a stranger? Here is a business street, for example. Every building in the block is of a different height. A little one-story wooden structure stands next to a ten-story brick and steel office building. Signs of every size and description cover the fronts of the buildings;

NOTE.—The illustrations in this chapter are presented through the courtesy of Mr. Charles Mulford Robinson, Secretary, Rochester Civic Improvement Committee.

bill boards stand on the sidewalks in front of the theatres; barber poles twist perpetually in glass cases; electric signs flash in and out like great eyes winking at you. Telephone



DOES THIS STREET LOOK FAMILIAR? COULD YOU IMPROVE IT?

and trolley wires make a network overhead, and part of the street pavement is being removed to put in a gas pipe. Dust is flying around in the air with scraps of paper torn

up by thoughtless pedestrians. Banana peelings and apple cores lie in the gutter, and you gather up on your shoes, to carry home and deposit on your carpet the germs which have been expectorated upon the sidewalk.

The American City Lacks a Plan. The city street is an excellent indication of the people of the town. From the



RAILROAD BRIDGE IN NEW YORK CITY

scraps of paper and the dirt you can judge their civic pride and their ideas of sanitation; from the torn-up streets you can determine to what extent they foresaw and planned to meet the needs of a growing city. .

The German City Plans Carefully. The German city not only shows by its cleanliness the civic patriotism of its citizens, but many of them also show, by being prepared to meet new needs, that they are the result of carefully thought

out plans. Having seen how our cities look to a German, it may be wholesome for us to hear what an American, Mr. Frederic C. Howe, has to say about city building in Germany. He tells how Germany depends upon experts for city planning. A school for such experts has been opened in Berlin. These experts go from city to city to give advice and consult with the city authorities. The erection of



RAILROAD BRIDGE IN PARIS.

private and public buildings is watched to see that no shoddy work is done.

“The German city begins at the bottom and builds up. In city building, as in the construction of a battleship, the keel is laid first. We recognize the necessity of a stable foundation when we erect a forty-story skyscraper. We recognize it even in a house. But we ignore it when we build a city.”

It Controls the Land. In order to begin with the foundation, the land is the first thing to consider. The German city controls the land. It annexes territory far beyond its present extent in order to plan for the future. Then it calls in expert architects and engineers, probably from a neighboring university. "A plan is made of the surround-



WHY DO WE HAVE GAS TANKS LIKE THIS?

ing territory, of the topography of the land, the natural advantages, the proximity to the railways, and the probable uses to which the region will be put. The prevailing winds are studied, and factories are only permitted to locate in certain prescribed areas. In some cities they are excluded from the business and residence sections altogether. Maps of wide stretches of open country, still used as pasture

land, may be seen in the City Hall, upon which are indicated the streets, parks, and building sites—all far beyond the city limits. To this plan the owner must conform.

It Beautifies the Water Front. “Every bit of water is jealously preserved and developed, whether it be an old



THEY CAN BE MADE LIKE THIS IN DRESDEN.

moat, an inland lake, a little stream, or a river front. Water frontage is deemed a priceless possession, and it has proved so to a dozen cities. It is not permitted to pass into private hands. The Alsterlust, a fresh-water lake in the heart of Hamburg, is the centre of the city's life. About it the business as well as the pleasure of the city moves. The cities of Bremen and Düsseldorf have parked the

moats which surrounded the old portions of these cities. They are the chief features of the city's beauty."

It Foresees Future Development. The city planning expert is almost as necessary as the business manager. We are coming to believe that we cannot have an efficient



AN EFFECTIVE SCREEN FOR A RAILROAD IN CLEVELAND, OHIO.

city or an efficient city population unless we plan ahead. Streets must be laid out carefully so that in width and direction and relation to each other they will serve future as well as present generations. It is poor economy to make very narrow a street which from its location will have to bear much traffic, or to make very wide a street which from

its location will never have much traffic. It is poor economy not to save sufficient park space to provide for the growth of the city; not to provide for railroad terminals in a convenient place; not to leave space for manufacturing concerns close to railroads, canals, and rivers; not to keep public buildings close together in the centre of the city; not to protect residence districts from the inroads of small business concerns. It is poor policy to have to tear up street pavements to lay sewers, water pipes, and telephone wires. It is good policy to tunnel a street before it is paved so that those things can be put in when needed. It is good policy to lay out the streets in such a manner that each house is insured an ample supply of sunlight and fresh air; it is good policy to make certain requirements of every person who erects a building, in order to be sure that no buildings are put up which are dangerous to health.

It is very easy for us to look around and criticize the mismanagement of our cities. The really valuable thing is to make helpful suggestions and help to carry them out. Imagine yourself employed by your city as planning expert, and write out your views on the following questions:

1. What kind of training should you have had for that purpose? Would success as a lawyer, a physician or a manufacturer qualify you for that position?
2. Would you have a public square? What buildings would you have there?
3. What buildings does the city own? Could the business done in any two or more of these be conveniently done in one? Where are elections held? Political meetings? Does the city own any buildings where these could be held so as to save the cost of renting?
4. Would you prefer many small or a few large parks? How close together should parks be? How would you keep children from injuring the grass, trees, flowers, etc.?

5. Many European streets and roads are shaded by fruit trees. In some places, those who pass by may have as much fruit as they can eat and hold in their two hands. Late in the season the fruit remaining on the trees is sold. Would that be a good plan in our cities and along our country roads?

6. What trees would you recommend for the streets of your city? Why?

7. What is the origin and history of Arbor Day? Of what value has the observance of this day been to your state? How has the state recognized its value?

8. Would you use part of a public park for golf links? Why? For tennis courts? Why?

9. Would you have alleys? Why?

10. Are the telephone wires and electric light wires in your community overhead or underground? If overhead, what can you do about it?

11. Suppose some of the residence streets are much wider than the traffic requires, what can you do with them?

12. What schemes can you devise for getting the public, old and young, to cooperate in keeping the streets clean—in refraining from throwing paper, peelings, etc., on the streets?

13. How can you get people interested in keeping their own property in good repair, houses painted, lawns and back yards beautiful?

14. What can you do with regard to the smoke nuisance? Hideous noises? Bill-board advertising?

15. Do you know of any vacant lots in your city which should be secured for parks?

16. The following ordinance has been adopted by the city of Redlands, California:

ORDINANCES OF THE CITY OF REDLANDS, CALIFORNIA

ARTICLE X

Sec. 80. *Appointment of Commission.* There is hereby established a tree commission to consist of three members to be appointed by the board of trustees and to serve at the pleasure of the board, and the executive officer of such commission shall be known as the tree warden.

Sec. 81. *Power and Authority.* Said commission is hereby vested with power and authority to take charge of and supervise the care and maintenance of all public parks and the planting, trimming and removing of all trees upon the streets and public places of the city.

Sec. 82. *Planting of Trees.* Said commission and said board of trustees, or either of them, shall have the right to direct the kind and variety to be planted upon any of said streets, and it shall be unlawful for any person to plant upon any such street any tree without first obtaining a permit so to do from said commission or said board of trustees.

From *Street and Highway Planting* by Ben Y. Morrison, California State Board of Forestry, Bull. No. 4, p. 112.

Has your community such an ordinance? Would you recommend it?

17. What is the most beautiful town or city you have ever seen? What plans did its citizens carry out in order to make it thus attractive?

18. Are there any evidences in your city of careful planning? How has this early planning helped the appearance of your city? The expense to your city?

19. The following resolutions are copied from a card designed to be hung in public schools? What do you think of them for the purpose?

Let us not injure in any way any tree, shrub or lawn.

Let us not kill or injure any bird or destroy any bird's nest or the eggs or the young.

Let us not throw or sweep into the streets, alleys or parks any paper, fruit skins or rubbish of any kind, or throw any of these things upon the floor of any school or other public building.

Let us not spit upon the sidewalks, street crossings or upon the floor of any street car, school house or other public building.

Let us not cut or mark in any way fences, poles, sidewalks or buildings of any kind.

Let us always keep our back yards as clean and beautiful as we keep our front lawns.

Let us at all times respect the property of others as we would our own.

Thus shall we become good and useful citizens, making our state beautiful and worthy of our love and devotion.

20. Do you know of any town with a village or town improvement society? Do you believe such an organization is needed in your own town?

CHAPTER X

HOW THE STATE DOES ITS WORK

WHEN the English began to come to the New England coast, they settled first in small communities or towns. Groups of these towns united, for protection and other purposes, into larger colonies. The colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, for example, were thus formed. When the entire eastern coast was settled, the different colonies united to fight for independence. After they had won that fight, they remained together for other purposes. Their union became the United States of America.

The colonies when they became states of this union were jealous of their powers and gave to the union only certain definite functions which it seemed absolutely necessary to delegate, such as control of the army and navy, and of the postal system.* They themselves continued to perform most of the services which they had previously performed for their citizens. Since they retained the right to all powers except those expressly delegated to the United States, their powers and duties have increased until now they touch the life of their citizens at almost every point; and their business has increased to such an extent that much office space is required to accommodate their employees.

The Office Building of the State. Let us go into the great office building where the business of one of these states

* See Chapter XI on the powers of the Federal Government.

is carried on. The building itself, called the state capitol, in almost every state is such a beautiful and imposing structure of stone and marble with great halls and columns that one would scarcely suppose it a business establishment. Nevertheless, it is the center of many cooperative enterprises of the people.



A STATE CAPITOL.

The Legislature. Here are the two great chambers in which the laws are made for the people of the whole state. In each room sits a body of lawmakers elected by the people of the different sections of the state to express their will. One body is known as the Senate, the other as the Assembly. Before a measure can become a law, it must

be voted for by a majority of the members in each of these bodies. The laws which these bodies pass concern subjects of interest to all the people of the state, while the laws or ordinances passed by a town or city concern subjects of merely local interest. Among the subjects acted upon by the two law-making bodies of the state, which are known collectively as the state legislature, are the keeping of order within the state, the prevention of crimes, such as murder and robbery, the regulation of business relations—ownership of property, tenancy, loans and mortgages; and the regulation of domestic relations: marriage, divorce, support of children, inheritance and other matters. The body of laws designed to define crimes and prescribe their punishment we speak of as the criminal law; that designed to guide us in our business relations with each other we speak of as the civil law.

The Administrative Officers. Here is also an office for the governor, whom the voters of the state select to execute the laws which the legislature has passed. In some states the governor also has a right to veto laws passed by the Assembly and Senate. An assistant, or lieutenant-governor, is elected at the same time; so is a secretary for the state, in whose office the records of the state are kept and the bookkeeping of the state in some states is done. Other officers are the treasurer, who has charge of the state revenues, and the attorney-general, who is the lawyer elected to represent the state in the State Supreme Court in all cases in which the state is a party, and to give legal advice to state officials.

The Supreme Court of the state hears cases and makes its decisions here in the capitol. Most of these cases

have been tried before in lower courts in the state, and are brought to the attention of the Supreme Court by people who have lost in the lower courts. The judges of the Supreme Courts are in most states elected by the people.

The business of education is largely carried on by the state. The laws of the state require certain educational advantages for every community. Cities are often willing to spend more money and give better advantages than the state requires, but they and all the country communities must live up to the minimum requirements established by the state. They are required to provide so many months of school, teachers with certain qualifications and instructions in certain subjects. A state superintendent is elected in most states to supervise the schools of the state. He has his office in the capitol.

The governor shares the details of administering certain kinds of laws with bodies of experts appointed for the purpose. These experts have their offices also in the capitol. In Wisconsin, for example, the laws relating to the conditions under which people work are administered by an Industrial Commission of three men.

The Commissions. The State laws relating to food and public health are in the care of the Food and Dairy Commission and of the State Board of Health. The Fish Commission and Game Warden administer the game laws, and the Tax Commission the tax laws. The Public Utilities Commission regulates according to the laws of the state those corporations which supply the public with light, heat, water, and transportation.

The Work of the State. To see the work of the United States Steel Corporation we should have to go not only

into its office building but also into its great industrial plants. To see the work of the state we should have to leave its central office or capitol, and go out over the country. We should have to visit its great university, the schools and homes for dependents—deaf, blind, and insane, the industrial schools for boys and girls who have not had a good start in life and who have been sent to these schools that they may be trained to be good and useful citizens; and the prisons for those who have broken the laws of the state and who need to be placed where they cannot injure others and where they, like the boys and girls, may be trained to good and industrious citizenship. We need to travel over the roads which the state has built, to go with the state inspector over the farms and listen to his advice as to the care of the cattle and the milk.

We need also to visit the branch office buildings of the state. Most states are divided into counties with branch office buildings or court houses, in each county. In each court house, of course, is the court room in which the judge of the county tries cases arising in the county under the laws of the state. Here is the office of the county prosecuting attorney, who is elected to represent the state in all prosecutions for crime in this county. Here is the county treasurer, whom the people of each county elect to collect and report to the state treasurer the funds collected in this county for meeting state expenses and for such local expenses as the building of roads and bridges within the county. Here is the auditor, the bookkeeper for the county. You would go to him to find out how much your taxes are to be. Here is the clerk from whom you would procure your marriage licenses, the recorder who registers transfers of property and other contracts; the county assessor who

values property for taxation; and the county superintendent of schools, who gives examinations to teachers, and who visits all the schools in the county to see that the state school laws are enforced. Here, too, meets the body of men elected by the people of the county to make local regulations in regard to the building of roads and bridges, and the care of the poor in the county.

The County and Its Work. Counties have their branch offices too. Each county is divided into townships, and every township has a trustee or board of trustees elected to look after the building of schools, the selection of teachers, and the relief of the poor. In many townships there are other officials also.

State Finance. Our state organization performs many services, for all of which we pay. In carrying on the business of the state, careful planning and the keeping of accurate accounts by each department is just as necessary as in carrying on the business of the city. Some method of showing these accounts simply, and of calling the attention of the people who pay to the various items, and of securing discussion of those items is just as much needed as in the case of the city. Grumbling at high taxes in general is not helpful. We need rather a thoughtful comparison of the amount which we pay with the benefits we receive.

In most states the heads of the various institutions calculate the amount they need to carry on the business for the next year or two, add the amount they would like to have for permanent improvements and estimate the whole at a considerably higher figure than they expect to receive. Their estimates are put together and presented to the

legislature as an appropriation bill. The managers of the institutions themselves usually attend the legislature, and use all their power to secure a large appropriation. The legislature votes on the various items and then on the whole budget. In England, the estimates of the various institutions are all turned over to the cabinet members of the different departments; these members discuss the relative merits of the items, and agree on one appropriation bill or budget which they present to Parliament and which all of them support.

The Budget. Such a system is possible there because all the members of the cabinet are members of the party in power in the House of Commons, and are responsible to it for what they do. They are members of Parliament and can be called upon in Parliament to explain their position on every item, and having decided on a certain amount for each purpose they stand together absolutely.

The Continuing Appropriation. A scheme which some consider better adapted to our institutions is the continuing appropriation. There are certain expenses which are fairly constant every year, such as the support of the state schools: universities, normal schools, and schools for the dependent. In order that the heads of these institutions should not have to labor year after year with the members of the legislature to secure a proper maintenance for the following year, some state legislatures have passed laws granting to each institution a certain per cent of taxation upon taxable property, and providing that in case the legislature fails to make an appropriation in any year, the rate granted for each institution shall be levied upon all the taxable property of the state. This is known as a con-

tinuing appropriation and it sets a standard which a legislature does not like to lower, and which makes it possible for the authorities of a given institution to make plans for the future; to know that if they economize in one year in order to put up a building later, the legislature will not lower their appropriation next year because they have a surplus.

How Shall We Divide the Expense of the Work of the State?

The next consideration is how we determine the amount which each of us shall pay for the service which the state renders. As in the case of the city, the amount we pay is usually based on the amount of income we receive or on the amount of certain kinds of property which we possess. In some states we pay according to the amount of our property, real and personal; in some according to our income; in some according to both. In many of them there are in addition taxes on corporations which do business in the state, on inheritances, on special businesses, such as the selling of liquor, and on vehicles. Some states go into debt for permanent improvements; others pay as they go. See Appendix, page 210.

Suggestions for Reform. We have described very briefly the business and business methods of the state. There are many people who think that these methods are far from being economical and efficient. It is scarcely worth while to consider the criticisms of those who have no helpful suggestions to offer. Governor Hodges, of Kansas, is one of those who has lately offered some constructive criticisms. These relate chiefly to the legislature.

The Kansas legislature he says considered 1700 bills in the session of 1913 and passed 376 acts in its 49 days of existence.

“In the closing days of the session, as in all legislatures, there was lawmaking in hot haste and bills were rushed through under omnibus roll-calls, and the result was a lot of more or less crude and illy-digested laws, some of which are puzzles for even learned jurists to interpret with anything like satisfaction to themselves or to the public.”

As a result: “Notwithstanding the fact my executive clerk and the attorney-general did their best to scrutinize all the bills, chapters 177 and 178, and chapters 174 and 175, respectively, are duplicates. Chapter 75 of the Laws of 1911 was repealed three times—first by section 3 of chapter 75 of the laws of 1913; by section 2 of chapter 123 of the laws of 1913; and then by section 7 of chapter 124 of the laws of 1913; chapter 318 of the laws of 1913 was immediately amended by chapter 319 of the laws of 1913.

“The law governing the inspection of hotels and lodging houses contains this provision: ‘All carpets and equipment used in offices and sleeping rooms, including walls and ceiling, must be well plastered and kept in a clean and sanitary condition at all times.’

“With all that, the Kansas legislature of 1913 was as efficient, as capable, as upright and honest as any legislature that ever sat; it passed many wholesome laws. There was not a single suspicion of corruption. It was as good a legislature as can be gotten together under the bicameral system, but it requires *much more than honesty* to make laws for a state.

“What is commonly called the *technical* part of legislation is incomparably more difficult than what may be called the *ethical*. In other words, it is far easier to *conceive* justly what would be useful law, than so to *construct*

that same law, that it may accomplish the design of the lawgiver."

He quotes from the *Saturday Evening Post*: "We legislate in convulsions when we legislate at all. The organism is so constituted that it must have a fit or lie dormant.

"It is not a representative system. The people of Illinois do not conduct their personal affairs in rare bursts of frantic energy divided by long periods of torpidity. No farmer hires 30 men to debate about small grain from July 4th to July 30th and then harvest the oats on the 31st. Why should he regard a legislature which operates that way as representing him?"

Governor Hodges' solution is this:

"In my message of March 10, 1913, I proposed to the Kansas legislature the substitution for the present system, of a one-house legislature consisting of 8 and not to exceed 16 members. One-half of them might be elected from districts and one-half of them at large, or they might all be nominated by districts and elected at large, with provisions for recall, and the initiative and referendum, which are imperative. These legislators should be elected for terms of four years each, with provision for expiration in rotation in order to secure stability and experience.

"I further believe that these legislators should be nominated and elected upon a non-partisan ballot, like that which has recently been provided in Kansas for the election of judges; or if not that, then with provision for minority representation.

"They should be paid salaries which would enable them to give their time to the study of state affairs. They should meet at such intervals as the business of the state

demands and should have power to employ expert assistance in the drafting of laws.

“Such a body, able to meet without large expense whenever necessity required, would be a good business proposition for the people of the state. As it is, one coordinate branch of the state government is absolutely abandoned for a whole biennium, unless the legislature is convoked in an expensive, extraordinary session by the governor. It is as if the head of an important department of some other big business should give only fifty days every two years to its management.

“Such a legislature would give us fewer but better laws; it would give us laws that would need less interpretation from the courts and accordingly give us less litigation. It would be representative. As a matter of fact, under the present system the sovereign voter helps elect one representative out of 125, and one senator out of 40, and if his senator and representative happen to disagree, he is not represented at all. Under the one-house system, elected as I have proposed, each voter would cast his vote for either 8 or 16 members according to the method adopted. He can watch 8 or 16, and if he is alert, he may know from the daily newspapers on which one of them to fix the responsibility for any particular action, but he cannot keep track of 165.

“And this brings me to the matter of publicity. I would have published and distributed at state expense a journal of the proceedings of this House so that every voter in the state, if he cared, may know just what is going on. The more conspicuous a man is before the public, and the more clearly his responsibility is appreciated by the people, the harder it is for him to go wrong.”

There are those who think that the reason the public receives incompetent service is that the voters have to elect so many officials that they cannot examine carefully the qualifications of the candidates nor watch closely the officials whom they have elected. These people are organized into the Short Ballot League for the purpose of reducing the number of elective positions.

We are told by Mr. Arthur M. Evans of the Short Ballot League that: "In Chicago at the 1912 election the voters struggled with a ballot containing 54 or 55 offices to be filled outside of presidential electors. A sample ballot, picked at random, contains 254 nominees for state, congressional, legislative, judicial, city and county offices, and in addition the names of 173 nominees for presidential electors, a total of 427. What voter, outside the wizards of politics, is able to make intelligent choice at one time from a page of 254 names put up for 55 offices?"

"The natural course in achieving the shortened ballot is to commence with state offices. So far as the federal government is concerned we have the short ballot. An elector votes for electors of president and vice-president, for United States senators, and for representatives in Congress. But in the state government the constitution piles a mass of elective offices upon the ballot.

"The state government needs reorganization on the pattern of the federal government.

"Why should the secretary of state of Illinois be elected when the secretary of state of the United States is appointed?"

"Why should the electors be bothered with electing an attorney-general of Illinois, when the attorney-general of the United States is appointed? The attorney-general of Illinois has not one-tenth as much work to perform as has

the corporation counsel of Chicago, yet the latter is appointed.

“ Why should the state auditor, the state treasurer and the superintendent of public instruction be elected, rather than appointed? How many voters know enough about the men running for office, outside the really large positions, such as governor and mayor, to choose with intelligence? How many voters know the duties attached to the minor state offices?

“ Besides the state officers, the constitution loads on the shoulders of the voters a large accumulation of county officers and judiciary positions. What voter can take the time to acquaint himself with the respective merits of the small army of men who run for commissioners of Cook County? Who wants to vote on clerks of the courts, nothing but clerical positions, unless it be the patriots who are looking for jobs? The voters have so much voting to do that they cannot vote well.”*

At the regular election, the voter simply has to choose between one candidate of one party and one candidate of each of the other parties. At the earlier, or primary election, however, in which each party selects from a number the person who is to be its candidate for each office, the voter must often make his choice for each office from a long list of names. On the next page is a picture of the ballot from which the voters of New York had to select the candidates of their party in March, 1912. This list was 14 feet long and contained 590 names. The voter was given three minutes to perform his task of selection!

The People's Power League of the state of Oregon offer this solution to their long ballot and their troubles. The

* *The Voter*, Eleventh Year, Number 129, January, 1912.

governor is to be a member of the legislature just as the English prime minister is a member of Parliament, and the cabinet is to be responsible to the legislature and subject, as is the English cabinet, to recall by the legislature. The legislature itself is to be subject to recall by the people.

“The number of general officers of the state is reduced to two, the governor and state auditor. The Senate is abolished with a view to amplifying the representative machinery and vesting the members of the ‘lower’ house with some of the conspicuousness which is an element of the short ballot principle.”

“The short ballot idea is carried into the counties where the authority would be vested in the county board, somewhat on the ‘commission’ plan, who would carry on the business end of the county’s affairs through an appointive manager, who in turn would select and control the business officers like the treasurer.

“The legal functions of the county would be in the hands of two appointees of the governor, the sheriff and the district attorney. This would work out logically the principle of the county as an agency of



VOTING BY THE YARD.

the state government in administering justice. At the same time local public opinion would control these appointees through the operation of the recall.

“The ballots are made still shorter by the lengthening of terms of office, and separation of elections. Thus in one year would fall presidential electors and a Congressman, in another the Governor, Auditor and State Representative, in a third, three county directors, and in a fourth group, judges.”*

Widespread Movement for Reforms in State Administration. Several states, including Illinois, Minnesota, and Iowa, have already appointed efficiency and economy commissions to study and report upon improved methods of administration. None of them have gone so far in their recommendations for changes as has Governor Hodges or the People's Power League of Oregon, but all of them have suggested fewer elective officials and greater centralization of responsibility. Meanwhile some of the difficulties, especially those of legislation, are slowly adjusting themselves.

In the first place, laws are being better written than formerly. Let us consider for a moment how a law is actually made.

The Lawmaker in Difficulty. John Jones comes to the legislature. He is a good citizen, a man of hard sense, well respected in his community. He finds that if he is to represent his district he must introduce bills and that he must in some way get those bills through the legislature. He must, first of all, get those bills drawn, and never having drawn a bill in his life and not knowing how such things should be done, it is very hard work for him. He is con-

* *Short Ballot Bulletin*, April, 1912, Vol. I, No. 8.

fronted with two thousand bills on two thousand subjects, legal and economic. Complex questions which are not settled by the greatest thinkers today are hurled at his head. Even scientific subjects that the chemist or the physician or the man of science has had a hard time to deal with must be met by our John Jones, and that in the hurry and rush of committee work, and of his efforts to take care of the multitudinous duties placed upon him. If he is honest, he will try to draw his bills himself, or else he pays somebody to do it for him; but the easiest way is to consult somebody else. He finds around him bright men, well-paid lawyers, men of legal standing, who are willing to help him in every way. But it is seldom that he finds a true friend. They are there to look out for their own interests; to get hold of John Jones is their business. If he is honest and by persistent courage and sterling honesty fights his way through,—pushes his bills on to become laws,—those bills, having to do often with complex technical subjects, and being drawn by a man unskilled in law, are thrown out by the courts. Our United States Constitution says to each state: "There are certain things which you may not do, and certain things which the United States may not do." Each state constitution says to the state legislature: "There are certain things which you may do and certain things which you may not do." Hundreds of laws which the legislatures have passed in good faith have been afterwards declared by the Supreme Court of the state or nation to be unsanctioned by the constitution.

Expert Aid for the Legislator. Clearly, John Jones needs help. He is receiving it in some states. Several states now provide, at the expense of the state, skilled lawyers to

draw up in plain business-like language the bills which John Jones wants to introduce. In connection with these bill-drafting departments are reference libraries or bureaus, where the legislator may obtain from trained librarians information on almost every subject which comes before the legislature. Here he may find out what other states and other countries are doing, and how they are doing it. Here the expert bill drafter will find compilations of laws of the various states and countries which may serve as a guide or a warning to him in constructing bills. These reference libraries exist in many states which have no bill-drafting department. Many of the larger cities have also established them for the benefit of their lawmakers and administrators.

Thus lawmaking has been improved by the employment of experts to give them suitable form, and of experts to supply general information. Experts are also being employed to supply specific information. For example, the legislature of the state of Wisconsin passed a law expressing the will of the people that women in the industries of Wisconsin should receive a living wage. Instead of the legislature spending its time disputing over the amount which constitutes a living wage, the legislature turned it over to their group of expert employees, known as the Industrial Commission, to determine for the people of the state, in any given industry, what that minimum is. The United States willed that the railroads should receive a reasonable compensation for carrying freight, but left it to the Interstate Commerce Commission to determine what that rate was, just as they leave it to administrative departments to provide the details in the building of a battleship or the digging of the Panama Canal.

The Administrative Commission. The Wisconsin legislature willed that dangerous industries should be made as safe as possible for the worker, and employed the Industrial Commission to provide the proper safeguards. The Industrial Commission did this with the aid and advice of a body of men who understood their business—representatives of the State Federation of Labor, of the casualty insurance companies, and of the steel and harvester trust. The result of this cooperation was that the rules governing lighting which this committee compiled and issued have been adopted by the United States Navy as the best shop-lighting rules in the United States.

There is no need to look back to the good old days when the country was well governed. Government is improving every day. States, as well as private businesses, are growing more efficient. They grow more efficient because we all help, frankly admitting our faults as a state and doing all in our power to overcome them.

DISCUSSION OF THE STATE

In the days of the first immigration to America, almost every group of settlers brought with it a grant of certain rights and powers of government from the mother country. This statement of the form of government which they were to have was called a charter. Under its charter each colony governed itself until the colonies united to break away from the mother country. After they gained their independence, most of them continued to live under the same general form of government as before. Some of them kept their old charters as the form of government or "constitution" of the new state into which the colony has

been transformed. Others made material changes, and some adopted entirely new constitutions.

The states of the United States have thus had written constitutions from the very beginning. These constitutions, which were originally grants of power and rights from another government; are now merely agreements as to the form of government by the people of the state; in other words they are the laws which relate to the form of government. They differ from other laws of the state chiefly in the subject matter and method of adoption. Their subject matter is mainly the form of government; and they are much more difficult to adopt and to change than other laws which are merely passed by the legislature, and which relate only to those subjects upon which the constitution permits them to act. Every great modern state except England has the law establishing its form of government written out separately in the form of a written constitution, adopted with certain formalities by those who have political rights. In England, on the contrary, the form of government is not established by any one document called the constitution, but it is established by laws adopted from time to time by the same process by which all other laws are adopted.

1. Study the constitution of your state* and discuss the following topics:
 - (a) What is a constitution?
 - (b) How can the constitution of your state be changed? Compare it in this respect with the constitution of the United States. (See Appendix p. 197.) Compare it with the Constitution of England.
 - (c) How many times and for what purposes has it been changed?

* The constitution of your state can probably be obtained from the Reference Library, if your state has one, or from the Secretary of State, or in the manual of your state.

Is it easy to change it? If possible, compare it in this respect with the constitutions of neighboring states.

- (d) What things did the people of your state forbid their legislature to do? Could they change this?
- (e) How many members are there in your lower house? In your upper house? For how long are they elected? Who is the member of each house from your district? How is he elected?
- (f) Have you ever visited a session of your legislature? Who presides in the Senate? How does he obtain his position? Who presides in the lower house? How does he obtain his position? What are the duties of each? *

Suppose that you, a citizen of your state, wish a certain law passed.

How would you get the legislature of your state to consider it? What opportunity would you have to speak publicly to the members of the legislature in favor of your bill? What is a person not a legislator called who tries to influence the legislature to pass his bill? Is there any law in your state regulating the things that such a person can do to secure his object?

- (g) What were some of the important measures considered at the last session of your legislature? How did the members from your district vote on them? (See the Journals of the two houses.)
- (h) Talk over with your parents the scheme of Governor Hodges. What advantages do you see in a one house plan? What disadvantages? What advantages and disadvantages in having a small number of legislators?
- (i) Follow the course of a bill from its introduction to the final disposal of it.
- (j) Who is the governor of your state? To what party does he belong? On what platform or principles was he elected? For how long was he elected? What are his powers? Give an example of his use of each of those powers.
- (k) What other administrative officers besides the governor are provided for by the constitution? How do they obtain their positions? For how long? Is the work of each policy determining? Who is your Secretary of State? Treasurer? Attorney-general? What do you think of the Short Ballot suggestion for the last three?
- (l) How many sets of courts has your state? What is the highest

* See the Manual of your state or a copy of the Senate and Assembly manual for the procedure in both houses.

one called? The lower ones? Who are the judges of your highest court? How do they obtain their positions?

2. What business carried on by the state affects you personally?
3. With which of the state officials have you had official dealings? With which of the county officials?
4. What is the state tax rate in your community? The city tax rate?
5. Does your state have a general property tax? Income tax? Inheritance tax?
6. Does your state go into debt? Which state has the highest debt? The lowest? (See Appendix, p. 210, for debt of the different states.)
7. If your state is in debt, for what purpose has it borrowed? When does it expect to pay its debt? How does it raise the money for that purpose?
8. In Appendix, p. 213, is a list of "Indiana Needs." Do these needs apply to your state?

CHAPTER XI

HOW THE UNITED STATES DOES ITS WORK

The United States of America and the United States of the World. You are a citizen not only of your city, your county, and your state, but also of that larger state made up of smaller states which we call the United States. You may well be proud to belong to a group of people who are intelligent enough to live together peaceably and pleasantly in such great numbers, and who, in order to secure the things they all want, work together successfully in spite of the necessarily huge and awkward size of their organizations. There are some who believe that the only condition under which you would have a right to be more proud would be that you belonged to a group of people intelligent enough to get along peaceably and pleasantly with all the world, working with all the world to secure the things which all want. When you look at the United States as it is today, and remember that it is only 150 years since Josiah Tucker was saying about this very United States that it never could exist, it seems that after all they may not be very rash who predict that there will some day be world peace and a great union of the states of the world into a United States of the World.

The United Work of the States. As a city, we work together to obtain light, water, education, recreation and other things which one family cannot easily obtain for itself. As a state we work together for education, to care

for dependents, to improve conditions under which we work, and to do many things which one city cannot easily do for itself. As the United States we work together to distribute our mail, to protect our country against invasion, to protect the interests of our citizens in other countries, to keep the peace among the several states of the United States, to regulate trade and business transactions between the states, and to do many other things which one state cannot conveniently do alone. For many of these purposes, such as the protection of public health, education, and the keeping of the peace, city, state and nation all work. When the states decided that there were a number of things which it would be an advantage to them to do together, they drew up a statement of those things, and of the way in which they would do those things. This statement is known as the constitution of the United States.

The Lawmaking and Law-Administering Bodies. The constitution provided first for a body of representatives to make the rules, or laws, in regard to those things which the states wished to do together. This body, which is known as Congress, is described by the constitution so well that you can study it out for yourselves. Next the constitution provided for a manager to carry out the rules and regulations of Congress. This manager or executive was to be selected, not by the Congress whose bidding he was to do, but by the people themselves in an indirect way. They were to select a few of their number, and these selected few, called electors, were to select the manager whom the states named in their constitution the president. At least that is the way our method of selecting a president would look to a foreign child who was reading our constitution

and who did not know that the people of the United States are divided into five great parties, each of which selects a candidate for this position; that the people of the United States select their electors on the basis of the party to which they belong; and that no elector would dare vote for any other than the candidate of his party.

The Irresponsibility of the Administering Bodies. There is another thing which would seem strange to a European. In almost all the important European countries,—in France, Austria-Hungary, Holland, Spain, Italy and Great Britain, and in the British Colonies,—Australia, South Africa, and Canada, the people select their lawmakers and leave these lawmakers to select the manager, or prime minister, as they call him, to carry out their will. That is the responsible government which we described in the fourth chapter. In the United States, however, the people select their lawmakers and then select for them the servant who is to carry out their wishes, with the result that our legislature and executive often clash in opinions and methods, and cannot agree because neither is responsible to the other. They cannot hold either responsible for a measure on which they disagree because the people have elected both.

The Development of the United States Cabinet. Our legislature, or Congress, has given the president the power to employ helpers and advisers. These men are known as cabinet members. There are now ten cabinet members who divide up the work of carrying out the orders of Congress. At first there were only three of these assistants or secretaries. The secretary of state was to look after foreign affairs,—to carry on the correspondence with foreign governments and to direct our representatives in foreign

countries: our ambassadors, ministers, and consuls. The secretary of the treasury was to oversee the coining of money, the collection and paying out of money voted by Congress for various purposes, and the national banking system. The secretary of war was to be the business manager in the work of building up the army and navy. These department managers met often with their general manager, the president. Soon they called into their councils two more department managers—the postmaster-general and the lawyer, called the attorney-general, who represents the United States in all cases in which it is a party. Then the care of the army and navy became too much for one person, so a secretary of the navy was provided. Then it became necessary to have a department manager for domestic affairs—the sale of public lands, Indian affairs, pensions, patents, the taking of the census, and other things. So a secretary of the interior was employed. It was thought desirable to give advice and look after the interests generally of the most numerous class of citizens, so a department of agriculture, with its secretary was established. As the years went on, another class of workers, the laborers in the manufacturing and transportation business, became as numerous as the farmers, and a division of the department of agriculture, called the bureau of labor, was made to look after their interests. The industrial and commercial classes finally convinced Congress that they needed a department manager for themselves, and so a secretary of commerce and labor was provided. A few years ago the industrial classes secured the separation of their affairs from those of the commercial classes and were given a separate department and a secretary of labor in the cabinet.

The Responsible Ministry of England. In England, Parliament decides what kind of measures it wants and passes general acts which outline the policy, and which leave the details of administration to be supplied by the department heads who put those acts into execution. Each department calculates the amount of money necessary to carry out the different projects and all the departments put together the sums they require into a budget which they present to Parliament. The department heads are all members of either the House of Commons or the House of Lords, and they are usually called upon to discuss and defend every item in the budget on the floor of the House. In this way the body responsible to the people for the policy is able to hold responsible to it the body which carries out that policy. In the United States, the body which passes the law also determines how much shall be spent in carrying out each particular law, and the department manager has to do the best he can on the money allowed. Unless we had a responsible ministry, the budget system might not work as well here as in England, for the department managers who would make up the budget are not members of Congress; they could not be questioned on the floor of each house in regard to the different items they recommended; and they could not be removed from office by a majority vote of the lower House.

The next question, is, how does the United States pay its bills? Of course, the people of the United States have to pay them, but the important consideration is to determine how much each shall pay.

The American Tariff to Protect Manufacturers. In the first place, everybody who buys certain goods which have been made in foreign countries and shipped into the United

States pays a tax or duty on those goods. The United States collects it at the port from the person who ships it in, and that person collects it from the people who buy the goods by raising the price to cover the duty. When you buy imported hosiery you pay a tax of 20 per cent to 50 per cent of its value. On cotton gloves you pay 35 per cent, on silks 45 per cent, on velvets and plushes 50 per cent, on china and porcelain ware from 50 per cent to 55 per cent. Previous to 1913 many more imports were taxed than are now. Iron and steel goods, woolen goods, sugar, and practically all the necessities of life were taxed. The object of much of this taxation was formerly to protect home manufacturers against imports from foreign countries; to raise the price of foreign goods so high that the American manufacturer would be able to produce goods cheaper than the foreign manufacturer could sell it to us. The tariff act of 1913 removed much of this protection.*

The story of how we came to have a protective tariff is interesting. One hundred years ago, when Napoleon with the French was fighting the rest of Europe, manufacturing developed in the American states. When the war was over, the manufacturers were dismayed. They knew that they were paying American laborers more than English and European manufacturers paid for their labor, and that they could not, therefore, sell their goods as cheaply as the English and the European manufacturers. They would be driven out of business by cheap goods imported from abroad. They took counsel together and appealed to Congress. This is what they said: "The American laborer will not work for what the European laborer will work, as long as

* Sugar was to have gone on the free list May, 1916, but, because of the war, this provision was suspended.

there is plenty of cheap farm land. We cannot afford to sell our goods so cheaply as European manufacturers because labor costs more. We shall be driven out of business, and our workmen out of work. Put a tax upon European imports greater than the difference between the cost of labor at home and abroad. The European manufacturer, if he pays the tax when the goods arrive, will have to raise the price to cover the tax. The price of their goods will thus be higher than ours, and the people will buy ours."

The idea looked like a good one to Congress and it has acted upon it over and over again. But as time went on, some began to suggest that very little of the extra price paid by the American consumer, as a result of the tax, was going into the pockets of the American laborer; that the American manufacturer, instead of paying it to the American laborer in the form of wages, was taking foreign laborers into his factory at the low foreign wage as fast as he could.

The Australian Tariff to Protect the Laborer. The people of Australia have adopted a unique method of meeting this difficulty. They favor Australian manufacturers on condition that certain standards in the treatment of employees are kept. For example, by an act of 1906, a tax was levied on imported agricultural machinery. One-half of that tax was also levied on home manufactures, *unless* goods are manufactured under conditions as to remuneration which

(a) Are declared by resolution of both Houses of Commonwealth Parliament to be fair and reasonable.

(b) Are in accordance with terms of an industrial award under the Conciliation and Arbitration Act 1904, etc.

Since 1912 acts have been passed giving bounties to

certain manufacturers, among them sugar manufacturers, on condition that certain standard rates of wages are paid.

The 1913 Revenue Tariff. We in the United States, after many years' experience with a protective tariff, removed the duties on most of the necessities of life, as we said before, by the tariff act of 1913. The object of the tariff duties is now chiefly to produce revenue by a tax on goods coming in, rather than to protect American goods by keeping out foreign goods.

Tobacco and Liquor Taxes. Another method of producing revenue is the tax on certain domestic manufactures. Every one who buys tobacco or liquor pays a tax upon it. The United States collects the tax from the producer; the producer makes the consumer pay it by raising the price of the product.

The Federal Income Tax. A third method of collecting money is by taxing incomes.* Every individual who has an income of over \$3,000, or in the case of married men with families, \$4,000, pays a tax of at least 1 per cent, the rate increasing on incomes above \$20,000. Every business corporation which has a net annual return of \$5,000 pays a tax of 1 per cent upon that return.

War Taxes. In time of war, other methods are resorted to in order to insure quick returns. Taxes are levied upon legal transactions, such as deeds and wills, stock transfers and insurance policies; upon bills of lading, express company receipts, and drugs. The government has even written out promises to pay, or notes, and used them as money.

* There is a strong probability that this law will be changed in order to raise more revenue to meet increased military expenditures which are advocated.

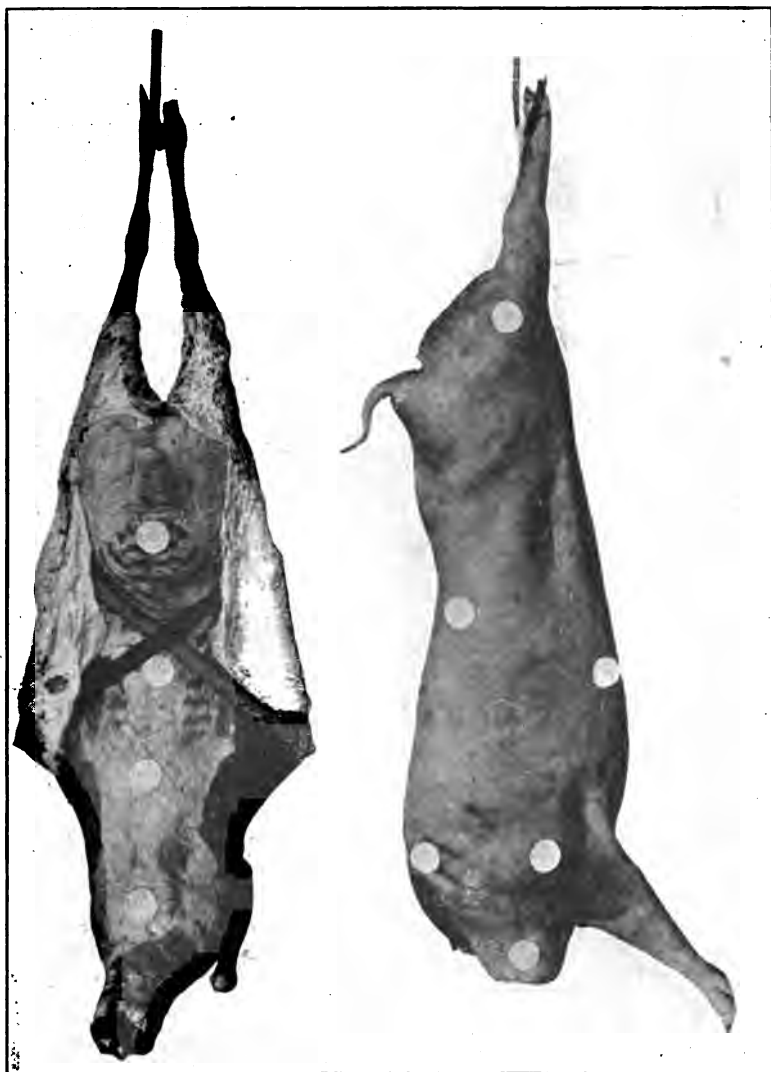


FEDERAL MEAT INSPECTION. MARKING INSPECTED AND PASSED CARCASSES.
The marking is done by means of a metal hand-stamp and specially prepared ink.
Bureau of Animal Industry, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

The National Debt. The nation, like the state and the city, also resorts to borrowing when that seems better than to ask the people for too much at once. It has borrowed to build the Panama Canal, to build warships, to carry out great irrigation projects, and to carry on war. The United States in 1910 owed \$1,028,564,000, or \$10.45 per capita. France owed \$160.25 per capita, Great Britain \$96.35 per capita and the German Empire \$17.81.

National Administrative Commissions. The United States, like the states, sometimes employs experts on a permanent commission to see to the administration of certain laws, instead of leaving it to the heads of departments of the cabinet who will be changed when the presidents are changed. Just as states turn over to industrial commissions the details and the carrying out of labor laws, so the United States has turned over to its interstate commerce commission the details and the carrying out of all its laws in regard to railroads; and to the interstate trade commission the regulations of other corporations which do business in more than one state.

Federal Protection of Health. The United States, like the states and the cities, makes laws for the protection of the public health. There is a Bureau of Public Health in the Treasury department which carries out those laws. The United States legislates on those matters which cities and states cannot conveniently control. These include regulations for the protection of the people of the United States against disease from foreign countries and from other states. The United States keeps medical officers at certain foreign ports to inspect ships sailing for the United States, to see that conditions are sanitary and diseases absent.



SHEEP AND HOG CARCASSES, SHOWING GOVERNMENT'S NEW TYPE OF INSPECTION MARKS.

Bureau of Animal Industry, U. S. Department of Agriculture

At the ports of the United States, another medical inspection is made. Immigrants are inspected, and those who appear to be defective mentally and physically are sent back.

The Federal Health service also has charge of the sanitation of interstate trains and the exclusion of dangerous or infected merchandise from transportation. The states often call on the United States for help in controlling an outbreak of cholera, yellow fever, plague or typhus fever. In these cases, the federal officials take charge. Because of its power to regulate interstate commerce, Congress has the right to dictate the terms on which goods can be transported. It requires, for example, that meat cannot be sold from one state into another unless it has been inspected by federal officials for signs of disease, and stamped with the government stamp, which would be a guarantee of its freedom from disease if the inspecting force were always large enough to insure the public that the inspection was adequate.

Federal Guarantee of the Medium of Exchange. Long before the federal government began to stamp some of our food as free from disease, it was stamping our medium of exchange as free from fraud. Our savage family produced for itself or took by force all it consumed. But as the family group became organized with other family groups, individuals learned to specialize in certain kinds of production, and to exchange their surplus products for the surplus products of others; for example, to exchange articles of food for articles of clothing.

Sometimes these changes were inconvenient. Some of the articles were bulky and difficult to handle. Sometimes the products to be exchanged were not completed at the

same time. Sometimes a person wished to divide the entire value of his product and exchange it for several kinds of products. At last people learned to exchange their products for valuable objects, such as beads, metals, etc., which they could conveniently keep for a time and later exchange for other objects which they really wanted. Thus money came into use. Now when you produce something for which there is a demand, you can exchange it for a piece of money which indicates the value of your product and which you can later exchange for products of that value. The governments of the different countries have one by one taken charge of the production of this medium of exchange, or currency, so that you can be reasonably sure of its value. Gold and silver are the metals which have been found most desirable for this purpose.

Free Coinage of Gold. If you should discover a gold mine, it would be difficult for you to exchange your gold nuggets for other products. People would be suspicious of the quality and weight of your nugget. But you could take your gold nuggets to the mints operated by the United States, and have them coined into pieces of uniform quality and size and stamped with the government's guarantee of size and weight. These two and a half, five, ten and twenty dollar gold pieces are readily acceptable all over the country for the products you desire. The currency of the United States is thus based on the principle of free coinage of gold.

Gold and Silver Certificates. If you do not wish to carry around these pieces of metal, the government will deposit them in vaults for safe keeping and give you instead certificates showing the amount of gold you have deposited with them. These certificates are known as "gold certifi-

cates," and you can exchange them for products as easily as if they were the gold itself because every one knows that the government will accept the certificate at any time in exchange for the gold in its vaults.

Silver Money. Silver money is made by the government in much the same way, except that the government will not coin your silver for you as it does your gold. The government itself buys all the silver it coins, and does not put into the silver coins the full value which is stamped upon them. For example, a silver dollar contains only sixteen times as much metal as a gold dollar, if we coined one, would contain; but gold is worth more than thirty times as much as an equal quantity of silver, so that in order that a silver dollar might be worth the full value which is stamped upon it, it would have to contain perhaps thirty times as much silver as a gold dollar contains of gold. The ratio of the value of gold and silver varies so that you will have to look it up to be sure of the ratio at present. Although a silver dollar does not contain a full dollar's worth of silver, we accept it at its face value, because we have confidence in the government. These silver dollars, like the gold coins, may be exchanged for the more convenient paper silver certificates.

Greenbacks. Besides these gold and silver certificates the government has issued another form of paper money called greenbacks. These greenbacks do not represent metal coins, as do the certificates. They are merely the government's promises to pay, or notes. We accept them as payment for our products only because we believe that the government's promises to pay are good. The government had to use these during the Civil War to pay its debts,

and since then it has used them to buy up silver to coin into money.

National Bank Notes. There is a third kind of paper money which will soon disappear. That is the national bank note. The United States used to borrow money through national banks, give these banks promises to pay, or notes called United States bonds, and permit those banks to lend these promises to pay, as currency, to its customers. These are known as bank notes, because the name of the issuing bank is printed on each one. We all accept these, just as we do the greenbacks, because we have faith in the promise of the United States to pay. The practice of issuing them is to be discontinued, however, under the latest banking and currency act. Under this act a group of national banks may issue promises to pay which will be used temporarily, in times when there is great need for more currency, as when the crops are being moved in the fall, but these "federal reserve notes" will be taxed so that they will not remain long in circulation.

Government Regulation of Citizenship. The United States not only guarantees the quality of currency and of food, but it also undertakes to guarantee, to a certain extent, the quality of those who become citizens. In the first place, only those who are reasonably sound physically are permitted to enter the country. In the second place, only those who have acquired a reasonable amount of information about their adopted country are permitted to become citizens of it. An alien who wishes to become a citizen must have lived in the United States at least five years, and must have declared his intention before the court in

his locality at least two years before he petitions for admission. His petition, which he files with the court in his locality, must give information as to his identity, residence, occupation, place of birth, name of wife, children, etc. The petition must also state that he is not opposed to organized government, is not a polygamist or a believer in polygamy, and that he renounces allegiance to his native country. Ninety days after this petition he may appear before the court with two witnesses to affirm the truth of the statements set forth in his petition. He is now subjected to an examination by a federal examiner who comes around to each locality at intervals. If he satisfies the examiner, he is given his papers of citizenship.

The Federal Courts. The United States, like the city and the state, has its courts to decide cases arising under its laws, disputes between states and disputes between citizens of different states. There is one great court for the whole United States, called the Supreme Court of the United States. The United States is divided into nine circuits with a court in each circuit. These circuits are divided into districts with a court in each district. If a person is accused of violating the anti-trust law of the United States he is tried in a United States district court; if he is found guilty, he may under certain conditions carry the case to the Circuit Court; if found guilty there he may appeal for final judgment to the Supreme Court of the United States. This supreme court consists of nine judges appointed by the president for life.

Business Locations of the Federal Government. The United States, like the states and the cities, has its central office building, where its executive, its lawmakers, its Supreme



UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT IN SESSION.

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Court judges, and the heads of its great business departments carry on their work. But to realize how much business the United States carries on, you will have to go to its branch offices in every city and town—to the post-offices, to the distilleries where its agents are measuring the liquor in order to levy the tax; to its customs houses, where its servants inspect the imports and collect the taxes from the importer; to the immigrant stations, where physicians inspect the incoming aliens; to its great agricultural experiment stations, from whence come advice and aid to the farmers; to the stockyards of our great cities, where the servants in its employ protect us from disease by watching the preparation of the food which is to be shipped from one state to another. Finally you will have to follow the mail carrier on his rounds over the country, as he takes the morning paper to the quiet homes and puts them in touch with the rest of the world. Then perhaps you will realize something of the wonderful ability of the human beings who have been able to devise this great business organization which we speak of as our United States.

The Beginning of a World Federation. Considering the intelligence which has brought, out of the chaos of a thousand years ago, this great organization and the British Empire, the German Empire, the Russian Empire and the other great nations, a great many people dare to reflect upon a probable organization of all these nations for common purposes. They point out that a common lawmaking body and a court have been established at The Hague. From your study of the history of the American states you know that, after they became independent, there was a period when they also had a common lawmaking body,

but, like the present World Federation, no executive strong enough to carry out the laws, and no police to make the states obey the laws or to bring them into court for trial, or to enforce the penalties prescribed by the court. The new world union has a court to settle disputes, it is true, but no army and navy to act as policemen in making an erring nation settle its disputes without fighting. The international agreements and the court at The Hague seem to have been no more potent to prevent war than was the helpless government of the American Confederation.

The Prospects for Peace in the Future. There was a time when every person carried his own weapons of defence. But individuals have turned over that duty to the city; cities have turned some of it over to states; states have turned some of it over to the federal organization of states. The Confederation failed but the United States has, on the whole, succeeded fairly well in keeping peace among the states. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that sometime the great nations may learn to transfer the duty of protecting themselves against each other to a world union of states, which will make and enforce laws for them all.

QUESTIONS ON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. Turn to the constitution (p. 197) and indicate those things which the states agreed to do together. Show how it is more convenient for the states to do these things together than to do them separately. Indicate those things which the states forbade the United States to do. Check these places and be ready to read in class.

2. Where in the constitution do the people of the states give to the United States the right to build the Panama Canal? To construct a railroad in Alaska?

3. What is Congress? Of what is it composed? Give five of its duties.

4. How many states are there in the United States? Name and locate the possessions of the United States.

5. How many United States senators has your state? How many have the states on each side of your state? How are they selected? Read that part of the constitution which provides for each item.

6. How many members of the House of Representatives are there from your state? If you could vote, for how many senators would you have a chance to vote? For how many representatives? Who are your senators? Who is your representative?

7. What important questions were before Congress in the last session? How did your senators and representatives vote on them?

8. What is the name of the daily newspaper which Congress publishes to describe what it is doing and to report its speeches? Does your library get a copy of it?

9. Who is the present president? To what party does he belong? What are some of the most important principles of that party? What are the other four parties? Who were their candidates at the last election?

10. Who are the secretaries of the different departments of administration? (See some of the annual almanacs if you cannot find out by asking your parents.)

11. In England, the member of the House of Commons for any district may be selected by the people of that district from anywhere in the country. How is it in the United States? Compare the two methods as to advantages and disadvantages.

12. Compare our Senate with the British House of Lords as to:

- (a) Manner of obtaining membership.
- (b) Length of term of each member.
- (c) Power.

13. Compare our House of Representatives with the British House of Commons in the same way.

14. How can the constitution be changed? Compare the ease of changing it with the ease of changing the constitution of your state; of England; of Canada. How many times has the constitution of the United States been changed? What are the last two changes?

15. Do you pay any federal taxes?

16. What is the name of the main office building in the United States? What is the branch office building in your community called? What offices of the United States are located in it? What is the name of the main office building of your state? Of the branch office building? Of the main office building of your city?

17. Who owns the following buildings: railway stations, churches, schools, fire stations, banks, police stations, electric plants, gas plants, waterworks,

insane hospitals, schools for blind, home for dependent children, universities, express offices, jails and forts?

18. Examine the four different kinds of paper money.

19. Currency is used to measure the value of goods. Suppose there is much currency and few goods in the country, will prices of goods be high or low? Suppose there are many goods but little currency, will prices be high or low?

20. Suppose that because of the discovery of gold or for any other reason, the amount of currency in the country increases. What effect will that have on the prices of goods?

21. Suppose you mortgage your farm to borrow \$1000 for 10 years. During that ten years the amount of currency in the country increases faster than the amount of products. What effect will that have upon prices of products? When you repay the \$1000, will that \$1000 buy as much, or less, or more than \$1000 would buy when you borrowed it? Does the borrower or lender gain by an increase in the amount of currency? Why? By a decrease? Why?

22. In the early history of the United States there was a constant struggle between the settler on the western frontier, who had borrowed money from the east, and the eastern financiers who had lent them money. One party wanted the United States to issue paper money so there would be more currency, the other opposed it. From the facts just brought out, which ones do you suppose wanted more currency? Why? Which opposed it? Why?

23. In the Civil War money depreciated in value. Why?

24. What is meant by the phrases "a gold standard"; "free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1"?

25. Here are some of the questions which you would be called upon to answer if you were applying for admission to citizenship. How many can you answer satisfactorily?

- (a) What is an anarchist? Can an anarchist become a citizen?
- (b) What is a polygamist?
- (c) By whom is the United States governed?
- (d) What is the head of the government called? Who occupies that office at present? How was he elected?
- (e) What is our form of government called?
- (f) What is the constitution of the United States?
- (g) Who makes the laws for the United States? What is the upper house called? The lower house?
- (h) How are the members of these two houses selected?
- (i) How many senators has your state?

ELEMENTARY CIVICS

- (j) What is the purpose of the courts of the United States?
- (k) How do the judges of the Supreme Court obtain their positions?
How long do they hold office?
- (l) What is the capital of the United States?
- (m) How many states are there in the United States? (know their names and the names of their capitals.)
- (n) Who makes the laws of each state?
- (o) What is the head of the state called? Who is he? What power has he? How is he selected?
- (p) Where does the state legislature meet?
- (q) What reasons have you to know that there is a United States Government?

CHAPTER XII

JUSTICE

The Wager of Battle. Cedric and Wulf had a disagreement in regard to the line between their wheat fields. There was no fence, and Cedric accused Wulf of plowing on Cedric's side of the line. Wulf said he was on his own side, and they proceeded to fight it out with clubs. In the "wager of battle" Wulf knocked Cedric senseless. When Cedric recovered both agreed that God was on Wulf's side because Wulf was able to win over Cedric. So Cedric gave up his claim to the ground.

There had been no one to whom they could go for a settlement of the question. That was in England, almost ten hundred years ago. King William was busy trying to make all the great landowners recognize his authority; and the landlord of Cedric and Wulf, like all the others, was too busy fighting with or against the king to trouble himself with the little troubles of his tenants.

But in the course of a few years the king subdued the lords, and the lords had time to look after their estates. The lord now demanded that when disputes arose between tenants they must be brought to him for settlement. But in settling these disputes, as in deciding upon the guilt or innocence of a person accused of breaking the laws of the lord, the wager of battle or some method of ordeal was used. In every case, the landlord simply judged as to what God's will appeared to be from the result of the trial by ordeal or wager of battle.

Trial by Jury. But as the English kings grew more powerful, they coveted the court fees which the landlords collected. So they sent their own judges out over the country to decide disputes among the landlords and their tenants. Instead of deciding the case by the result of a wager of battle or an ordeal, these judges called together a number of the neighbors of the disputants, usually twelve, and asked them to investigate the case and report their conclusion or "verdict" later. These men were called jurors because they had to say "Juro," that is, "I swear," to the truth of what they said.

Young Cedric, great-grandson of the first Cedric, and young Wulf, great-grandson of the first Wulf, were plowing one day in their fields when Cedric protested that the latter was encroaching upon Cedric's ground. They quarreled for an hour without reaching an agreement. Wulf went on with his plowing on the contested land.

A few days later, the king's judge, while making a circuit of the country, came to the neighborhood to see if there were any disputes to be settled and any crimes to be punished. By this time, the kings had subdued the lords, and had taken over the business of keeping order throughout the country. As soon as the judge arrived and opened his court, Cedric appeared on the scene and complained that Wulf had seized some of his land. The judge sent for Wulf to come and defend himself and for the neighbors of both. When the neighbors arrived the judge said, "Now, those of you who know about the facts in this case, sit over there as witnesses, and those of you who know little or nothing about it, sit over here, as a jury."

Then he called up the witnesses, one by one, and questioned them to find out who really had a right to the land,

the plaintiff or the defendant. When he had secured from them all the information possible, he said to the jury, "Now, you may leave the room until you agree as to whether the land belongs to the plaintiff or defendant." The jury was out for a few minutes, and came back with the verdict that Cedric was right and that Wulf must give up the land.

Wulf was very much incensed. Cedric had taken a mean advantage of him. Cedric could just as well have taken his complaint to the lord as to the king's judge. If he had, Wulf would have won the case, for the lord would have settled the case by looking on while the two fought in a wager of battle. The lord would merely have decided which won, and Wulf, being much stronger, would surely have won. In fact, it was to attract the weak, like Cedric, and to collect their fees, that the king had started his trial by jury.

But Wulf's troubles were not over. The judge had appointed a number of the prominent men of the neighborhood to watch during his absence for violations of the king's law. These men, known as the "grand jury," as distinguished from the "petit" or little jury which rendered the verdict in Wulf's case, now reported to the judge that Wulf's brother, Edgar, was suspected of having stolen a cow. On their accusation, or indictment, the judge sent the sheriff to arrest Edgar for breaking the king's law. Edgar was brought before the judge. The neighbors were called as witnesses, and the jury was sent out to determine its verdict. It was out for a long time. The defendant grew very anxious. It returned at last, only to report that its members could not agree. Two men believed the defendant to be innocent, the others all believed him guilty.

Edgar was dismissed for the time, with the understanding that if enough additional evidence could be secured to convict him, he would be arrested and tried again.

The New Wager of Battle. Eight hundred years have passed since then. Laws have changed to suit conditions, but the methods of enforcing them have changed little. The principal difference is that laws have grown so complicated that neither those who bring a dispute before a court to be settled by a jury and judge, nor those who are accused of breaking the law dare to come before the court without an expert in the law—a lawyer—one who makes it his business to interpret the law to the people. These lawyers are paid by the litigants, not only for their services in interpreting the law but also for their services in presenting to judge and jury the facts as well as the law in the case in the most favorable light for their clients.

The simple questions of right and wrong which the neighbors were called upon to help decide no longer have the most important place in our courts. The industrial revolution, which has changed the little workshop into a complex factory system, has created complex questions of right and wrong. Our legislatures must provide laws which give justice under the new conditions; our courts must use all the knowledge available in applying these laws to particular cases.

The two Wulfs and the two Cedrics lived simply. They needed very few laws to protect them. They had large families—and they needed them. They needed the young folks to work in the fields, if they lived in the country; to help in the trade, if they were bakers or coppersmiths in town. They needed the old folks to do the spinning,

weaving and knitting and to make the soap and candles and sausage. When Wulf died he left to his family the same right which he had had to use the land on which they lived. The whole family, women, children and old people, were self-supporting and needed no help. There was no problem of providing for old people, widows with fatherless children and unemployed or injured workmen.

But come on down through the eight centuries, into the midst of the industrial revolution. Let us take a look at the Wulf family in 1895 and see how they compare with their ancestors.

A New System of Justice Needed. They call themselves "Wolf" now. They moved into town in 1890. In fact, over 50 per cent of the population is now living in town, as compared with 10 per cent of a century or so ago. Mr. Wolf was a healthy farmer, so he easily found work in a meat-packing house. His three children went to school. His old father could do nothing but putter around aimlessly all day and long for some chores. His wife was kept busy in the home. In the country she had helped with the farmwork besides taking care of the house. In the city, however, she found herself quite as busy without the farmwork. The city smoke and dirt kept her cleaning the house and washing clothes much of the time, and numerous trips to the grocery and dry-goods stores were necessary in order to spend their small income as wisely as possible. Often she longed for the butter and egg money with which she had provided for most of the needs of the family in the country.

One day an ambulance stopped in front of the house. Mr. Wolf was lifted out, unconscious. Friends explained to his wife that a fellow workman had accidentally in the

course of their work together struck him with an ax, and injured him severely.

For weeks he lay helpless. He needed his wife's care for a time, so she took the two older children out of school, and put them to work. They earned little, so she finally had to go out herself and work by the day. All day she washed and scrubbed for other people. Half of the night she cleaned the house and washed and cooked for her own family.

After weeks of illness the father died. It was a little easier, perhaps, for the family now to support itself, but still the children could not go back to school; still, the mother continued to do a man's work and a woman's work too. Still the old man pottered aimlessly about, feeling himself a burden and wishing that he could die.

Mrs. Wolf before her husband's death had stated his case to a lawyer to see if they could recover any damages from her husband's employer. She was told that if her husband's injury could be proved before the courts to have been due to the fault of the employer, they might receive something; but that since her husband was plainly injured through his own carelessness or that of a fellow servant, they could not win the case. The employer's liability for injuries received in his factory was limited to injuries for which he was directly responsible.

If Mr. Wolf could have afforded it he would have bought enough insurance to support his family in case of his death. Most people who cannot leave a farm or a business to their families provide for them in this way if they can. But Mr. Wolf, like many wage earners, did not receive enough wages to pay for more than the bare necessities from day to day, and so he could not pay for an insurance to support

his family in case of accident or death. Neither could he save enough to live upon in old age without feeling that he was depriving his family of things which they should have. Because of this condition of the workingman most European countries provide for some kind of old age, unemployment, and sickness insurance and widows' pensions. We have been slow in the United States to make such provisions, partly because we did not feel the need of them so soon as Europe did.

Employer's Liability. One of the first signs of thought along this line was the enactment into statute in the various states of the old common law principle that an employee could sue his employer for damages when the employee was injured through the fault or negligence of the employer or of one of his employees. These laws were known as employer's liability laws. When cases under them came before the courts, two points always had to be decided upon: first, whether the accident occurred through the fault of the employer; second, if it did occur through the fault of the employer, how much damage should be awarded.

The trouble with this system was that every case in which the employer and the injured man or his family could not agree, was taken to court and resulted in great expense and delay. The *Review of Reviews* for August, 1910, gives a number of examples of cases of this kind. Among these was the case of G.

G was known as a sober, industrious workman. One day while working at his trade of steam drillman he was instantly killed by a falling embankment. The employer paid funeral expenses only and then suit was brought. When investigated two years and two months after the

accident the case had not yet come to trial, although the lawyer who had taken it up on a 50 per cent contingent basis had done all he could to hasten it.

“New York courts trying personal injury cases are commonly more than two years behind on their calendars; the number of cases to be tried is so large that the machinery is inadequate. After the case has come up there are usually appeals and stays so that not uncommonly four years elapse from the accident to final settlement, and then the result is most uncertain.

“The family of G consisted of a wife, who was not strong, and five children, the oldest eleven. The wife was forced to go to work after the funeral working in a laundry and acting as janitress. Her small wages was insufficient to support the family and had to be supplemented by private charity. One society is still giving a regular weekly pension and has expended nearly \$200 upon this family to date. A church also has given regular aid.”

This is the way the secretary of the Texas Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers describes the problem and its solution:

“We believe that every industry should be made to bear its own costs, not merely of the inanimate factors of its plant and materials but also of the lives of human beings consumed in its activities. Just as provision must be made for the constant deterioration and ultimate destruction of all its perishable physical properties, even so the same provision must be made for the loss of lives and the personal injuries sustained among its employees and incident to the work in which they are engaged.

“The death of a human being occasioned in the course of employment in an industrial occupation is the destruction

of a part of the industrial plant itself. A dead man must be replaced just as a destroyed engine must be replaced, and the value of the life which has ceased to exist should be paid to those who were dependent upon it. A business which will not produce a profit sufficient to pay for its outworn and cast-away facilities is doomed to bankruptcy and should be abandoned. Even so, a business which will not pay for lives that are lost and injuries that are sustained in its service, is existing by continually defrauding a part of its creditors. Such a business should be wound up, and the capital, skill and energy which are being used so unprofitably should be diverted to other channels."

On this theory, many of the states have passed workmen's compensation acts which provide that when a workman is injured in the course of his work, the business which was employing him must pay him a definite sum, varying with the nature of the injury and the duration of his disability. The workman does not have to incur the expense and delay of a suit in the courts. Of course, there are some disputes as to the nature and duration of the injury, but in many of the states, such as Ohio, Kentucky, and Wisconsin, these disputes are settled informally by the Industrial Commission, and do not have to go through the lengthy formalities of court procedure.

The New York legislature in 1910 passed a workmen's compensation act. Soon after, Earl Ives, a switchman, fell from a car of the South Buffalo Railway Company and claimed he was injured by reason of the necessary risk of the employment. He was unable to work for four weeks and demanded compensation at the rate of \$10 per week to which he was entitled under the law. He was refused and brought suit. The court decided that the company

must pay. The company carried it to the highest court, and the highest court held that the employer need not pay; that the law was unconstitutional because the constitution gave the legislature no right to pass a law of the kind; that the law was void.

The 1913 legislature passed a similar bill, with its provisions changed slightly to meet the objections of the court to the earlier law. This law the courts have upheld. The history of this law illustrates one of the most important powers of the courts—their power to decide whether the constitutions of the state and of the United States permit the passage of any given law. The constant exercise of this power, as well as the expense and delay incident to carrying a case through one court after another has raised considerable criticism of the courts and their methods of administering justice. Many of the suggested methods of improvement are directly opposed to others. Some suggest the election of judges for short terms; others believe in appointment for life subject to recall by the legislature or the people. Some would abolish the jury in most cases; some would permit three-fourths of the jury to render a verdict. Some would have certain judges specialize in certain kinds of complicated cases; others would give the judges an even greater variety of cases than some of them now have. Some would give the people power to recall judges, some would give them the power to repeal, by popular referendum, decisions which appear to them to be unfair. Many believe that the education of lawyers in economic and social lines would greatly improve the administration of laws and probably the laws themselves. All agree that a simpler procedure is needed in order to quicken the action of the courts. The legislatures of most states

are helping to relieve the courts by taking away from them cases like those under the workmen's compensation acts, which can be handled rapidly and informally by such bodies as the various industrial commissions. Most states, too, are earnestly trying to secure better written laws, so that the courts need not be called upon constantly to determine the meaning of ambiguous expressions. Eighteen states now make some provisions for the drafting of bills by lawyers employed by the state for the purpose.

Old Age Insurance. Among the requirements of a system of justice we mentioned the insuring of proper maintenance during old age to the person who has worked hard all his life and in old age has not the means of subsistence. In the United States so far we have left this problem for each individual to work out for himself. In Germany, every employee is compelled to save a certain per cent of his wages; his employer contributes a like sum, and the state adds to that. This forms an insurance fund for the worker. In England, every person who has reached the age of seventy years and whose means do not exceed £31 10s. annually is entitled to from 1s. to 5s. a week. In New Zealand men over 65 and women over 60 receive pensions varying with their means.

Improvement in Laws. There are many who say that justice will not exist until everyone is given a fair start and a fair chance in the world. Every child, according to them, must be guaranteed good health, an education, training for an occupation and when grown certain employment at a wage which shall be sufficient to maintain him in the comfort that is due to every industrious citizen. If you go over a copy of the statutes of your own or a neighboring state, you will find that a large per cent of the laws are passed to secure justice in

this sense. There are the child labor and compulsory education laws, the mothers' pension acts, the minimum wage laws, the laws establishing employment bureaus, and many others. The minimum wage laws in this country apply only to women in certain industries, but in England they apply to men as well.

There was a time when the physically strong took whatever they wanted from the physically weak. But the physically weak have learned by organized and intelligent effort to defend themselves against the physically strong. And now public opinion is demanding health, strength, education, reasonable hours of labor and a comfortable living for all.

The old artists pictured Justice as blindfolded, holding the scales for others to fill. The Justice pictured by the painters and writers of today is too busy to sit with blindfolded eyes. She must see everywhere and everything; hence they have given her field glasses and a microscope to supplement her own good eyesight. They would have her use not only all her senses but also all the aids of science to help her decide what is right in our complex civilization.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER XII

1. Was the case of the older Wulf and Cedric a civil or a criminal case? Of the younger Wulf and Cedric? The case of Edgar? What is the difference?
2. Do you know of any civil case? A criminal case?
3. What is the plaintiff? The defendant? Verdict? Witness? Indictment? The grand jury? The trial jury? What happens when the trial jury cannot agree?
4. In what ways was the employers' liability scheme a wasteful one? How did the workmen's compensation method improve upon it? What elements of waste and inefficiency do you see in the workmen's compensation laws?
5. Does your state have a workmen's compensation act? If it does, procure a copy of it and find out what the terms of compensation are. What

kind of injuries does it cover? Does it provide for sickness as well as accidents due to the industry, as do the German and English laws?

6. How much insurance do you think a man would need to leave his wife and three children in order to support them until the children have received their education and are ready to work?

7. How much per year would it cost a man to keep as much insurance as that on his life?

8. What wages do you think he would need to make in order to pay for the insurance without depriving his family of the necessities of life?

9. Within your observation, what occupations cause most deaths, disease or accidents?

10. What is the average wage in those occupations?

11. Should an occupation pay sufficient wages to cover the cost of insurance against its own hazards?

12. Under our workmen's compensation acts, who pays the cost of insurance against accidents and death? Is the payment adequate in your state?

13. Would it be better for the family to receive the payment in a lump sum or in regular installments?

14. Do you prefer the German or the English system of old age insurance? Who pays for it in each case? Debate the question: Resolved that the English old age pension system would be better for the United States than the German old age insurance system.

15. Suppose everyone voluntarily saved enough to provide for himself in old age. How could he safely invest his savings?

16. When our forefathers were pioneer settlers in the United States did they need to save for old age? Why? Can we do as they did? Why?

17. When you pay freight on an article, what items is the price you pay supposed to cover?

18. Has your state a minimum wage law? What industries are under it? What is the minimum wage in those industries?

19. At what age can young people begin to work in your state? What provisions as to hours, kinds of employment, etc., are made for protecting young people?

20. Has your state a mother's pension law?

21. What conditions would exist in your community if each individual punished the man who had injured him?

22. Why do we have a public agency to correct wrong-doers?

23. How many and what courts have jurisdiction over you? Give an example of a condition under which you might come before each court for a decision.

24. Has the method of settling disputes by the wager of battle entirely disappeared?

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION

Vocational Education in Schools in the Middle Ages. A thousand years ago, after the Germans had moved into the Roman Empire, all the boys who went to school were learning to be priests or monks. The only schools were those established by the church to educate boys for the clergy. Girls did not go to school at all.

The only books they had were religious books, and these were all in Latin. The church services were in Latin. Consequently the boys, whether German, French, English, or Italian, all had to learn to read and write in the Latin language. That was practically the only preparation they needed for their life's work.

New Vocations and New Subjects. In the course of several hundred years, they read all the religious books, and then they found and read many Latin books which were not religious, such as the works of Cæsar, Cicero, Virgil, and Horace. They found many Greek books, and were so curious to learn facts from them that they learned to read Greek. From the Greek books, they learned the facts of mathematics, natural science, and philosophy which the Greek and Roman world possessed when the Germans moved into it. At the same time, the Germanic peoples themselves were being formed into nations and were making a body of laws by which to live. Besides Latin and

religion, or theology as they called it, the schools began to teach law, philosophy, mathematics, Greek and a little of science. To these church schools came great teachers and pupils. Organized groups of these teachers and pupils were known as universities. Not only did those who intended to be clergymen, but also those who intended to be lawyers, teachers, and students of science come to school now.

Vocational Education in the Homes. The sons of farmers, craftsmen and shopkeepers, like the girls, did not go to school. They did not need to. They could learn their trades by going to live with a skilled workman as an apprentice, or from their fathers and mothers at home. Few of them could read or write, as this knowledge was not necessary in their business. There were no newspapers, and books were so expensive that they could not have them. Thus the homes prepared these young people for their work, while the schools prepared for their work those who intended to be clergymen, lawyers, physicians, students and teachers.

When the invention of printing made books cheap, and the confusion of feudal times changed to strong nations which kept peace within their borders, more people had an opportunity to study. Books were cheaper, newspapers appeared and people accumulated property now that there was less danger from war. A leisure class of property owners became interested in education and art. But the schools were still private, and while the number of people who could read was increasing, very few poor children went to school. The schools still prepared people to do the intellectual work and not manual labor.

The School Taken Over by the State. It was our own country which established and popularized the system of free public schools, supported by the state—schools open to all. It seems hard to realize that there was ever any question of public support of schools. But we are told that in 1844 a Rhode Island farmer told Henry Barnard that it would be as sensible to propose to take his plow away from him to plow his neighbor's field as to take his money to educate his neighbor's children.



(NEW) SOUTH END JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, HOUSTON, TEX.

At first, only very simple things were taught in the public schools,—reading, writing, and arithmetic—such things as an intelligent farmer and his wife would need to know in order to keep accounts, be informed on politics, and write letters. The education of professional men—doctors, lawyers, teachers, and clergymen—was provided for by private gifts. John Harvard, for example, left money to establish and maintain a University—since known as Harvard—for this purpose. As the population increased, and settlers moved westward, the eastern universities were

not easy of access; so the western states added to their other schools a free state university. In this way it was made possible for a man to prepare himself to be a lawyer, a teacher, or a physician in a free school at the expense of the state.

In addition to the lower schools, and the colleges and universities, private schools grew up which prepared young people for the universities. The cities of many states soon established free high schools; in the last few years the country districts have done the same.

The Schools of the State Opened to Girls. Girls were not admitted into the first high schools and universities. It was only after strenuous efforts had been made by women eager for knowledge, that the men in authority were convinced that the education of women would be an aid to society and that intelligent women would be better wives and mothers than ignorant ones; that a knowledge of literature would not hinder a farmer's wife from being a good butter maker any more than it would hinder the farmer from being a good corn grower. We are so accustomed to seeing girls go to high school and college that we are likely to forget that less than a hundred years ago the women were fighting for that privilege just as they are fighting today for the right to vote; and that exactly the same arguments were advanced then against educating them as are now advanced against giving them the vote which education should prepare them to use.

Training Needed for New Vocations. But while a series of public schools had been developed, free to all, and supported by all, they were really suited to prepare only a comparative few—those who expected to enter some pro-

fession like law, medicine, teaching, or the university—for the work they expected to do. Any one might take the courses, and be benefited by them, but he would be spending time on something he might seldom use, while there were many other things he should be learning in order to be a happy and useful citizen. At the same time, an ever-increasing proportion of the population had been going into industries for which as careful training is needed as for the professions. The decreasing proportion of farmers had made it necessary that they, too, should have scientific training.

In the last ten years there has been such strong feeling on this subject that our free public schools have begun to train the farmer and the industrial worker just as they have trained the professional man and woman. Since it is thus made profitable for them, many who would otherwise have stopped at the end of the eighth grade now go through the high school and the university.

The training in their occupation is not the only advantage they have gained by remaining longer in school. They have at the same time the benefit of continual instruction in literature, music, and the other fine arts which were formerly enjoyed only by those who came for professional training. They learn to know good books, good pictures, and good music. They learn to think and to be good company for themselves.

Vocational Training for the Voter. There is one occupation common to all men and to many women, and that is the occupation of helping to manage the affairs of the community. Special training must be provided for the voter. That training must include a study of the origin

of our ideas and our institutions, of our differences in religious and political beliefs and of the methods used by other nations in dealing with the problems with which we have to deal. It must result in a sympathetic understanding of the differences and similarities of different people. Especially here in the United States, where we are all



FLUSHING HIGH SCHOOL, BOROUGH OF QUEENS, NEW YORK CITY.

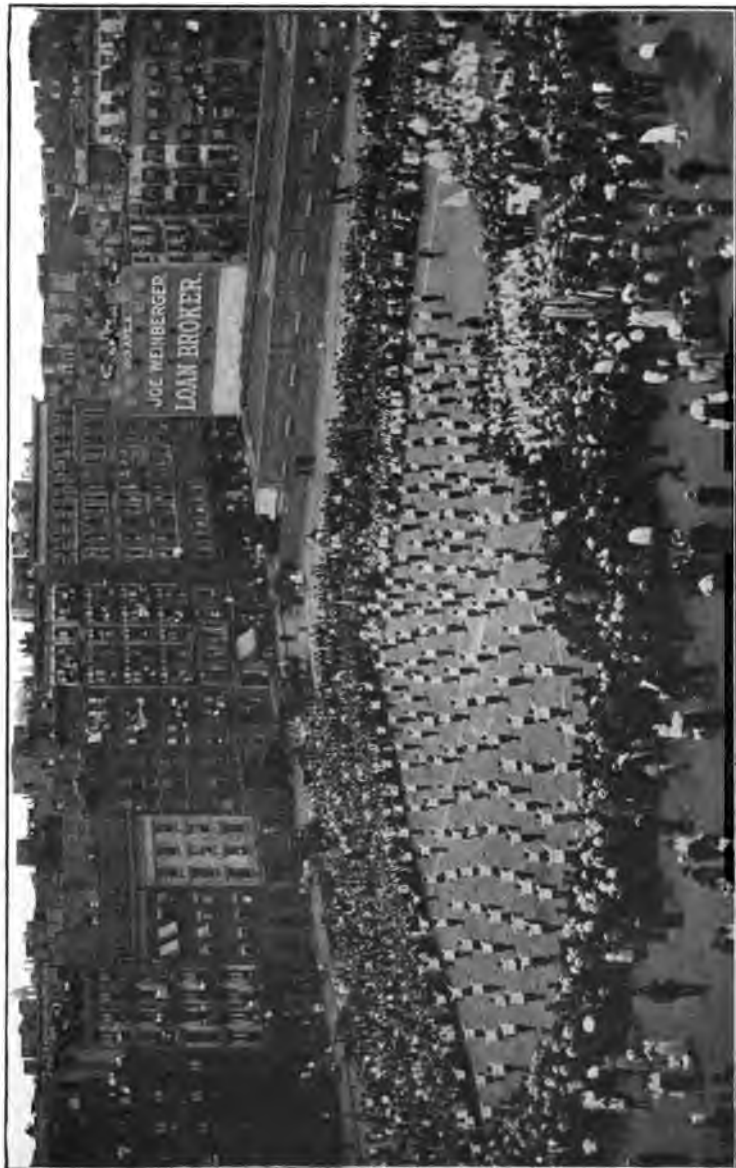
“foreigners” or descendants of “foreigners,” we have a difficult task in becoming acquainted with the history of the races from which our neighbors have come.

The fact that we come from countries having various forms of government makes it especially desirable that we study the workings of our own government and of other governments. Merely to be able to repeat from memory

the constitution of the United States will not help much. We want to learn to think intelligently about our interests and the interests of our neighbors and the best way to organize with these neighbors to secure our common interests.

Education for Work. On the other hand the fact that a person has been going to school for twenty-five years does not insure an intelligent understanding of the problems and interests of the community. He may have selected subjects that were easy rather than subjects that were valuable; he may have idled away his time. In order to understand and be of value to the community he needs useful work, hard work, work with the hands and work with the head; work with other people as well as alone. If he learns to think without forming the habit of applying his thoughts to work which he is doing with his hands, there is little probability of his ever acquiring it. "An ounce of action is worth a pound of theory." The child who has done nothing in school but think steadily for eight hours a day, five days in the week, and forty weeks in the year will have a hard time when he tries suddenly to acquire the habit of industry along lines different from those in which he has been thinking.

Education to Escape Work. As a matter of fact, not very many people do expect their children to perform such a miracle. The truth is that there are people who want their children to go to school to learn to make a living with their brains and escape useful toil. "I don't want my boy and girl to stay on the farm and slave as their poor old father and mother have had to slave." It is with such ideas as this that our boys and girls have gone to school

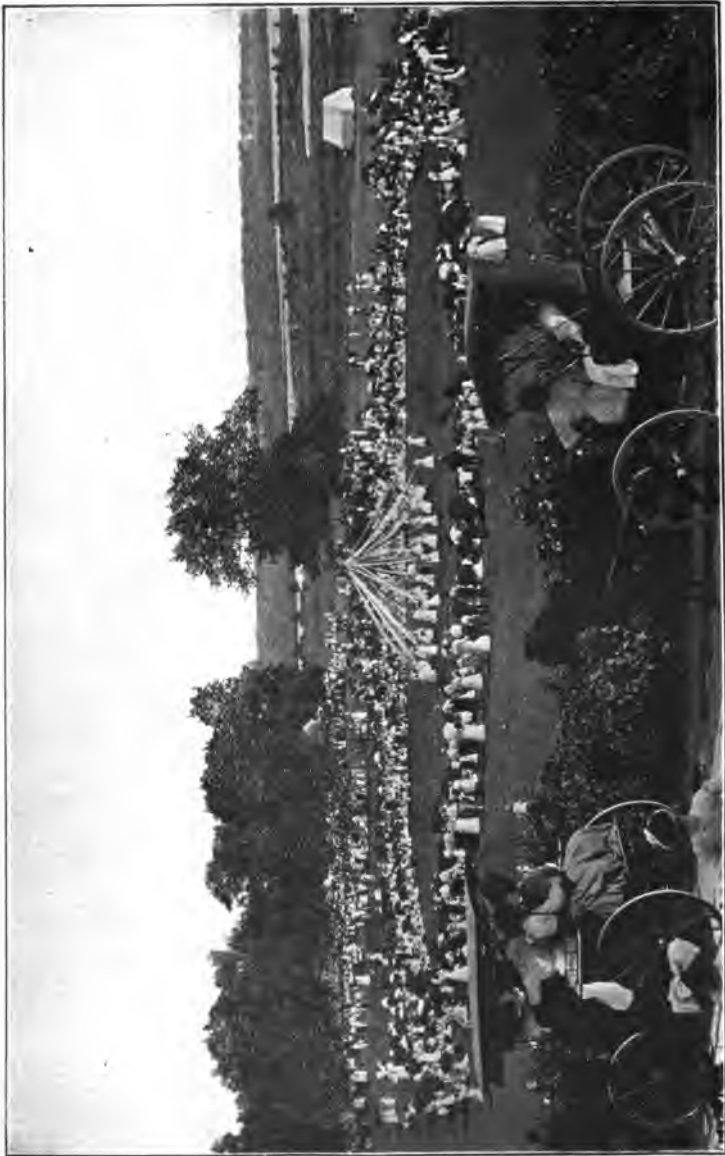


PUBLIC SCHOOL PLAYGROUND EXHIBITION, NEW YORK CITY.

Courtesy of People's Institute, New York.

expecting to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, ministers, insurance agents or anything else which appears from the outside to be clean, easy work but which often proves to be far less satisfying than the combination of mental and manual labor which they scorned.

Education for All Ages and All Classes. We are changing our views and our methods now. First, we are putting industries into our schools, so that our boys and girls may get into the habit of doing well and intelligently those things which they are going to do all their lives. Second, we are taking our schools into the factories where our boys and girls are at work, so that they may learn to think while they are working, and grow up into free men and women who can form their own opinions and use the ballot to good purpose. Third, we are trying to bring back into school life those who have grown up and are working hard for a living. People who have children in school learn with their children to a certain extent. This is especially true of foreign-born parents who eagerly absorb the knowledge which their children are obtaining in the public schools. Colleges offer courses by correspondence; professors go over the country lecturing just as they do in the universities, and so by this extension work carry the university all over the state; the people are encouraged to make the schoolhouse a neighborhood center and come together to talk over common problems and "go to school to one another"; universities are giving short courses in farming and domestic science for the farmers and their wives and daughters during those weeks in the winter when there is least to do on the farm. We are outgrowing the idea that school is a place to send children for a few years to



MAYPOLE DANCE, PUBLIC SCHOOLS, MADISON, WIS.

study things which do not have much in common with the everyday life of working men and women. We are coming to believe everybody should be working while he is studying and that everybody should go to school all his life—should never stop learning.

QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION

1. What education do children receive before they start to school?
2. What institutions educated the young people before the state took education into its hands?
3. Does your state compel people to go to school up to a certain age? If so, what is the age?
4. What were the arguments used against compelling people to go to school? What do you think of them?
5. How do you expect to make your living? Make a list of the occupations which the members of the class expect to enter. What per cent are manual? What per cent mental?
6. How will the subjects which you are studying prepare you to do your work? To enjoy life? To do your duty as a citizen?
7. How do our public schools reach the grown-up immigrants who do not speak the English language?
8. From what European people are you descended?
9. To what race did each of these great men and women belong? Are there any pupils in your school who belong to the race of any of them?

Caesar?	St. Peter?	Rembrandt?
Columbus?	King Solomon?	David Lloyd George?
Dante?	Paderewski?	Adam Smith?
Goethe?	Jan Kubelik?	Sir Horace Plunkett?
Louis Kossuth?	Dvorák?	Louis Pasteur?
Robert Koch?	Murillo?	Joan of Arc?
Verdi?	Garibaldi?	Florence Nightingalé?
Shakespeare?	Count Cavour?	Madame Curie?
Tolstoi?	Victor Hugo?	Cromwell?

10. If there is no name here of the race to which you belong tell the class of some of your great men.
11. How many races are represented in your school?

CHAPTER XIV

EFFICIENCY

THE Russian officials have recently banished vodka from the army. They declared that this step was necessary to maintain the efficiency of the soldiers at its highest point. Efficiency is the watchword of the hour—the watchword of the business world, of the home, of the school. It is the end we seek in our play. There is a certain satisfaction in doing or in seeing things done efficiently which takes crowds of men to ball games on hot afternoons, which makes older children patiently coach younger children, which makes children and grownups alike persevere at hard tasks or games until they have mastered them.

Efficiency in the School. There are certain well-known examples of efficiency in different lines. These examples need not be accepted as final solutions of the problems they seek to solve, but they may at least be considered and approved as conscientious and more or less successful attempts at reducing waste. For instance, almost everybody has heard of the schools at Gary, Indiana. Their efficiency is described as follows by Mr. Albert Jay Nock in the *American Magazine* for April, 1914:

A School Made Up of "Foreigners." "Gary, the city that the Steel Trust built to order, is almost wholly colonized by foreigners of all kinds. On an hour's notice the Gary police will furnish you an interpreter for any language

spoken in the civilized or semicivilized world. And it is the children of these foreigners who populate the Gary schools.

“There are several schools in Gary, and all are on the same system. The new Froebel school and the Emerson school are their best buildings. These have around them a very large acreage containing park space (the adult population of Gary uses the schools as freely as the children), gardens of vegetables and flowers, playgrounds lighted at night, ball grounds, courts for tennis, squash, handball, basketball, etc. In the buildings themselves are well-equipped gymnasias, swimming pools and showers.

“The building accommodates twice as many children as it will hold; that is, it has desk-room or actual class-room space for only half the daily attendance. This is why the Gary system costs no more than any other, in fact rather less.

All the Plant in Use All the Time. “All the plant (including outdoors) is in use all the time. One set of children being in the class-rooms, another is outdoors or in the gymnasium or the shops. This plan is merely a very simple application of elementary efficiency study. Gary gets every cent out of its taxpayers' investment. The Emerson school, for instance, takes care of a trifle over two thousand children daily, without crowding, while under our usual system it could take care of only one thousand and forty.

The Work Varied. “The school program is arranged in such a way that one-half the pupils have ninety minutes of school work in the regular subjects—English, history, mathematics, etc.; followed by ninety minutes of work in the special subjects—manual training, shop work, science, music, gymnasium and playground activities. The other

half of the pupils have the same program in reverse order, the ninety minutes of special work preceding the ninety minutes of regular work.

“These schools run the year round. Children are not obliged to attend all year, but they do. The schools are open all day, from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. Children need not be there all day, but usually they are.

“Mr. Wirt, the superintendent, told me that when a family moved in from outside and learned that school began at 8 A.M. they usually rang him up in great dismay to tell him that they could never in the world get their boy started so early.

“‘All right, he needn’t come till later.’

“‘Well, when shall I send him?’

“‘Can you get him ready by half past nine?’

“‘Oh yes, easily.’

“‘Very well then, half past nine will do nicely.’

“Next day the boy comes at half-past nine and next day and perhaps the next. But by that time he has found out what he missed by not being there earlier, and at eight o’clock on the fourth morning he is sitting on the school steps waiting for action.”

Why does he do it?

All Ages in the Same School. “There is no separate high school in Gary. Every grade from kindergarten up is in one building. Next to a laboratory or some other workshop for advanced students you will find a primary room. All the doors are open, and as the younger children pass the laboratory they stop and look. Curiosity presently takes them in, they stand around and watch the older pupils at their experiments. Sometimes one may be requisitioned

to help a little—to hold an instrument or fetch something that is needed. Children of all ages go frequently everywhere in the building and look at everything that is to be seen.

“Thus it is that the children at Gary not only teach themselves but also largely teach each other by this method of natural observation, which is fostered by throwing the children all in together. I saw some little girls of ten or twelve, for instance, engaged in clay modeling and basket weaving. Other little girls of half their age were watching them intently, occasionally helping in some small way.

Only Useful Work Done. “The shops at the Gary schools are all practical. A boy learns cabinet making, not as an exercise, but because the school needs desks. He learns draftsmanship under the immediate incentive of knowing that a real job of structural iron work depends on his blueprints. He learns plumbing because the new Froebel school is waiting to be piped. He learns printing because somebody has sent in a job order and will pay for it when it is done. He learns to fire boilers because the school dynamos have to be kept running. He studies the practical chemistry of combustion because he wants to keep his coal bill as low as the man in the other shift. None of his work is play work.”

Here is efficiency in education. But boys and girls cannot stay in school forever even though they live actively as do the Gary children. All the time they are going to school, they are looking forward to the time when they will not have to be cared for by the community and by their parent, but will instead support themselves. Some of you, for example, will support yourselves by working to care

for your own homes and your children; others will go outside the home to work. Whichever it is, you are going to meet over and over again this problem of efficiency.

Suppose you become a home maker. You expect, of course, to be an efficient one. Where will you find well-known examples of efficient home making? There are probably many of them, right in your own community, but no one has ever taken the trouble to write them up in the magazines as has been done for the Gary schools and the Ford automobile plant.

Efficient Housekeeping. We know of one such home in a small city. It is a small house with a pretty garden. There is no furnace in it, and no dusty coal is shovelled into it, because it is heated from the heating and power station downtown. It has and needs no laundry, because the housewife is one of a large group of housewives who have established a laundry in which they themselves are the stockholders, and which a college-trained woman manages in a way that suits the most exacting. The kitchen is really a well-arranged chemical laboratory where the housewife plans and cooks the simplest and most nourishing food for her family. It is so carefully planned that she can stand at the range and almost reach the sink, the kitchen shelves, the drawers, and the table above them. The rest of the house is planned, like the kitchen, for convenience, rather than display. There is not an unnecessary piece of furniture in the house, and no exhibition of silver, glass, china, and embroidery.

Time for Her Family. The result of this careful planning is that this house manager is able to give her attention to the matters which most affect the welfare of her family.

She has time to investigate the sources from which their food comes; time to wash and air the ice chest which holds the food after it comes into the house; time to boil water which is unsafe. She seldom has to spend time caring for sick members of the family; she prefers to prevent disease by absolute cleanliness. Best of all, she has time to read,



THE CONVENIENT KITCHEN.

Compare its convenience with that of your own.

Courtesy of the Home Economic Department of the University of Wisconsin.

to talk with her family about the affairs of the town and the country, and to join with other women in organized efforts to improve conditions in the community which a single family cannot control.

Choosing an Occupation. Suppose now, that your work is to be outside your home. Your first problem will be the

choice of an occupation. You have probably noticed that many occupations are more necessary to the community than others; if you think it over, you will be able to make



A KITCHENETTE.

a list of some which we could easily dispense with, and of others which are absolutely indispensable. That is, in some occupations you might feel that you were adding little or nothing to the welfare of the community, while you could

put your labor into other tasks and feel that what you are producing is worth at least as much as the food and clothes and other articles you are consuming.

An Inefficient Marketing System. John Wilson selected farming as the most honest way he could earn a living. He bought a farm with what was considered in the neighborhood a very good orchard. It had a dozen varieties of apples, besides pears, peaches, plums, cherries, and every kind of small fruit possible in the climate. He got a good breed of chickens, good breeds of cattle and started out hopefully.

His apple crop the first year was a bumper one. He loaded bushels of them into his wagon, took them to town, and tried to sell them. He went first to the stores, but was offered such low prices that he refused them, and went around peddling his apples from house to house. He spent the afternoon at this, when he and his team were badly needed at home. He went home at night with half his apples still in the wagon and \$2.00 in his pocket, determined that he would never try to market apples in that town again.

Instead, he wrote at once to a well-known commission firm in Chicago one hundred fifty miles away and offered his apples for sale. He could obtain no definite guarantee as to prices, because the commission merchant did not know the quality of the goods he would receive. John shipped fifty barrels, however. Finally he received a check in payment which scarcely covered the cost of shipment. The explanation given for the low price was that the apples had arrived in bad shape and were worth no more. Mr. Wilson was so disgusted that he let the rest of the apples rot on the ground.

But he did not miss the lesson. He began to discuss with his neighbors the possibility of a way out of the difficulties. They talked the problem over from every point of view.

“As a matter of fact,” admitted one, “you can’t blame the commission men for not giving us much. I sent a good looking barrel of apples to my daughter last year, and it took them a week to get there, and they were all mashed up.”

“No, and you can’t get housewives to buy what you peddle around as long as they can call up any minute and have smooth, perfect fruit from California or Virginia brought to the door by a reputable grocer.”

“I tell you, the only way we can get them to buy home-grown fruit is to show them that our goods are as reliable as those which come all the way across the continent.”

They all agreed on that, but the question was how to obtain public confidence. They must spray the trees, for one thing, so as to grow a superior quality of fruit; they must pack it properly; they must grade it as the California fruit was graded, so that a person who bought a barrel of apples could tell from the top layer the size of the apples all the way through. They must then keep in touch with market conditions.

The Farmers Organize and Market Their Apples. Merely discussing it, they came to realize that the marketing problem was too much for one farmer alone. A number of the more progressive ones decided to try it together. They agreed in the future to plant certain kinds of apples, to spray their trees, to pack and grade their fruit carefully according to certain standards agreed upon, to sell their goods together, and to adopt a name for their marketing

association under which they would mutually guarantee the quality of their goods.

That was ten years ago. The fruit growers' marketing association has grown until almost every farmer in the county is a member. They have had to hire expert packers, and a marketing agent who keeps informed on the demand throughout the country. The name of the association has become such a guarantee of quality that its products sell on a par with those of the east and the west.

There are many other lines on which farmers have organized for the sake of greater efficiency: they have learned to build creameries and cheese factories together, and to employ their own managers and laborers to run these; they have learned to demand certain fixed standards of each other in the production, care and quality of milk. They have learned to buy goods together; to build warehouses for their grain. They have learned, in fact, by employing their own men at reasonable rates and by standardizing their product, to take a large part of the element of risk out of their business, and insure fair prices for what they produce.

The women, too, have learned to organize for greater efficiency in their work. They have formed egg marketing associations, every member of which packs her eggs as do all the rest, guaranteeing that they are not more than so many days old, and grading them in size; and together they guarantee the quality of the entire product. They receive consequently a higher price for their eggs than do those who sell eggs by the dozen, regardless of size and age. They have even built laundries together, so that their laundry work may be done more cheaply and efficiently than in the usual inconvenient farmhouse.

Farmers' organizations for all purposes are being established. The secretary of one well-known association of farmers reports that in 1913 their Minnesota wool growers marketed their product to the amount of \$19,168.68, while the Wisconsin wool growers netted \$24,311.98 at a total expense of warehousing, grading, packing, insurance, etc., of \$334.63. The manner in which this is handled is for the membership to deliver their wool at certain warehouses maintained by the department where it is graded and packed and there awaits the eastern buyers.

"We are just now," the secretary says, "making arrangements to establish a direct market between our members and the consumers in the city of Chicago for the purpose of marketing the potato crop. By the consumers I mean the small purchasers as well as large hotels, restaurants, cafés, etc. In order to do this properly we require our membership to sort, grade, and pack their potatoes in packages convenient for the trade, and as far as our arrangements have gone, we feel practically certain that we can return to the grower the full value of his crop."

The Cost of Marketing Milk. The dairy farmers who supply the city of Chicago with milk are receiving less than three cents a quart for their product. The Chicago consumers are paying eight cents a quart. That means that the consumer is paying twice as much for the service of delivery as for the original service of the farmer. Now it is possible that it takes twice as much work to deliver as to produce the milk in the first place, but a thoughtful housekeeper made a few observations from her window one morning which convinced her that the system of delivery was wasteful,

and that she was, consequently, paying much more for it than she should pay.

Her milkman brought her a pint of milk at 8 o'clock, and then went on down the street to the fourth house from hers, where he left a quart of milk. Then he drove to the next block, stopped at three houses in the block, and turned the corner out of sight. Meantime another milkman stopped in front of her house to deliver a quart of milk to the flat above her. He also stopped at two or three houses in the block and drove on to the next one to repeat the performance of the first wagon. During the course of the morning she saw ten different milkmen stop at houses in her block.

This housewife began to think. She had a brother in the country who was selling milk to Chicago at two cents a quart. Could there be a more economical way of delivery which would make it possible for him to receive more for his milk or for her to pay less? Grocery wagons had the same habit of following each other around. When she saw her grocer next, she said, "What is the average cost of a single delivery of goods to a customer?"

"About six cents," said he.

"That means," said she, "that whether you deliver a five-dollar or a five-cent order, it costs you about six cents—or rather it costs your customers six cents, for they have to pay for it somehow or other."

"Exactly, madam," said he.

She began to talk the matter over with her friends, and to try to think out means for greater efficiency in getting products from producer to consumer. She suggested that one milkman with one milk wagon could probably deliver to five times as many families if he could stop at every house in every block and at every block on his way.

“But,” said one, “we should only need one-fifth as many milkmen, and that would throw some of them out of work.”

“I have thought of that,” was the answer, “and I suppose it might temporarily injure some who are in the business. But that would adjust itself in time. In the first place we are always complaining that there are too many in the cities to be supported. We want more farmers—we want an economical administration of business which must be done in cities so that more people may be released to work in the country. In the second place, most of us would use more milk if we could get it more cheaply. Cheaper distribution would make the price cheaper for us, and the production of more milk would require more hands. In the third place, we desire shorter working hours. Every improvement which makes it possible to accomplish a given amount of work with less energy than before, should make possible a shorter working day for all, with more leisure for study, music, and recreation of all kinds.”

“But,” said another, “are you sure it will work out that way? Will not many be thrown out of work, and the others work the long hours? Is not one of the greatest losses today the waste of the energy of the unemployed?”

“That is true, too. But unemployment will have to be dealt with in the same way as the problem of distribution—by organization. At present there are many employment agencies throughout the country, but they are unable to get into touch with the others. A few states have already established state employment offices to keep in touch with local conditions throughout the state, and there has been considerable agitation to establish a national employment bureau which can coordinate the work of the bureaus in the states.”

“ But what would you suggest to improve the milk situation? ”

“ Well, I have thought that where farmers are supplying a small community, they might all combine, agree to put their milk together, insisting on certain standards, and themselves employ men to deliver it. That would be difficult, however, practically impossible where the farmers are scattered over many hundred square miles as they are around Chicago. It seems to me that here is a case where the consumers will have to take action.* If the consumers, which is the whole city, could establish milk stations, require all the milk shipped into Chicago to go to those stations, establish certain standards, and itself make the delivery, much duplication might be saved.”

Organization for Efficiency in Europe. The people of Europe have learned to regard us as a wasteful nation because they were forced to learn to save earlier than we were. In the first place they are more careful in their homes not to waste what they have. Farmers have formed organizations to lend and borrow money among themselves when they need it, without having to pay banks for the service; they have formed organizations to market milk and milk products, grain, vegetables, fruit, and stock. Consumers, on the other hand, have organized to buy goods cheaply and efficiently. They have established stores where they pay their own manager and clerks and take the profits themselves instead of giving them to a group of stockholders; they have established wholesale stores from which their retail stores buy goods, and they have even established manufacturing establishments from which the wholesale organizations buy their goods. The profits of all these

* The Chicago producers have organized, in spite of the difficulty, and their organization is contemplating taking charge of the delivery.

concerns go to the members of the local associations. In England there is one of the greatest business firms in the world, called the Cooperative Wholesale Society. This is made up of hundreds of retail stores, wholesale distributing plants, and manufacturing concerns.

We have been considered exceedingly wasteful and careless with our natural resources. Starting with a richness of resources that was marvelous to early settlers, we have frantically killed off our wild animals, cut and burned our forests, pulled out our fish, and dug up our minerals.

The Destruction of the Forests. "When the early settlers from the Old World landed on the Atlantic coast of North America they brought with them traditions of respect for the forest created by generations of forest protection at home. The country to which they came was covered, for the most part, with dense forests. There was so little open land that ground had to be cleared for the plow. It is true that the forest gave the pioneers shelter and fuel, and game for food, but it was often filled with hostile Indians, it hemmed them in on every side, and immense labor was required to win from it the soil in which to raise their necessary crops. Naturally it seemed to them an enemy rather than a friend. Their respect for it dwindled and disappeared, and its place was taken by hate and fear.

"The feeling of hostility to the forest which grew up among the early settlers continued and increased among their descendants long after all reason for it had disappeared. But even in the early days farsighted men began to consider the safety of the forest. In 1653 the authorities of Charlestown, in Massachusetts, forbade the cutting of timber on the townlands without permission from the selectmen, and

in 1689 the neighboring town of Malden fixed a penalty of five shillings for cutting trees less than one foot in diameter for fuel. An ordinance of William Penn, made in 1681, required that one acre of land be left covered with trees for every five acres cleared. But these measures were not well followed up, and the needless destruction of the forest went steadily on.”*

Finally the people awoke to their loss. In 1891 Congress gave the President the power to reserve as government land timberlands on the public domain. Many reservations have been made under this act, and several of the states have followed the example of the nation. More than that, the nation and the states are employing professional foresters to care for the trees; to cut down where it is feasible, and to reforest wherever necessary. The owners of private forests are encouraged to cut and replant under the direction of trained foresters.

The experience of the United States is common to most new countries. The increasing population has cut and slashed lavishly until suddenly brought to a realization that its hills are bare and its streams flow uncertain. China kept on in her destructive career, but there are more encouraging examples in Europe.

Forestry in Germany. “ In the early centuries Prussia was a forest land; but as civilization increased, as wars swept over the continent, as cities and their commerce required more room, these forests were cut away. More than two hundred years ago the effects began to be felt; but a century ago all Prussia was alarmed and aroused to just such action as we are now about to take, by the discovery that her northern dunes

* Gifford Pinchot: “ A Primer of Forestry, Part II, 1905.”



WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE WOODED COVER IS REMOVED FROM THE LAND.

Erosion sets in; and the land turns a bare, unsmiling face toward the sky. Vegetation can get no foothold. The world has lost some of its power to feed its people.

U. S. Forest Service.

were afoot and were marching slowly, relentlessly over the land. Not so slowly, either, for every sea gale swept tons of sand across the area that had been the most fertile farmland and it was only the hill masses that traveled slowly. These hills overwhelmed isolated farm buildings and even whole villages, and blocked the rivers. Hanover, itself, far inland, was threatened with destruction by the sterilization of its surrounding fields.”*

At once the state took steps to buy and plant land. Not only that, but it encouraged tree planting by lessening taxes on planted land, and by paying bounties. It ordered big landowners to plant and maintain in trees a certain percentage of their acres.

“The method of cutting varies in the several states. In Württemberg each strip of forest is cut in turn, cleared absolutely bare, then replanted either with seed or with young trees, and left to grow while the next and successive strips are being cut. In Baden, on the other hand, it is forbidden to clear away any part of the forest. Instead, the surplus young trees, chiefly fir, are cut and sent to the paper mills to make room for the greater growth of those which remain; and the big trees are cut for timber when they have attained the age of a hundred or a hundred and twenty-five years. Everywhere one sees new growth and old; but so much do the big trees overshadow the young that the effect is of a forest entirely composed of these century-old giants.

“Through a wood I followed a little group of men engaged in getting out timber—four out of some two million who earn part of their living every year in the German forests. They were cutting trees which had been planted

* Mathews, John L.: “Handmade Forests,” *Everybody's Magazine*, Aug., 1909.

when the great Appalachian forest stretched, an unbroken barrier, against American's advance; and these woodcutters were the descendants of men who had cut this forest in the same way when Columbus was searching for a southwest passage.

"They fell upon a wood giant at its base, and sawed it flat off at the ground. They stripped off its bark and sawed the top and larger branches into meter sticks for firewood. The bare trunk, white, straight as an arrow, ninety feet long, thirty inches in diameter, was scaled and measured and the records were entered in a book. Upon the trunk a number was stenciled, for these Black Forest trees are sold, not as chance logs in a million feet of timber, but by name, specifically, guaranteed to be of given dimensions, and valued by tables carefully worked out.

"No slightest part of that trunk was wasted or allowed to injure a neighbor. Its century of growth was counted as a century of achievement, of purposeful labor; and the fruit was handled with reverent care. It had been planted when Washington was president, when Boone was pioneering in Kentucky, when the great pine forests of the Lake region were known only to some adventurous Coureur du Bois. It was planted not by chance, but skillfully, according to the art of woodcraft. In its lifetime almost all the forests of America had been swept away. The land on which they stood is now in many places desert and worthless; deep ravines worn by the rain; sand dunes piled by the wind; barrens covered with stumps and with the tumbled-down cabins of a careless and nomadic people who stayed only long enough to work destruction. In America a few have destroyed the forests for private profit; but Baden has preserved its own for the common good.

“In America the fall of such a tree would have saddened me, for I should have known it would not be replaced. But here it was only the fulfillment of a lifetime; and it is certain that in a hundred years from now, when the young tree beside it shall have grown into its place, the great-grandson of the forester of today will place his hand upon its tall and slender trunk, and will mark it for the inevitable transformation. Instead of a destructive death, it will emerge into a higher usefulness—as a butterfly comes forth from the chrysalis. And so orderly, well-planned, and efficient is the system that it is certain as anything in the world can be that no fire will sweep the woods, no reckless slaughter will destroy them, and that this mountain top will remain dedicated, as it has always been, to its best use, the regular and orderly production of timber.

“This forest at Gernsbach is a protective forest. The six dollars an acre per year which it returns to the people of Baden is but a small part of its value to them. Out from the woods and through the villages by which I had come to Balton Bronn, on the mountain top, flows a little river called the Murg. It is made up of countless brooks which flow from the high hills. One of them, a trout-filled little stream, ran frequently beside my road, as, on a moonlit night, I came down the mountain side. It drops 2,500 feet from the highlands to join the Murg, and scores of other little streams join it, tinkling musically into it along the way. It flows in a grassy, fern-bordered bed, through banks so covered with verdure that there is scarcely a place where the earth is visible.

“Where it runs through gentler valleys farmers have put low dams across, and have diverted its water to the far edges of meadows, so that, seeping back through the ground,

it keeps them green and the meadowgrass growing bountifully into late autumn.

“In Reichenthal it turns a big overshot mill wheel which saws the logs from the community forest. A little lower down, merged in the Murg, it turns the wheel of a paper mill, running night and day to make white paper of the surplus wood from the forest; and lower still, in Gernsbach, moves the wheel of a furniture shop where the men of the village make furniture from fine wood of the mountain; and then of a printing press, and then of a flour mill, and then, below the town, of a big sawmill where they cut timber from the lower forests.

“From its sources to the Rhine it is dotted with the homes of those who make the manifold products—dolls, toys, woodenware, and the wood alcohol and pyroligenous acid which are well known as Black Forest products. This brook is the livelihood of the valley, this and the forest which preserves and protects it; and though the forest is an ancient one, it can be duplicated in time, and shows the way in which our ragged hilltops may yet be transformed by proper care.”*

Need of Forestry in the United States. The demand for wood is tremendous. The railroads of the United States are said to use about 100,000,000 ties a year, each tie containing about 45 feet of wood. If we cut 100 ties to the acre, it would take 1,000,000 acres a year for railroad ties alone. Railroads are now beginning to meet this need by planting thousands of acres with eucalyptus trees for this purpose. It requires 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 acres of land to furnish telegraph poles

* Mathews, John L.: “Handmade Forests,” *Everybody's Magazine*, August, 1909.

in the United States. One big Sunday edition of a Chicago paper is reported to use 200,000 pounds of paper. This would mean several acres of pulp wood. In 1907, according to one authority, we made more than 315,000,000 lead pencils. This would require 7,300,000 cubic feet of cedar.

In spite of the many uses for wood and its growing scarcity, great quantities of it burn up annually in forests and in buildings. The worst of it is, that much of this waste is avoidable. A California forester calculates that on the average 800 forest fires a year occur in California, 66 per cent of which are caused by the ignorance, carelessness, or maliciousness of men. The total annual loss of all kinds of property by fire in the United States is estimated at \$225,000,000. That much of this loss is unreasonable is shown by the fact that the United States is a heavier loser than other countries. The cost of fire protection for Europe averages approximately 35 cents per capita, while we pay \$2.55 per capita. In London there are only 3,843 fires in a year as compared with 12,182 in New York.

Other Wastes of Natural Resources. " Andrew Carnegie, who ought to know, gave before the Germans' Conference some interesting facts about the waste in American mines. He explained that the methods of mining during the period from 1820 to 1895 had been so wasteful, that while 4,000,000 tons of coal were actually mined, some 6,000,000 tons were either destined or allowed to remain in the ground beyond reach of future use. During the ten years from 1896 to 1906 as much was produced as during the preceding seventy-five years; while more than 3,000,000,000 tons were destroyed or left underground. Up to date the actual consumption of coal

has been over 7,500,000,000 tons; the waste and destruction in the neighborhood of 9,000,000,000 tons.”*

“An extravagance still more wasteful than in the mining methods has been established by the fuel-testing division of the United States Geological Survey in our methods of consuming coal. It was found that usually only from 5 to 7 per cent of the energy of coal is converted into actual work. The remaining 93 to 95 per cent is consumed in the making of steam and smoke and in overcoming the friction and inertia of the engine, shafting, etc.

“Waste, sheerest waste, also ended the life of numerous wells of natural gas in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, West Virginia, and other states. In many places, where it gushed through openings in the surface of the earth, it had been lighted by the people and burned night and day for years.

“Hundreds and hundreds of burning wells could be seen in the oil districts. Many were carelessly set on fire and burned for months and years, without any attempt being made to extinguish them. Other wells were purposely lighted, to be advertised as remarkable pyrotechnical displays which might attract visitors to the gas regions. And still more were not put to any use at all, as it seemed to the coal barons not advisable to have the price of coal cheapened by the introduction of a new fuel, although it had superior qualities.”*

What shall we do about all this waste?

“First of all,” says the same author, “we ought to stop our insane riot of destruction and wasteful extravagance. We must not only learn to economize, but to secure the same intelligent supervision, conservation and development of all our resources that is maintained by other civilized

* Rudolf Cronau: “Our Wasteful Nation.”

countries, and that should be justly expected from a nation which has produced so many shrewd financiers, enterprising merchants and manufacturers, bright scientists and patriotic statesmen." This, then, is one of the great problems to be solved by the boys and girls, who will be the men and women of the next generation.

Conservation of Human Life. There is, however, an even greater problem than that of the conservation of our mineral and vegetable resources. That is the problem of conserving human life. The Civil War, which lasted over four years, cost the United States about 455,000 human lives. That seems terrible and yet there is a constant waste much more serious though less spectacular than that. Miss Julia Lathrop, head of the federal children's bureau, estimates that in the ten years from 1900 to 1910 more than 2,500,000 of the babies born in this country died before they were one year old. 3631 men were killed in the mines and quarries of the United States last year and 10,000 injured. We are warned constantly that if we are not careful our birth rate will not keep pace with our death rate; but many fail to consider that there is no reason for the existence of such an awful death rate, especially among children. Just why women should bring children into the world and care for them with much suffering and self-denial, only to lose them in a few years, or to have them grow up in a world which may not give them a living wage in exchange for their toil, and which does not even guarantee them any employment at all, is a question which is beginning to puzzle many. It seems strange that in this twentieth century 63 cents of every dollar which we give the United States to perform services for us are spent for the army and navy and for

Out of 1000 Births, the following number
of Children will die in their FIRST YEAR
in the various countries forming the
CIVILIZED WORLD

Compiled from the averages for 10 Years

COUNTRY	DEATHS UNDER 1 YEAR TO 1000 BIRTHS	DEATHS UNDER 1 YEAR ACTUAL NUMBER
CHILI	326	30,303
RUSSIA (EUROPEAN)	263	1298,245
AUSTRIA	222	200,553
ROUMANIA	218	49,589
HUNGARY	212	154,100
GERMAN EMPIRE	197	374,153
JAMAICA	181	6,414
CEYLON	179	23,255
SPAIN	170.0	106,649
UNITED STATES <small>(1900 APPROXIMATED)</small>	165	280,000
ITALY	161	83,970
BELGIUM	154	28,499
JAPAN	153	220,013
SERVIA	153	16,268
FRANCE	148	115,378
BULGARIA	144	23,757
CANADA	140	8,200
GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND	139	147,660
SWITZERLAND	138	11,441
HOLLAND	138	19,209
FINLAND	133	10,877
WESTERN AUSTRALIA	127	756
DENMARK	124	8,089
NEW SOUTH WALES	99	3,745
VICTORIA	98	2,299
SWEDEN	96	11,917
QUEENSLAND	94	1,120
TASMANIA	93	433
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	93	608
NORWAY	86	4,231
NEW ZEALAND	76	2,233

GRAND TOTAL 3243958

This Means A Baby Dies
in The Civilized World
Every 10 Seconds

WATCH THE LIGHT FLASH!

Watch the light flash!

AT EVERY FLASH

A BABY DIES

Somewhere in the Civilized World.



One every 10 Seconds.
360 every Hour.
8640 every Day.
3053600 every Year.

ONE HALF OF THIS LOSS
is Preventable.

RED ELECTRIC LIGHT FLASHING
TO SHOW INFANT DEATH
RATE AND CHART GIVING
INFANT MORTALITY STATIS-
TICS.

Exhibit at Philadelphia Milk
Show, 1914.

military pensions. This leaves 37 cents for encouraging education, building the Panama Canal, improving waterways, caring for public health, and keeping up the current expenses of administration.

This is the dark side of the picture. When we remember that there was a time when states spent practically 100 per cent of all their income in preparing for and carrying on war—when states existed largely for the purpose of protecting themselves against other states, it seems that we are making progress after all. The care of public health and the prevention of avoidable accidents are subjects of great interest today. Employers, employees and insurance companies are seeking safeguards against industrial accidents and diseases. The governments of states and of the nation are sending out bulletins to help in the good work.

For many years the federal government has been supplying the farmer with information on the care of animals and crops; on the prevention of diseases among cattle, hogs, poultry, and plants. In 1912 the United States entered upon a new business. It went into the business of saving and caring for children. It established the Children's Bureau at Washington, "to investigate and report upon all matters concerning the welfare of children and child life," in the same way that the United States has been investigating and reporting to the farmers in regard to their crops.

It first took up the study of the question which was most pressing, "Why does such a large per cent of babies die?" The results of this study are published in pamphlets which are distributed over the country for the instruction of parents and communities. Two of these, one on the care

of the mother, and the other on "Infant Care," have been especially popular. One of their most interesting reports is on "Baby Saving Campaigns"; a report on what American cities are doing to prevent infant mortality. It tells especially of the efforts to supply clean, pure milk to babies. Some cities have milk stations where the mothers come to get the milk and receive instruction. At some of these stations, physicians examine the babies whom the mothers bring. From some of them visiting nurses are sent out to the homes of the mothers, to teach the care of children. New York City and many others have organized "Little Mothers' Leagues" among the school girls who have to help care for babies and younger children at home. Lessons are given them regularly by doctors and nurses; the girls bring their babies for demonstration purposes, and take back to the real mothers the information they received. In Kansas City and Milwaukee the health department undertakes to teach baby hygiene through the public schools to all girls who care to learn. Leaflets in all languages are distributed on the care of children. One issued by the Pennsylvania Department of Health, entitled "Save the Babies," is reproduced in the Federal Report in all the six languages in which it is written—English, Italian, German, Polish, Yiddish, and Slovak. Another appears in English, French, Yiddish, Slavish, Hungarian and Italian.

We have touched on the question of efficiency in many lines. We have not tried to settle the problems, but only to suggest a few of the movements for greater efficiency with which you will probably come in contact. Perhaps the questions at the end of the chapter will help you to think about some of these matters in which you are pretty sure to have some part.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER XIV

1. What is efficiency?
2. What are the characteristics of the schools at Gary which give them their reputation for efficiency?
3. What are some of the marks of efficiency in the schools in your own community?
4. What thing do you like best about the Gary system? What do you not like?
5. How much does it cost the community to pay for your education for one year? Does the community receive anything in return for what it spends on you?
6. What are the efficient elements in the home described in this chapter? How could you improve upon this home?
7. What occupations receive the highest wages from the community? What occupations return the greatest value to the community?
8. If you are in a farm community, find out some of the experiences of the farmers in your neighborhood with the marketing problem. What steps have been taken in your community or in others with which you are acquainted, to make marketing more efficient.
9. If you live in the city, find out what steps your community has taken to simplify and reduce the cost of distribution.
10. What per cent of the farms in your state are operated by their owners? (See Appendix, p. 211.) In what state is the per cent of farm tenancy least? In what state is it greatest? How do the farms operated in your community by their owners compare with the farms operated by tenants?
11. Do you know of any cases where there is a waste of the natural resources of the country? Of human life?
12. What do you think of the suggestion to enforce personal responsibility for fires? (See Appendix, pp. 214, 215 and 216.)
13. Fill in the answers to the questions in the Fire Prevention Questionnaire (see Appendix, p. 214) and compare your record on this subject with that of your classmates. Compare your records on "Fire Don'ts." (See Appendix, p. 215.)
14. Why do people pay more attention to the loss of life and property in sudden catastrophes than they do to the much greater preventable loss of life and property in the ordinary course of industry?
15. In looking for the big things which we usually cannot find to do, we often overlook the little ones which would be really helpful to the community, such as regard for "fire don'ts," and for simple rules of securing personal safety on the streets. (See Appendix, p. 217.) How many of the latter do you observe?

16. How can you help to conserve our natural resources and human lives?

17. How is your state awakening to the need of conservation? What effort is it now making?

QUESTIONS ON EFFICIENCY IN BUSINESS

1. If farmers organized to sell their goods, would their organization increase efficiency? How? Would any one be thrown out of work?

2. If consumers organized to buy goods, would their organization increase efficiency? How? Would any one be thrown out of work?

3. If we could shorten the amount of time required to do a piece of work, would those who worked in that industry receive any benefit from it?

4. Do you know of any case in which an improvement in the efficiency of a business has brought about discharge of workers in that industry? If so, was the improvement a good thing for the world? Prove it.

5. If through more efficient methods the amount of goods produced could be increased without an increase in the amount of labor, could we use the extra product to advantage? Could you use more bread, more fruit, more sugar, more clothes, more furniture, more amusements?

6. What schemes can you suggest for getting farm products more cheaply and directly to the consumer and manufactured products more cheaply and directly to the farmer?

7. A certain successful mercantile establishment in one of our large cities pays its employees \$5.00 for every workable suggestion for improving the business. What do you think of the plan?

CHAPTER XV

ORGANIZED EFFORTS FOR A HIGHER CIVILIZATION

Defects. Almost every one will admit that our organizations for government, for business and for education have not reached the perfection which is possible for them. If they had, we should not have people dying of preventable diseases; people producing much and living in want; people producing nothing and living in luxury; some people working twice as many hours a day as they should and other people unable to find employment; and people taught to make and do things for which the world has no need.

Movements Toward Reform. Of course, people's ideas as to what is wrong and what we should do about it differ very greatly, but most of us can find some one who practically agrees with our theories; in fact, we can usually find large groups of people who have many of the same ideas we have. The Consumer's League, the Short Ballot Association, the Anti-saloon League, the Purity League, the Single Taxers, the Labor Unions, the Industrial Workers of the World are all groups of people who are like-minded in at least one fundamental respect. The active members of all of these see one or more great wrongs which need to be made right, and spend their energy working for that purpose.

Political Parties. When like-minded groups attempt by putting up candidates to place people who stand for their

principles in all the positions for making and carrying out the laws, we call them political parties.

In 1912 five prominent political parties took part in the presidential campaign in the United States. These parties—the Democratic, Republican, Progressive, Socialist, and Prohibition—made out platforms or statements of their principles in regard to city, state, and national affairs. If you read these platforms you can see what each group thought was the matter and what ought to be done.

By the time you begin to study this book another campaign will have passed into history. The platforms of the parties can probably be obtained from the local headquarters of each party and the platforms for 1912 from the National Headquarters of the various parties.* When you have studied them carefully, and have answered the questions at the end of this chapter, perhaps you will be able to determine in which group you belong, or whether you can work with any of them.

DISCUSSION OF PARTY PLATFORMS

Study the platforms for 1916 as follows:

1. Read carefully each platform, and make a list of the classes of people to which each party appeals for support. Prove each item by showing at least one plank in each platform which would please each class to which that platform appeals.
2. Make a list of those planks which you find in all of the platforms.
3. Make a list of those planks which you find in two platforms.
4. Which platforms appear to be most alike? How do they differ?
5. What demands of each party have already been secured?
6. Point out those items in each platform which really mean nothing—which are not definite enough to bind the party to anything.

* The leading platforms for 1916 will be published as an appendix in the second edition of this Civics.

7. Point out the items in each platform which you think would make for greater efficiency.

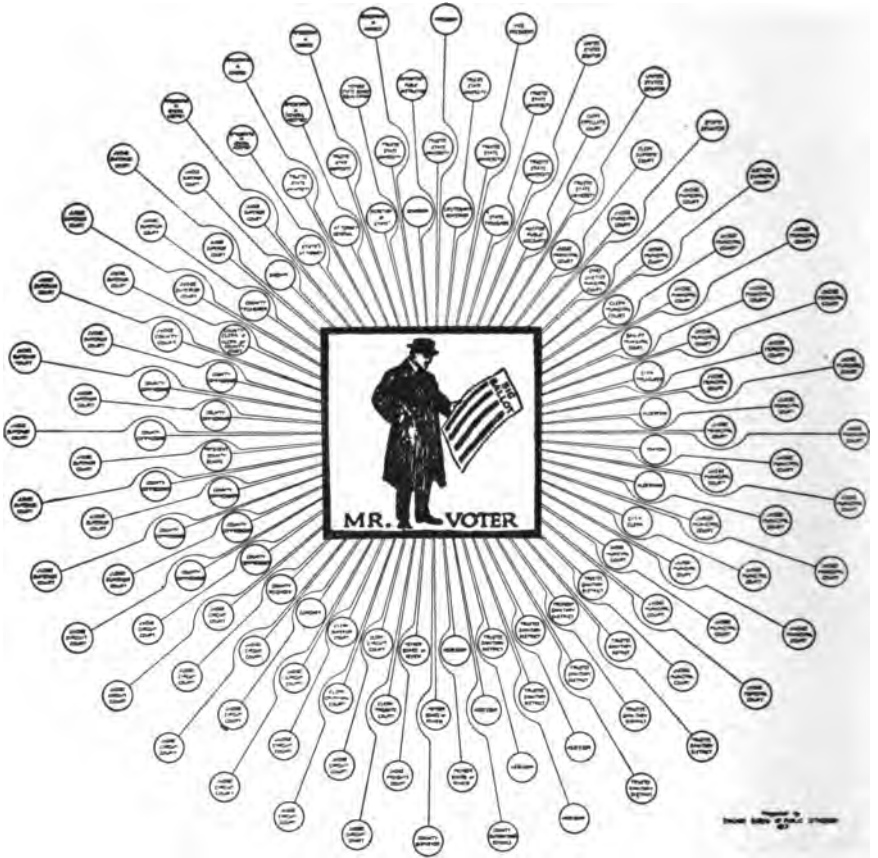
8. Compare the 1916 platform of each party with the 1912 platform of each party, item by item.

9. Notice which items have been adopted by the 1916 platform of each party from the 1912 platforms of other parties.

A Common Platform for All. These are the different political platforms to one of which most American citizens subscribe. In addition is there not some common platform to which every American citizen can subscribe as did every citizen of ancient Athens? Indeed, if we substitute "our country" for the Athenian term "our city," why will not that very Athenian oath suit our purpose?

"We will never bring disgrace to this our city by any act of dishonesty or cowardice, nor ever desert our suffering comrades in the ranks. We will fight for the ideals and sacred things of the city, both alone and with many. We will revere and obey the city's laws and do our best to incite a like respect and reverence in those above us who are prone to annul or set them at naught. We will strive unceasingly to quicken the public sense of civic duty. Thus, in all these ways, we will transmit this city not less, but greater, better and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

WHY THE CHICAGO VOTER IS DAZED



HE IS EXPECTED TO CHOOSE 144 PUBLIC OFFICIALS

(Reference to p. 41.)

PUBLIC OFFICIALS FOR WHOM EACH MALE ELECTOR IN CHICAGO MAY VOTE

(Reference to p. 41.)

NATIONAL

President and Vice President (through Presidential electors)	2	
United States Senators	2	
Representatives in Congress, 2 at large, 1 in district	3	7

STATE

Governor	1	
Lieutenant Governor	1	
Secretary of State	1	
Auditor of Public Accounts	1	
State Treasurer	1	
Superintendent of Public Instruction	1	
Attorney General	1	
Trustees of University of Illinois	9	
Justice of Supreme Court	1	
Clerk of Supreme Court	1	
Clerk of Appellate Court	1	
Member of State Board of Equalization	1	
State Senator	1	
Representatives in General Assembly	3	24

COUNTY

President of County Board	1
County Commissioners	10
State's Attorney	1
Sheriff	1
County Treasurer	1
County Clerk and Clerk of County Court	1
County Recorder	1
Coroner	1
County Superintendent of Schools	1
County Surveyor	1

APPENDIX

Members of Board of Assessors.....	5	
Members of Board of Review.....	3	
Judges of Superior Court.....	18	
Judges of Circuit Court.....	14	
Judge of Probate Court.....	1	
Judge of County Court.....	1	
Clerk of Superior Court.....	1	
Clerk of Circuit Court.....	1	
Clerk of Criminal Court.....	1	
Clerk of Probate Court.....	1	65

SANITARY DISTRICT

Trustees of Sanitary District of Chicago.....	9	
One Trustee to be designated by Voter as President.....	1	10

CITY

Mayor.....	1	
Aldermen.....	2	
City Clerk.....	1	
City Treasurer.....	1	
Chief Justice of Municipal Court.....	1	
Judges of Municipal Court.....	30	
Clerk of Municipal Court.....	1	
Bailiff of Municipal Court.....	1	38
TOTAL.....		144

PUBLIC OFFICIALS FOR WHOM EACH WOMAN ELECTOR IN CHICAGO MAY VOTE

(Reference to p. 41.)

NATIONAL

President and Vice President (through presidential electors) 2 2

STATE

Trustees of University of Illinois 9
 Member of State Board of Equalization 1
 Clerk of Appellate Court 1 11

COUNTY

County Surveyor 1
 Members of Board of Assessors 5
 Members of Board of Review 3 9

SANITARY DISTRICT

Trustees of Sanitary District of Chicago 9
 One Trustee to be designated by Voter as President 1 10

CITY

Mayor 1
 Aldermen 2
 City Clerk 1
 City Treasurer 1
 Chief Justice of Municipal Court 1
 Judges of Municipal Court 30
 Clerk of Municipal Court 1
 Bailiff of Municipal Court 1 38

TOTAL 70*

* Women voters residing within any of the ten (now *thirteen*) small park districts or within any of the five (now *six*) townships lying partly within and partly without the City of Chicago may also vote for the elective officials of such park district or township.

NEW YORK CITY BUDGET FOR 1914 AND 1915

(References to pp. 43, 47 and 55.)

GENERAL COMPARATIVE TABLE—Grouping the BUDGET APPROPRIATIONS for 1914 and 1915 according to the GENERAL FUNCTION or PURPOSE of DEPARTMENT, BUREAU, etc., also showing the RELATIVE PER CENTUMS which each GROUP TOTAL bears to the TOTAL BUDGET APPROPRIATIONS, together with the INCREASES of 1915 over 1914.

GROUPING OF APPROPRIATIONS ACCORDING TO GENERAL FUNCTION OR PURPOSE	BUDGET OF 1914		PER CENTUM OF EACH GROUP TOTAL		PER CAPITA COST 1914		BUDGET OF 1915		PER CENTUM OF EACH GROUP TOTAL		PER CAPITA COST 1915	
	GROUP TOTALS	1914	PER CENTUM OF EACH GROUP TOTAL	PER CENTUM OF EACH GROUP TOTAL	PER CAPITA COST 1914	BUDGET OF 1915	PER CENTUM OF EACH GROUP TOTAL	PER CAPITA COST 1915				
Administrative, i. e., General Administration.....	\$3,438,230.06	1.80%	1.80%	\$0.62	\$3,702,288.07	1.92%	\$0.64					
Legislative (Aldermen and City Clerk).....	307,218.84	1.58%	1.58%	.95	300,167.80	1.60%	.95					
Judicial.....	9,170,418.04	4.88%	4.88%	1.67	9,063,134.37	5.02%	1.67					
Educational.....	40,873,463.97	21.45%	21.45%	7.32	42,449,578.45	22.00%	7.31					
Recreational, Science and Art, viz.: (a) Parks, Parkways and Drives.....	2,292,438.21	1.20%	1.20%	.41	2,192,717.29	1.13%	.38					
(b) Zoological and Botanical Gardens, Museums, etc.....	1,193,432.82	6.26%	6.26%	.21	1,176,095.68	6.10%	.20					
Health and Sanitation.....	17,950,887.32	9.42%	9.42%	3.21	17,838,014.39	9.25%	3.08					
Protection of Life and Property.....	32,190,062.62	16.90%	16.90%	5.77	31,383,364.00	16.27%	5.40					
Correctional Purposes.....	1,337,419.42	.70%	.70%	.24	1,320,895.51	.68%	.23					
Charitable Purposes.....	9,242,550.36	4.85%	4.85%	1.05	9,503,774.10	4.95%	1.05					
Streets, Highways and Bridges (Care and Maintenance).....	6,259,751.33	3.28%	3.28%	1.12	5,188,939.29	2.60%	.87					
Public Enterprises (Docks and Municipal Ferries).....	2,670,568.27	1.40%	1.40%	.48	1,940,513.88	1.00%	.34					
Public Buildings and Offices (Care and Maintenance).....	1,105,989.46	.61%	.61%	.21	1,209,531.33	.62%	.21					
Board of Elections and County Canvassers.....	1,340,715.00	.71%	.71%	.24	1,313,732.50	.68%	.23					
Publication, Advertising and Printing.....	1,282,549.50	.67%	.67%	.23	1,142,793.70	.59%	.20					
Taxes, Rents, Pensions and Relief Funds, etc.....	7,015,769.55	3.68%	3.68%	1.26	2,604,588.52	1.35%	.45					
Totals, Departmental Appropriations.....	\$137,884,033.97	72.38%	72.38%	\$24.69	\$133,045,313.04	68.97%	\$22.91					
DEBT SERVICE.												
Interest on the City Debt.....	\$9,745,830.48	19.81%	19.81%	\$6.76	\$4,228,903.85	21.99%	\$7.31					
Redemption of the City Debt.....	1,391,077.10	.64%	.64%	.48	1,053,437.10	.51%	.46					
Amortization of the City Debt.....	7,431,778.88	4.64%	4.64%	1.58	7,400,000.00	4.39%	1.46					
Redemption of Special Revenue Bonds.....	\$40,588,669.65	24.45%	24.45%	\$8.34	\$50,912,381.04	26.30%	\$8.77					
Totals for Debt Service.....	\$6,022,825.00	3.16%	3.16%	1.08	\$9,200,000.00	4.62%	1.54					
Totals for Debt Service.....	\$52,611,517.65	27.618%	27.618%	\$9.42	\$59,832,381.04	31.021%	\$10.31					
TOTAL OF BUDGET APPROPRIATIONS, PER SE.....	\$190,495,551.62	100%	100%	\$34.11	\$192,877,694.08	100%	\$33.22					
Increase 1915 over 1914.....							\$2,382,142.46					
T. Provide for Deficiencies in the Collection of Taxes.....	2,500,000.00				6,112,002.44		\$3,612,002.44					
GRAND TOTALS.....	\$192,995,551.62				\$198,989,786.52		\$5,994,234.90					

[Reprint No. 121 from Public Health Reports, pp. 59 to 65].

MUNICIPAL ORDINANCES, RULES, AND REGULATIONS PERTAINING TO PUBLIC HEALTH

ELYRIA, OHIO

MILK—PRODUCTION, CARE AND SALES

SECTION 1. No person shall bring into the city of Elyria for sale or shall sell or offer for sale any milk or cream without a permit from the board of health.

SEC. 2. No person shall bring into the city of Elyria for sale or shall sell or offer for sale any milk which has been obtained from any milk dealer, dairyman, or other person not having a permit issued by the board of health.

SEC. 3. A fee of 50 cents shall be charged for each permit and the same shall be credited to the sanitary fund.

SEC. 4. Permits shall be renewed annually in January. The applicant must state his name, residence, post-office address, and location of his business place or places.

SEC. 5. The applicant must state the number of cows from which milk is obtained for sale and the number of quarts (estimated) sold daily.

SEC. 6. If the applicant buys part or all of his milk supply the names and addresses of all persons from whom he obtains milk or cream, and the quantity (estimated) shall be stated.

SEC. 7. If the applicant be a shipper of milk or cream into the city, he shall, in addition to the above, state the route of his shipments.

SEC. 8. Any dairyman, milk dealer, or other person, upon application to the health office for a permit to sell or deliver milk, shall file a sworn statement giving his name and address, the number of cows he owns or has charge of, the average amount of milk (estimated) which he sells each day, the names, addresses, and license numbers of all persons from whom he buys milk, the average amount of milk (estimated) which he buys from them each day.

SEC. 9. The board will not issue any permit unless it is satisfied after inspection with the cleanly and sanitary conditions of the stables, cows, wagons, store, or place of business of the applicant therefor, and with all the utensils used by him from which his milk or cream is obtained; and that the food given the cows is pure and wholesome, and that all persons engaged in the care and handling of the milk are free from any contagious diseases and that said persons use due cleanliness in their work.

SEC. 10. All permits must be signed by the applicant, and when received by the food inspector shall be placed on file and the name of each applicant shall be entered in a book of registration kept for such purpose. As soon as possible within 60 days after an application is received at the health office for a permit to sell milk the sanitary police or food inspector shall visit the dairy or place of business of such applicant and make such observation and gather such information as to enable the board to satisfy themselves of the sanitary condition of his dairy.

Should the applicant live at such distance from the city of Elyria as to make it impracticable for the food inspector to visit such dairy premises, such applicant shall furnish evidence to the board of the sanitary condition of his dairy.

SEC. 11. If after issuing a permit to sell milk and cream the board of health shall become satisfied that the provisions of the sanitary code are being violated, it will at once revoke the permit issued to such person or persons and no new permit issued until all insanitary conditions have been rectified and all other provisions of the sanitary code are complied with.

Anyone doing business under a permit from the board of health who shall change the location of such business without notifying the health office of such change shall have such permit revoked at the option of the health board or food inspector.

MILK TICKETS

SEC. 12. If dairymen or other persons offering milk for sale use tickets as representations of value, these tickets must be in coupon form and must be destroyed after once using.

THE STABLE AND SURROUNDINGS

SEC. 13. The surroundings to the stable must be kept in a sanitary condition. Cows must not be allowed to stand in manure and filth.

SEC. 13a. All parts of stable except floors and windows must be painted in some light color, or whitewashed at least twice a year. Stables must be kept free from dirt, dust, cobwebs, and odor. Manure and urine must be removed at least 30 feet from stable and placed where cows cannot get into it.

Manure must not be thrown out through stable windows. No other animals or fowls will be allowed in the cow stables. Floors must not be laid less than one foot higher than outside surface level, so that good drainage can be procured. Floors must be constructed of asphalt, concrete, brick, with surface flushed with cement, or of wood, water-tight. They must be kept in good repair at all times and also constructed with a gutter not less than 12 inches wide and 6 inches deep: a 4-foot walk back of cows and not less than a 20-inch manger in front.

Ceiling must be dust-tight and kept free from cobwebs.

LIGHT

At least three square feet of unobstructed window glass must be provided per cow and equally distributed; at least 500 cubic feet of space must be provided per cow; windows must be left partially open if no other method of ventilation is provided for.

Stable yard must be well drained and kept clean.

Cows

SEC. 14. Cows must be kept clean. Manure, litter, etc. must not be allowed to become caked and dried on them; they must not be allowed to stand in nor wade through filth and manure.

The bedding must be kept sweet and clean at all times and of sufficient quantity to protect the animals from filth.

FEED AND WATER

SEC. 15. Cows must be fed on clean, dry feed, neither decayed, mouldy, dusty, distillery waste nor starch waste. If malt is fed, it must not be fed when sour.

Pure running spring water or ordinary well water, free from contamination, pumped into clean tanks must be provided.

MILKERS

SEC. 16. The milkers must thoroughly wash and wipe their hands and the cows' udders before they begin milking. They must not use pails, cans, strainers, etc. unless they have been thoroughly washed in hot water and soap or hot water and soda and afterwards sterilized with boiling water or steam. Care must be taken that the seams of the vessels are thoroughly cleaned with a brush. They must refrain from milking or handling milk in any way when in themselves or in their families there is even a suspicion of any contagious or infectious disease, such as smallpox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, typhoid, tuberculosis, or the like.

HANDLING THE MILK

SEC. 17. Immediately after milking the milk shall be removed from the stable into a milk room, screened from the flies and other insects, aerated and cooled to at least 60° temperature, and put into perfectly clean bottles and cans. Dairy-men who use both bottles and cans in delivering milk shall not fill bottles while on their delivery route.

SEC. 17a. The milk house or milk room must not be attached by doorway to any other building and must be at least 25 feet from any cesspool or vault; must

be provided with a tight door, either concrete or wood, laid so as to provide drainage. It must be kept clean at all times and free from any odor.

CARE OF CANS AND BOTTLES

SEC. 18. All cans or bottles used in the distribution of milk must be thoroughly cleaned by either hot water and soap or hot water and soda or other alkalies, rinsed and sterilized by boiling water or steam before they are again used as receptacles for milk.

Extreme care must be exercised in cleaning the faucets to cans by use of a brush.

Milk cans must be washed and cleaned immediately after the milk or cream is emptied therefrom, and in no case shall the washing be later than 24 hours after the receipt of can.

No person shall use a milk bottle for other than milk purposes.

SEC. 19. No person shall bring into the city for sale or shall sell or offer for sale any milk:—

- (a) Containing less than 12 per cent of milk solids.
- (b) Containing more than 88 per cent of water or fluids.
- (c) Containing less than three per cent of milk fats.
- (d) Having a specific gravity of less than 1.029.
- (e) Containing any dirt, foreign matter or sediment.
- (f) Containing any boracic or salicylic acid, formalin or other foreign chemicals.
- (g) Containing any pathogenic bacteria.
- (h) Containing bacteria of any kind more than 500,000 per cubic centimeter.
- (i) Drawn from any cow having a communicable disease or showing clinical symptoms of tuberculosis, or from a herd which contains any diseased cattle, or are afflicted with or have been exposed to any communicable disease.
- (j) Drawn from any cow within 15 days before and 12 days after parturition.
- (k) Drawn from any cow that has been fed on garbage, refuse, swill, moist distillery waste, or other improper food.
- (l) Having a temperature or which has been kept at a temperature higher than 55° F.
- (m) Which has existed or has been kept under conditions contrary to the provisions of this code.
- (n) No milk shall be kept, sold, or offered for sale drawn from cows suffering with sore and inflamed udders and teats or from cows diseased.

Provided, That the subdivisions (a), (b), (c) and (d) of this section shall not apply to milk sold under the name of skimmed milk.

SKIMMED MILK

SEC. 20. (a) No person shall bring into the city of Elyria for sale or sell or offer for sale milk from which the cream has been removed, either in part or in whole, unless sold as skimmed milk and unless plainly marked "Skimmed milk."

(b) No person shall bring into the city for sale or sell or offer for sale any so-called skimmed milk containing less than 9.3 per cent of milk solids.

MILK DELIVERY WAGONS

SEC. 21. (a) No one shall use any vehicle for the delivery of milk in the city of Elyria which has not painted thereon in legible Roman letters and on both sides of the vehicle in a conspicuous place the name and location of his dairy and the number of his permit.

(b) Every person using in the sale or distribution of milk a delivery wagon or other vehicle shall keep the same at all times in a cleanly condition and free from any substance to contaminate or injure the purity of the milk, and from May 1 to October 1 shall have and keep over such delivery wagon or other vehicle a covering of canvas or other material so arranged as to thoroughly protect the contents thereof from the rays and heat of the sun.

ORIGINAL CONTAINER

SEC. 22. No person or milk dealer shall sell, deliver, sell or offer to sell, or keep for sale in stores milk or cream in quantities less than 1 gallon unless delivered and kept in the original package or container. (Exception—Original packages of not greater capacity than 1 quart may be broken for sale if the unsold portion is kept in the original package, properly closed.) The compartment where milk or cream is kept shall be separated by an impervious water and odor proof partition from all other compartments of any ice box or refrigerator. Neither milk nor cream shall be kept in the same compartment with any other foodstuffs except butter and cheese.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES

SEC. 23. (a) Should scarlet fever, smallpox, diphtheria, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, or other dangerous or infectious disease occur in the family of any dairyman or among any of his employees, or in any house in which milk is kept for sale, or in the family or among the employees of any person who ships milk into the city of Elyria for sale, such dairyman, such venders, or shippers of milk shall immediately notify the health officer of the facts of the case, and the health officer shall at once investigate and order the sale of such milk stopped, or sold under such regulations as he thinks proper.

(b) Should dairymen, venders, or shippers of milk fail to notify the health officer when contagious diseases exist in their families or in the families of their employees, or who, after such information is given the health officer, fail to obey his directions, the milk and dairy inspector shall seize and destroy all milk sent into the city by such persons, and he shall, when acting in good faith, be held harmless in damages therefor, in any suit or demands made.

(c) In delivering milk to families in which there exists any of the above-named contagious or infectious diseases the dairyman shall not enter, neither shall he permit any of his milk bottles or vessels to be taken into such houses, but pour such milk as each family wishes into vessels furnished by such family, or if bottles are left must remain until quarantine has been raised, then sterilized by order of sanitary policeman.

MILK INSPECTORS

SEC. 24. The milk or dairy inspector, the health officer, or any person authorized by the board of health, may examine all dairy herds, utensils for handling milk, of all dairymen or other persons engaged in selling or shipping for sale milk or cream to the city of Elyria. These inspectors shall have power to open any can, vessel or package containing milk or cream, whether sealed (locked) or otherwise, and take samples of the milk or cream for testing or analysis; and if, upon inspection, the milk or cream is found to be filthy, or the can or other containers are in an unclean condition, the said inspector may then and there condemn the milk or cream as deemed by him to be filthy, and pour the contents of such bottles, vessels or packages upon the ground forthwith and he shall, if done in good faith, be held harmless in damages therefor, in any suit or demand made.

CREAM

SEC. 25. No person shall bring into the city of Elyria for sale or shall sell or offer for sale any cream unless such cream is produced from milk which must conform to all rules and regulations of this code, relating to milk, nor unless cream be kept at or below 50° F., free from foreign substances, and shall not contain more than 1,000,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter, and shall not contain less than 16 per cent of milk fat.

RULES GOVERNING THE INSPECTION OF MILK BY THE DAIRY INSPECTORS IN CONNECTION WITH SCORE CARD

SEC. 26. *Rule 1.* The dairies of all persons shipping milk for sale in Elyria will be inspected and rated according to the following provisions:

(a) COWS. Condition and healthfulness: Perfect score, 10. (Two points will be deducted if cows are in poor flesh, and 8 points if not tuberculosis tested.)

Cleanliness: Perfect score, 5. (All cows clean, 5; good, 4; fair, 3; medium, 2; poor, 1; bad, 0.)

(b) STABLES. Construction of floors: Perfect score, 5. (If the floor is of cement or stone flag in good repair, 5; brick or matched boards in good repair, 4; ordinary wooden floor in good repair, 3; one-half wood and one-half cement, 3; half wood, cement, or other material and half dirt, 2; any material in poor repair, 1; if no floor, allow 0.)

Cleanliness: Perfect score, 5. (If stables are perfectly clean, including windows, walls and ceiling, 5; deduction will be in proportion to dirt, cobwebs, etc.)

Light: Perfect score, 5. (For four square feet per cow, 5 points will be given; 3 sq. feet per cow, 4; 2 sq. feet per cow, 3; 1 sq. foot per cow, 2; 6 sq. inches per cow, 1; less than 6 sq. inches per cow, 0.)

Cubic space per cow: Perfect score, 3. (If 500 cubic feet per cow, 3 points will be allowed; less than 500 and over 400 cubic feet per cow, 2; less than 400 and over 300 cubic feet per cow, 1; less than 300 cubic feet per cow, 0 will be allowed.)

Ventilation: Perfect score, 4. (If ventilation is good, 4 points will be given; deductions will be made in proportion to lack of ventilation; if all windows are closed and no attempt at ventilation is made, 0 will be allowed.)

Removal of Manure: Perfect score, 2. (If manure is hauled to the fields daily, 2 points will be allowed; removed thirty feet from stable, 1; otherwise, 0.)

Stable yard: Perfect score, 1. (If stable yard is in good condition and well drained, 1 point will be allowed; otherwise, 0.)

(c) Water supply for cows: Perfect score, 5. (If cows are supplied with pure running water, 5 points will be allowed; running well water from windmill or otherwise, 4; ordinary well water, 3; pond or other muddy water, 0.)

For milk house: Perfect score, 5. (If milk house is supplied with pure, clean, running water, 5 points will be allowed; pure well water, 3; otherwise, 0.)

(d) Milk house—construction: Perfect score, 5. (If the floor is of cement or tight boards well drained, if the walls and ceiling are sound, and the milk house is well lighted and ventilated and not attached by doorway to any other building 5 points will be given; if the milk house is in a barn or house 2 points will be deducted, and deductions will be made in proportion to deficiency in construction, light and repair. If there is no milk house, 0 will be allowed.)

Equipment: Perfect score, 5. (If hot water is installed for cleaning utensils, 1 point will be given; proper pails used for no other purpose, 1; proper strainers, 1; aerator, 1; soda or washing powder for utensils, 1; 1 point will be deducted for absence of any.)

Cleanliness of interior: Perfect score 5. (If the interior is absolutely clean, including windows, 5 points will be allowed; good condition, 4; medium, 3; fair, 2; poor, 1; bad, 0.)

Care and cleanliness of utensils: Perfect score, 5. (If all utensils are thoroughly clean and kept on suitable racks, 5 points will be allowed; 2 points will be deducted for absence of rack; deductions will be made for rusty utensils or careless washing. The lighting and ventilation of the milk house, together with its location in regard to other buildings, will be taken into consideration.)

(e) Milkers and milking—health of attendants: Perfect score, 5. (If attendants are all in healthy condition, 5 points will be allowed; if any of the attendants are sick or a contagious disease exists in the family, 0 will be allowed.)

Cleanliness of milking: Perfect score, 10. (If milking is done in special suits for milking, with clean, dry hands and with special attention to cleanliness of udders and teats before milking, 10 points will be given; all of the above except special suits, 7; in addition 4 points will be deducted for unclean teats or udders and 3 points for dirty hands; if wet milking will be done, 0 will be allowed.)

(f) Handling the milk—prompt cooling: Perfect score, 5. (If milk is poured from pail into cool receptacles as soon as milked, 5 points will be given; if poured into can and can is put into cold water as soon as filled, 2; otherwise, 0.)

Efficient cooling: Perfect score, 5. (If milk reaches a temperature of 60° before being shipped, 5 points will be given, a temperature of 65°, 3; a temperature of 70°, 1; above 70°, 0 will be allowed.)

Storing at low temperature: Perfect score, 5. (If milk is stored at a temperature of 60°, 5 points will be given; a temperature of 70°, 1; above 70°, 0 will be allowed.)

Rule 2. All dairies will be scored by the inspector upon a card in the following form:

Owner or lessee of farm.....	
Town..... State.....	
Number of cows.....	
Quarts of milk produced daily.....	
Is product sold at wholesale or retail?.....	
If shipped to dealer give name and address.....	
Permit No.....Date of inspection.....191.....	
Cows:	Perfect Score
Condition (2), health (8).....	10
Cleanliness.....	5
Stables:	
Construction of floors.....	5
Cleanliness.....	5
Light.....	5
Ventilation.....	4
Cubic space per cow.....	3
Removal of manure (2), cleanliness and drainage, stable yard (1).....	3

	Perfect Score
Water supply:	
For cows.....	5
For milk house.....	5
Milk house:	
Construction.....	5
Equipment.....	5
Cleanliness.....	5
Care and cleanliness of utensils.....	5
Is house detached?..... Lighted?..... Ventilated?.....	
Milkers and milking:	
Health of attendants.....	5
Cleanliness of milking.....	10
Handling the milk:	
Prompt cooling.....	5
Efficient cooling.....	5
Storing at low temperature.....	5
Total score.....	100
Sanitary conditions are excellent..... Good..... Medium.....	
Poor.....	

Suggestions by inspector.....

Milk or cream from dairies falling below 45 in the rating as indicated above, will be excluded from sale in Elyria during 1911-12; milk or cream from dairies falling below 50 will be excluded from sale in Elyria during 1913 and thereafter.

PENALTY

SEC. 27. Whoever violates any provision of the above resolution, or obstructs or interferes with the execution thereof, or willfully or illegally omits to obey any provisions of said resolution shall be fined not to exceed \$100, or imprisonment not to exceed 90 days, or both; but no person shall be imprisoned hereunder for the first offence, and the prosecution shall always be as and for a first offence, unless the affidavit upon which the prosecution is instituted contains the allegation that the offense is a second or repeated offense.

SEC. 28. This resolution to be in force and effect from and after October 1, 1911.

(Ordinance adopted July 28, 1911.)

[Reprint from Public Health Reports No. 70 (Abridged).]

MUNICIPAL ORDINANCES, RULES, AND REGULATIONS PERTAINING TO PUBLIC HYGIENE

ROANOKE, VA.

HEALTH DEPARTMENT—PERSONNEL, POWERS AND DUTIES

2. The health department of the city of Roanoke shall be composed of a board of health, a health officer, and such assistants and employees as may from time to time be authorized by council.

3. The board of health shall be composed of five members, residents of the city of Roanoke, two of whom shall be practicing physicians and three laymen.

4. The term of office of the members of the board of health shall be five years from the date of their appointment.

8. Members of the board of health shall be subject to removal by the council whenever in its opinion any member is negligent in his duties or has failed to perform the duties of the office and any vacancy thus created shall be filled in the same manner as other appointments are made to fill vacancies.

9. The board of health shall, subject to approval or modification by the city council, adopt all needful rules and regulations for the proper and successful operation of the health department of the city, in the prevention and elimination of diseases, the prevention and abatement of nuisances, and for the proper and prompt performance of such other duties as said department may be required to perform by State law or the ordinances of the city, any time it may deem advisable for the following purposes:

(a) To prevent the adulteration of all kinds of food and drink and to prevent the sale, or exposure for sale, of any kind of meat or vegetable that is unwholesome or unfit for food.

(b) To regulate the bacteriological examination of such matters and things as the public health may demand; the inspection and examination of milk; the regulation of dairies and milk dealers and the care and housing of milk cows.

(c) To prevent the spreading of dangerous epidemics or contagious diseases, and to declare that same has become an epidemic and to maintain and enforce sufficient quarantine whenever deemed necessary.

(d) To regulate and control the keeping or slaughtering of all kinds of animals.

(e) To regulate, control, and prohibit the accumulation of offal and all decaying vegetable substances.

(f) To prohibit and remove any offensive matter, or abate any nuisance in any public highway, road, street, avenue, alley, or other place, public or private, and to cause the removal at the expense of the owner.

(g) To compel the return of all births and deaths by physicians, midwives, nurses, and other persons professionally officiating at such death or birth.

(h) To regulate and control the method of construction, the location, the method or manner of emptying or cleaning, and the frequency of cleaning cesspools and privies.

(i) To regulate and control the mode of connection of house draining and plumbing, with outside sewers, cesspools or other receptacles.

(j) To protect the public water supply and prevent the pollution of any stream of water or well, the water of which is used for domestic purposes, and to order not to be used or closed any well the water of which is polluted or detrimental to the public health.

(k) To regulate the burial and disinterment of human bodies.

10. The members of the board of health hereby created shall be elected or selected at a joint session of council, to be called and held as other joint meetings of council are called and held.

11. It shall be the duty of the said board immediately after its election and qualification to select some suitable and well-equipped person to be named as health officer for the city of Roanoke, whose duty it shall be to carry out the instruction of the board of health and the enforcement of such health regulations as may be adopted by the board and approved by the council, and health ordinances of the city, and perform all and such other duties as may from time to time be imposed upon the said health officer, or by the board of health, and to act as secretary of the board, keep all records, books, and papers necessary, and such as are required by the board of health or the city council, and to have charge of, supervise, and control all employees of the health department, selecting and employing all assistants and employees, the council fixing the salaries and wages to be paid such assistants and employees as it may from time to time authorize.

12. The person selected by the board of health as a proper person to fill the office of health officer shall be a well-qualified, competent, and efficient physician, with good executive ability and acquainted with the latest, most modern sanitary methods, well versed in the science of sanitation and bacteriology. The said person shall be so selected by the board of health, shall have his name presented to council, at the earliest time practical by the board for confirmation, and said health officer shall hold office for the term hereinafter mentioned, or until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, and shall receive such salary as the council may from time to time designate, which shall not be decreased during his incumbency, and furnished with such necessary equipments, office fixtures, etc., as may be requisite by the council for the performance of the duties of office.

13. The health officer shall have supervision of, and be responsible for, all

garbage and street cleanings, and the sanitary inspector shall carry out the instructions of the health officer.

14. The health officer shall at all times have care and supervision of the health of the public-school buildings, and shall from time to time make such medical examination of pupils as himself or the board of health may deem proper, and recommend to council from time to time such matters as may require attention from the standpoint of health, sanitation, or other matters, not at the time within his duties and powers, affecting the public schools.

15. The term of office of health officer shall be two years or until removed by the city council, which shall be upon the recommendation of the board of health, which may be done for or without cause. The first term hereunder shall be for two years, commencing August 1, 1910, all succeeding terms to be two years, beginning August 1st, of the year selected.

SEATTLE, WASH

SWIMMING POOLS

" All pools or tanks shall be thoroughly cleaned at least once each week in a manner and by the use of such disinfecting agents or cleansing materials as may be required by the commissioner of health, and all such pools or tanks shall be emptied and the water therein completely changed at least twice each week.

The sides and bottoms of all pools or tanks shall be white, so that objects may be clearly seen, so far as possible, in all portions of the pool or tank.

No intoxicated person, or one afflicted with tubercular abscesses, venereal or other infectious or contagious diseases, shall use or be permitted to use any swimming pool or tank.

All persons before entering any swimming pool or tank shall be required to thoroughly cleanse the body through the use of the shower or other similar devices maintained and used for such purpose."

STREET CARS

" All street cars operated within the city of Seattle shall, within three months after this ordinance become a law, be ventilated in a manner approved by the commissioner of health.

At least once each week the interior, platform and hand rails of all street railway cars shall be cleansed by flushing and scrubbing with a disinfecting fluid composed of a solution of bichloride of mercury or other suitable disinfecting fluid of such strength as to destroy all germ life. All strap hangers, seats, and windows shall also once a week be thoroughly cleansed and disinfected. All window boxes must be cleared of all accumulations and must be sprayed with a disinfecting fluid or otherwise rendered free from germ life.

FARGO, N. D.

QUARANTINE

" The health officer shall remove or cause to be removed any patient affected with scarlet fever, diphtheria, smallpox or epidemic cerebro-spinal meningitis to the city quarantine hospital, or shall establish or cause to be established, proper quarantine at the dwelling place of the person so affected, provided that house quarantine can be carried out without danger to the general public.

The expenses of hospital quarantine shall be borne by the patient when the patient is able to pay them, otherwise the expenses shall be borne by the city. When the house is quarantined the members of the family who work out must either (a) board and room at another house, or (b) stop work and stay in the house.

" The health officer may after personal investigation of the premises wherein a contagious case or cases exist issue a written permit to wage earners to enter and leave the premises during the period of quarantine, provided that he finds that such a modification of quarantine will not endanger the public health. Neither this nor any other modification of quarantine will be permitted excepting with the written consent of the health officer, and no modification of quarantine will be allowed in the case of any wage earner who is engaged in the production, sale, or manufacture of wearing apparel, bedding, foodstuffs, cigars, cigarettes, or candy. If he is so employed, he shall be required to take a disinfecting bath and put on disinfected clothing and leave the premises.

Milkmen must empty milk delivered to infected premises into covered containers placed outside the door of such premises. They must not enter such premises nor remove milk bottles therefrom until the house has been fumigated and the bottles have been sterilized. If bottles are delivered, they must not be taken from the house until the case is terminated and the bottles have been sterilized.

Grocerymen and other persons delivering merchandise are forbidden to enter such premises or remove packages therefrom.

Laundrymen are forbidden to enter such premises or to remove any clothing therefrom until such articles have first been boiled or otherwise sterilized.

No one shall remove anything from such premises except by permission of the health officer.

FUMIGATION

The fumigation of premises shall be done only by an inspector of the board of health, and under the supervision of the health department. The expense of fumigation shall be borne by the patient when the patient is able to pay, otherwise the expense shall be borne by the city. The health inspector shall make a

APPENDIX

monthly report to the board of health, stating the number and location of the premises fumigated, and shall render an account of all moneys received from this source. The health inspector shall receive as compensation for his services 50 per cent of the receipts from fumigating, and the balance shall be turned over by him to the board of health to provide the materials and to pay such other expenses as are incurred in doing this work.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

MUNICIPAL NURSES

"The board of health is hereby authorized to employ two or more female nurses for the prevention of infant mortality at a salary of not less than \$80 per month nor more than \$85 per month."

ELYRIA, OHIO

BAKERIES

"No person shall sleep in a bakeshop, and the sleeping places of persons employed in bakeshops shall be kept separate from the place where flour or meal or food products are handled or stored.

"No domestic animal shall be permitted in a bakeshop or place where flour or meal is stored in connection with a bakeshop.

"Receptacles for expectoration, of impervious material, cleaned at least once in every 24 hours, shall be maintained and kept by the person in charge of every bakeshop, and no attendant or other person shall spit on the floor, side walls, or on any place in such bakeshop.

SEC. 1. Smoking, snuffing or chewing tobacco is forbidden in a bakeshop. Notice forbidding all persons to use tobacco or to spit on the floor or side walls shall be posted in every bakeshop.

SEC. 16. No person who has tuberculosis or venereal or other communicable disease shall work in a bakeshop, and no person in charge of such bakeshop shall require, permit or suffer such person to be employed.

SEC. 18. Whoever violates any provision of the above resolution, etc. shall be fined not to exceed \$100 or imprisoned for not to exceed 90 days, or both.

SAGINAW, MICH.

MEAT INSPECTION

SEC. 3. (b) All animals intended to be slaughtered within the limits of the city of Saginaw shall be inspected while alive and on foot by the city inspector

of foods and measures in pens specially constructed for that purpose which shall be well lighted, and all animals so inspected shall be slaughtered within a reasonable time thereafter, and no animal shall be slaughtered that is not "passed" by the said city inspector of foods and measures.

(c) Every animal slaughtered shall be inspected during the process of slaughtering by the said city inspector of foods and measures, who shall use such methods of inspection as may be approved of or adopted by the common council.

(d) Every portion of any animal slaughtered or intended for food or a food product shall be inspected by the city inspector of foods and measures and tagged, marked, or stamped by him, and a record of said inspection with the name of owner, kind of animal, and condition shall be made by said city inspector of foods and measures, which record of each inspection shall be entered upon his daily report which shall be filed with the city clerk.

(m) Meat and food products must not be permitted to fall on floors and, in event of their having fallen, they must be condemned or soiled portion removed or condemned.

(n) Carcasses shall not be inflated with air from the mouth, and no inflation except by mechanical means shall be allowed. Carcasses shall not be dressed with skewers, knives, etc. that have been held in the mouth. Spitting on whetstones or steels when sharpening knives is prohibited.

MILK

"For the purpose of instructing dairymen, the board of health shall publish in April and September of each year, and at such other times as they deem advisable, in the official newspaper of the common council, instructions concerning the source from which the milk is obtained, straining, cooling, storage, keeping, handling, conveying, temperature and other treatment and condition of milk and the sanitary conditions of dairymen, of cows, dairies, ice, stables, wagons, pasture, buildings, rooms, utensils, and other apparatus, appliances, and methods used in handling milk and cows.

The city clerk shall within thirty days after publication mail copies of said instructions to each and every person holding a license to sell milk in Saginaw and to those furnishing milk to such licenses; and shall forthwith make a report to the common council of having complied with this provision.

INDIANA HOUSING LAW

Laws of 1913, Ch. 149.

SEC. 5. The provisions of this act shall be held to be the minimum requirements adopted for the protection of the health and safety of the community. Nothing in this act contained shall be construed as prohibiting the local legislative body of any city from enacting from time to time supplementary ordinances imposing further restrictions.

SEC. 8. The state board of health shall have power to examine into the enforcement of the laws relating to tenement houses¹ in any city.

SEC. 9. No tenement house hereafter erected shall occupy . . . a greater percentage of the lot than . . . in the case of corner lots, 85%, . . . in the case of interior lots . . . 65%.

SEC. 10. No tenement house hereafter erected shall exceed in height one and one-half times the width of the widest street upon which it abuts.

SEC. 11. Behind every tenement house hereafter erected there shall be a yard extending across the entire width of the lot and at every point open from the ground to the sky unobstructed. . . . In the case of interior lots no yard shall be less than 25 feet in depth . . . in the case of corner lots no yard shall be less than 15 feet in depth.

SEC. 20. In every tenement house hereafter erected every room, including water-closet compartments and bath rooms, shall have at least one window opening directly upon the street or upon a yard or court of the dimension specified in this chapter, etc.

SEC. 21. In every tenement house hereafter erected the total window area in each room, including water-closet compartments and bath rooms, shall be at least one-seventh of the superficial floor area of the room.

SEC. 22. In each apartment there shall be at least one room containing not less than one hundred and fifty square feet of floor area, and each other room shall contain at least one hundred square feet of floor area. Each room shall be in every part not less than nine feet high from the finished floor to the finished ceiling.

SEC. 33. In every tenement house hereafter erected there shall be in each apartment a proper sink with running water.²

SEC. 38. Every tenement house hereafter erected which is three or more stories in height, exclusive of cellar or basement, unless it is a fireproof tenement

¹ SEC. 2. A "tenement house" is any house . . . which is occupied . . . or designed to be occupied as the . . . residence of two or more families living independently of each other . . . and having a common right in the halls, stairways, yard, cellar, etc.

² SEC. 7. The provisions of this act with reference to sewer connection and water supply shall be deemed to apply only where connection with a public sewer and with public water mains is or becomes accessible.

house or unless provided with fireproof outside stairways directly accessible to each apartment, shall have fire escapes located at each story, etc.

SEC. 78. If a room in a tenement house is over crowded, the board of health may order the number of persons sleeping or living in said room to be so reduced that there shall be not less than four hundred cubic feet of air to each adult, and two hundred fifty cubic feet of air to each child under twelve years of age occupying such room.

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 defence, 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

SEC. I. 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.

SEC. II. 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 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 the state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives [and direct taxes shall]¹ 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; *Georgia*, three].³

¹ Modified by Amendment XVI.

² The clauses in brackets have been superseded by Amendments XIII and XIV.

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.

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

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 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 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 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 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.

SEC. IV. 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.

SEC. V. 1. Each house shall be judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum

¹ Superseded by Amendment XVII.

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.

SEC. VI. 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 or 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.

SEC. VII. 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 becomes 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; 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 journals 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 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 adjourn-

ment) 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.

SEC. VIII. The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence 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 offences 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 government of the United States, 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, dock-yards, 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.

SEC. IX. [1. The migration or importation of such persons 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.]¹

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.

4. No capitation [or other direct tax]² shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

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

6. 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.

7. 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.

SEC. X. 1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing 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 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. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, 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.

¹ A temporary clause no longer in effect.

² Modified by Amendment XVI.

ARTICLE II

SEC. I. 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 a Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. 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.

3. [Annulled. See Amendments, art. 12.]

4. 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.

5. 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 the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of 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.

7. 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.

8. 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 the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.”

SEC. II. 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 offences 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.

SEC. III. 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.

SEC. IV. 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

SEC. I. 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.

SEC. II. 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, and 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; 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 a party, the supreme court shall have original

jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and 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 the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such a place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. III. 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 confessions 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

SEC. I. 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.

SEC. II. 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.]¹

SEC. III. 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 legislature 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.

SEC. IV. The United States shall guarantee to every state of the Union a

¹ Superseded by Amendment XIII.

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]¹ 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, any thing 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.

¹ Temporary in its nature.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING,

CONNECTICUT

WM. SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

DELAWARE

GEORGE READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND

JAMES M'HENRY,
DAN'L OF ST. THO. JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA

WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICH. DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA

JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA

WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON.

Secretary.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

ART. I. 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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.

ART. 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 offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be 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.

ART. 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 defence.

ART. VII. In suits of 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 re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

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

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

ART. 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.

ART. XI. 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.

ART. XII. 1. 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 ballot 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 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 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 number, 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.

2. 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.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ART. XIII. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been 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.

ART. XIV. 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 appointed 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 or 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 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. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ART. XV. 1. The rights 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.

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

ART. XVI. 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.

ART. XVII. 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 required 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 the 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.

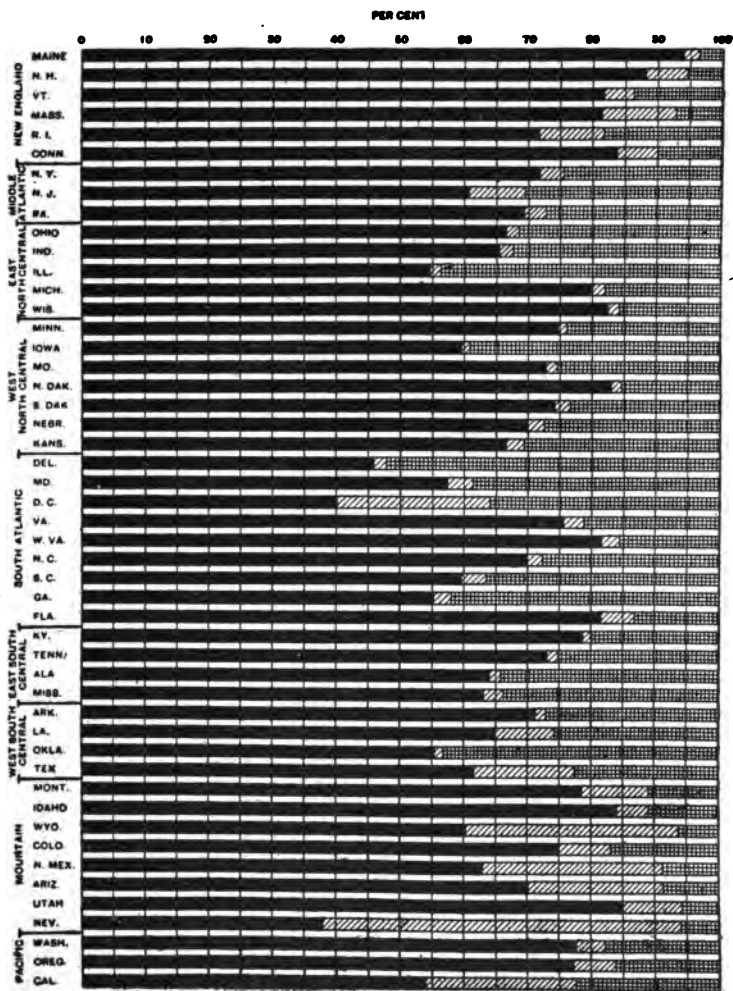
BONDED DEBTS OF STATES

(Reference to pp. 86 and 90.)

FROM LATEST STATEMENTS FURNISHED BY THE STATE TREASURERS OR STATE TAX COMMISSIONS

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	BONDED DEBT.	STATES AND TERRITORIES.	BONDED DEBT.
Alabama	\$9,057,000	Nebraska	None
Arizona	910,972	Nevada	680,000
Arkansas	1,250,500	New Hampshire	968,000
California	28,659,500	New Jersey	None
Colorado	3,765,000	New Mexico	3,065,500
Connecticut	13,064,100	New York	186,400,660
Delaware	826,785	North Carolina	8,652,500
District of Columbia	6,218,275	North Dakota	578,700
Florida	* 601,567	Ohio	None
Georgia	6,218,202	Oklahoma	4,367,000
Hawaii	8,024,000	Oregon	None
Idaho	2,236,750	Pennsylvania	651,110
Illinois	None	Porto Rico	7,980,000
Indiana	604,548	Rhode Island	7,365,000
Iowa	None	South Carolina	5,675,851
Kansas	None	South Dakota	None
Kentucky	None	Tennessee	11,781,000
Louisiana	10,991,500	Texas	3,976,200
Maine	569,000	Utah	3,060,000
Maryland	12,219,576	Vermont	None
Massachusetts	126,253,912	Virginia	24,339,289
Michigan	None	Washington	281,024
Minnesota	None	West Virginia	None
Mississippi	4,922,991	Wisconsin	None
Missouri	7,898,839	Wyoming	111,000
Montana	400,000		

ACREAGE OF ALL LAND IN FARMS, CLASSIFIED BY CHARACTER OF TENURE OF OPERATOR: 1910



OWNED

PARTIALLY OWNED

TENANT

THE STUDENT'S HEALTH CREED

Recommended by the Indiana State Board of Health

I believe my body and good health are sacred. If I am sick it will very probably be because I have violated some one or more of nature's laws of health.

I will study nature's laws of health and will obey them for my own sake.

I will not suck my fingers, or pick my nose or wipe my nose on my hand or sleeve, for these practices are unsanitary and very impolite.

I will not wet my fingers in my mouth when turning the leaves of books.

I will not put pencils in my mouth nor wet them with my lips.

I will not put pins or money in my mouth.

I will not buy nor use chewing gum nor buy and eat cheap candies.

I will only use my mouth for eating good plain food, drinking pure water and milk, and for saying good and kind words.

I will always chew my food thoroughly, and never drink whiskey or wine.

I will strive against the habit of "clearing my throat" because it is nearly always unnecessary, and may be disagreeable to others.

I will not cough or sneeze without turning my face and holding a piece of paper or handkerchief before my mouth. Polite people never cough in public if they can prevent it.

I will keep my face, hands and finger nails as clean as possible.

I will not spit on floors, stairways or sidewalks, and will try not to spit at all; ladies and gentlemen do not spit.

I will wash my mouth every morning on getting up and at night on going to bed, and will use a tooth brush if I can get one.

I will be clean in body, clean in mind and avoid all habits that may give offense to others.

I will get all the fresh air I can and will open wide my bedroom windows when I go to bed.

Name of Student

INDIANA NEEDS

(Reference to p. 96.)

Sanitary school buildings.

Open-air schools in every city in the state.

State-wide medical inspection and health supervision of school children.

Vocational training in all schools.

Skilled health officers devoting their entire time to public health.

Adequate appropriations for public health education.

A law to compel tuberculin testing of all dairy cattle.

A just Workman's Compensation Law.

Education and co-operation in fire prevention.

A public library in every community.

A study of occupational diseases.

Hospitals for the care and prevention of tuberculosis.

Better methods of sewage disposal.

Pasteurization of public milk supplies.

Homes, not mere housing.

"Safety First," safety at least.

Prevention rather than cure.

—Children's Welfare Exhibit, Indianapolis.

ENFORCE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY

ARCHITECT STEINKAMP URGES THIS BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BUILDING MANAGERS

At the 1913 convention of the National Association of building managers, held at Cincinnati, Joseph G. Steinkamp, a Cincinnati architect, read a paper on "Building Codes." After showing the importance of building codes in enforcing proper construction, for the prevention of accident and the reduction of the fire hazard, Mr. Steinkamp raised the question of enforcement of these codes and punishment of violations. He made an argument for the enforcement of a greater degree of personal responsibility for fires, which is conceded to be an important factor in the reduction of the fire waste. Along this line he said:

"In connection with this, one peculiar feature comes up before my mind, and that is the question, 'Why is it that the man who has a fire is not held liable and responsible for the fire,' unless he can prove satisfactorily to the courts that the fire was an accident? All fires are not accidents. Why is there this distinction

made in the case of fire? You might accidentally leave your coal hole in the sidewalk open. Surely you would not do it intentionally. Still, if some one fell into the coal hole he would hold you liable for damages. You might be a very careful automobile driver. You might accidentally strike some one; that it was purely an accident and that you did not intentionally strike the man is evident. However, it might require a great deal of argument and explanation to convince the judge that you are not criminally liable. So you might go through the different phases of various laws. But when do you find a suit in equity or a criminal prosecution because a man had a fire and thereby endangered life and limb or damaged his neighbor's property? It appears to me that this phase of the question, especially with reference to the fire loss, rather conclusively answers the question of Mr. Arthur McFarlane, writing in *Collier's*, 'Why is it that our fire losses in the United States are from eight to thirteen times as great as they are in any of the countries of Europe, the greatest difference being in the countries,' according to his statement, 'where they build entirely of wood, as in Norway and Sweden?' Now, the point that I am trying to make is: that if the penalty for violations, shown by adverse results, is sufficiently severe, there will be no violations of the law."

Slip No. 167. Committee on Publicity and Education, Chicago, Ill.

FIRE PREVENTION QUESTIONNAIRE

- NAME.....
- STREET AND NUMBER.....
- Do you use matches that must be struck on the box?.....
- Are floors under stoves protected, and how?.....
- Are walls, ceilings and partitions protected from overheating of stoves or furnace?.....
- Do you use metal ash cans?.....
- Of what material is the house?..... Roof?.....
- Is basement or foundation enclosed?.....
- Are chimneys built on the ground or on brackets?.....
- Are chimneys in good repair?.....
- How did you learn?.....
- Do stovepipes pass through attic, closets or unused rooms?.....
- Do stovepipes pass through partition without metal protectors?.....
- Do you keep gasoline in approved safety cans?.....
- Do you use stoves or furnace, and what kind?.....
- Do you use kerosene to start fires?.....

Have you any fire extinguishers?
 Are you familiar with the location of the fire alarm box nearest your home?

Where is it?

Do you know how to turn in an alarm?

Do you know the telephone number of the fire department?

Name any fire hazards that exist in or about your home.

If you wish for more information on fire prevention write to State Fire Marshal,
 59 State House, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Indiana State Fire Marshal Department.

FIRE DONT'S

NEVER neglect to have all flues cleaned, examined and repaired at least once each year.

NEVER pass stove pipes through ceilings, roofs or wooden partitions.

NEVER permit rubbish to accumulate in basements, workshops or anywhere about the premises.

NEVER keep ashes in wooden boxes or deposit them against wooden buildings or partitions. Keep ashes in closed metal receptacles.

NEVER use any other than safety matches. Never leave them accessible to children. Never leave a match until you know that it is out. Keep matches in closed metal receptacles.

NEVER fail to place metal protection under all stoves and protect woodwork where stoves or furnaces are close to walls.

NEVER keep gasoline except in closed safety containers. Never use it at night or near open fires. Never store quantities of ten gallons or more except in underground tanks.

NEVER use gasoline and kerosene stoves except with the greatest care.

NEVER use kerosene to start a fire.

NEVER use glass bowls for kerosene lamps.

NEVER connect gas stoves, heaters or hot plates with rubber hose.

NEVER hang drapery or cloth of any kind near a fire.

NEVER change your electric wiring without consulting a competent electrician.

Write to the State Fire Marshal for information on special hazards, such as storing of gasoline and explosives and construction of moving picture shows.

Indiana State Fire Marshal Department.

FIRES DUE TO CARELESSNESS

The greater part of the annual fire waste in the United States, amounting to nearly \$250,000,000 a year, is due to carelessness. Much of this is personal, for which property owners are directly responsible, and much is municipal, through the toleration by the authorities of dangerously inflammable construction, laxity in the enforcement of building ordinances and the regulation of explosives and inflammables, failure to insist upon rubbish being cleaned up, etc. The average citizen should have impressed upon him his personal responsibility for his share of the preventable fire waste of the country, which is draining the national wealth. Every man can at least see that paper, old boxes and rubbish are not allowed to accumulate in dangerous places or out-of-the-way corners, and can keep an eye on his lighting and heating appliances. If these alone are attended to properly nearly half the fires could be prevented. In foreign countries the owner of property is made responsible for fires originating on his premises and can be held for damages done the property of his neighbors. American independence may not yet be ready for such a degree of regulation, but its necessity could be avoided if each citizen would feel his personal responsibility without waiting for a law to enforce it.

One means of educating people in fire prevention. This is taken from the Indiana Fire Marshal's campaign literature.

Slip No. 20. Committee on Publication and Education, Chicago, Ill.

FIRE LOSSES HERE AND IN GERMANY

An explanation of the fact that fire losses in the United States are about ten times what they are in Germany, can be found in the much greater responsibility for fires fixed upon tenants, builders and owners of property abroad. An American gentleman, temporarily living in Berlin, was awakened by smoke and found that a fire originating in a room over him was eating its way through the ceiling of his dining room. The blaze was extinguished with chemical apparatus without any water damage and without needless destruction of walls and furniture. Meantime a careful investigation was made by officials, and the next morning the man who turned in the alarm was sent for and taken before a fire marshal with inquisitorial powers. The examination of all involved showed that the fire started in a hot coal which had dropped from a laundry stove in the attic and rolled upon an unprotected wooden floor. The tenant proved that the stove was an appointment of the building, provided by the landlord, and that it was neither his duty nor his privilege to change it. The landlord proved that he had recently purchased the building under the usual guarantee that all laws and ordinances had

been complied with in construction and appointment, that this stove had not been changed, and that his attention had not been called to any condition involving a fire risk. The builder from whom the owner purchased was then called and had to admit that he was responsible for the setting of the stove as the police had found it, and that he had violated the law in neglecting to provide a suitable metallic hearth of the required kind and dimensions between it and the floor. This responsibility was brought home to him by the assessment against him of the damage to the furniture and property of the tenants, together with the estimated cost to the city of responding to the alarm and extinguishing the fire, rounded out by an exemplary fine of 500 marks as a reminder that German laws are intended to be observed. The builder was not required to pay for the damage to the building, it being held that while the owner had not committed the violation of law which caused the fire, he had been neglectful in not discovering and correcting it, and for that reason should pay for his own repairs. He was informed that only the fact that he had owned the building for a short time saved him from a fine in addition. Such laws and such enforcements explain the per capita fire loss of 30 cents in Berlin and \$3 in Chicago. American "freedom" is not yet ready for such restrictions, but it pays for its independence in a fire waste of a quarter of a million dollars a year, to say nothing of the loss of life, and the high taxes made necessary by the existence of such conditions. If the person responsible for fire in this country were made to defray the cost of extinguishing the blaze, the criminal carelessness which now exists would be greatly reduced, as would the taxes necessary for the support of the fire departments.

—Slip No. 58. Committee on Publicity and Education, Chicago, Ill.

PERSONAL SAFETY ON THE STREETS

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. What should you do before crossing a street?

Ans. I should stop and look both ways, and when it is safe, cross the street quickly.

2. Where is the proper place for you or anyone to cross the street?

Ans. At the crossings where it is less dangerous.

3. What should you do, if standing in the middle of the street, you should see automobiles or other vehicles coming in both directions?

Ans. Stand perfectly still until they have passed by.

4. Should you help young children and old ladies to cross the street and why?

Ans. Yes, because it is the manly thing to do.

5. What danger is there in stealing a ride on an automobile or other vehicle?

Ans. There is danger of being injured either by falling off or being run over when I jump off.

6. In case a child or anyone is injured by an automobile, or other vehicle, what is the first thing to do?

Ans. Call help as quickly as possible.

7. What should you do if you see an automobile unattended standing on the street?

Ans. I should not molest it in any way.

8. Why should you select side streets not frequented by automobiles and other vehicles on which to play?

Ans. Because there is less danger of being injured on them.

9. If, when playing on the street, you should see an automobile or other vehicles approaching, what ought you to do?

Ans. I should get to a place of safety as quickly as possible.

10. When you are playing in the street, what should you always keep in mind?

Ans. That I have chosen a very dangerous place in which to play, and that I must be on the constant lookout for automobiles and other vehicles.

11. Why should you not play in the streets frequently used by automobilists?

Ans. Because it is too dangerous.

MATERIAL FOR THE STUDY OF GOVERNMENT

1. Map of State with counties.
2. State Constitution.
3. City Charter.
4. Ordinances in regard to fire.
5. Police ordinances.
6. Copies of legal papers. (Deeds, mortgages, etc., land plats, etc.)
7. Civil Service test papers showing questions asked.
8. Building ordinances.
9. Bulletins in regard to forests, water supply, reservations (State, U. S.), child labor, public roads, transportation, plant industry.
10. Copies of ballots—City—State—National elections.
11. Map of city showing precincts, wards.
12. Legal notices (collection of).
13. President's messages to Congress.
14. Governor's proclamations—Thanksgiving, Arbor Day, etc.
15. Reports of State Superintendent of Education.
16. Reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Education.
17. Compulsory education laws of the State.
18. Reports of State Geologists.
19. Factory Inspection Reports.

20. Land office map of the United States. (Published by U. S. Land Office, price \$1.00.)
21. History and Organization of Life Saving Service.
22. Bulletins from U. S. Department of Agriculture concerning Economic Value of Birds. Work of the Government in their protection (McLean Bill).

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 RIIS, JACOB A. Children of the Poor.
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 DAWSON, W. H. Municipal Life and Government in Germany.
 HOWE, F. C. Governing Cities by Experts.
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 MCADOO, W. Guarding a Great City.
 MARSH, B. C. An Introduction to City Planning.
 MCGREGOR, F. H. City Government by Commission.
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 ADDAMS, JANE. The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets.
 JEWETT, FRANCES GULICK. Town and City.
 NIDA, W. L. City, State, and Nation.
 BRUERE, HENRY. The New City Government.
 BEARD, C. F. American City Government.
 ARNOVICI, CAROL, DR. Knowing One's Community. Bureau of Social Research, Rhode Island, American Unitarian Association.
 NOLEN, J. Replanning Small Cities.
 WILCOX, D. F. Great Cities in America.

- HOTCHKISS, CAROLINE W.** Representative Cities of the United States. Reports of the National Municipal League. 121 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- RIIS, JACOB A.** Children of the Tenements. Publications of the Russell Sage Foundation. The Pittsburg Survey.
- MUNROE, W. B.** The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. (National Municipal League Series.)
- FITCH, J. A.** The Steel Workers. Publications of the American Civic Association, Washington, D. C., include papers on Billboards, Smoke Nuisance, City Planning, Parks, etc.
- BRYCE, JAMES.** The American Commonwealth.
- ELY.** Taxation in American States and Cities.
- For Articles on Civil Service Reform. United States Civil Service Commission Fifteenth Annual Report.

CIVICS. TEXT BOOKS

- DUNN.** Community and Citizen.
- NIDA.** City, State, and Nation.
- HART.** Actual Government.
- FORMAN.** Advanced Civics.
- BEARD.** American City Government.
- GUITTEAU.** Preparing for Citizenship.

CONSERVATION

- SWAIN, GEORGE FELLMAN.** Conservation of Water Storage. Yale University Press.
- HORNADAY.** Our Vanishing Wild Life.
- GULICK.** The Efficient Life.
- CRONAU, RUDOLPH.** Our Wasteful Nation.
- PRICE, OVERTON W.** The Land We Live In.
- LANE, FRANKLIN K.** The Nation's Undeveloped Resources. National Geographic Magazine. February, 1914.
- CHAMBERLIN, ALLEN.** Scenery as a National Asset. The Outlook, Vol. 95. May 28th, 1910. Pp. 157-169.
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 Tree Planting in Rural School Grounds. Farmers' Bulletin No. 134.
 Wood Preservation in the United States. No. 78.
 Our Vanishing Shore Birds. Bureau of Biological Survey. No. 79.
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1914. No. 8. R. W. STIMSON. The Massachusetts Home-project Plan of Vocational Agricultural Education.
1914. No. 14. Vocational guidance.
1914. Nos. 35, 36, 37, and 38. B. R. ANDREWS. Education for the Home.
1915. No. 4. W. H. HECK. The Health of School Children.
1915. No. 17. Civic Education in Elementary Schools as Illustrated in Indianapolis.
1915. No. 23. The Teaching of Community Civics.
1915. No. 45. MARTIN HEGLAND. The Danish People's High School.
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- FITZPATRICK, F. W. Article on Fire. McClure's Magazine, November, 1908.
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1. To what may we attribute the present scarcity of lumber? Name some results of deforestation.
 2. Name some countries having greater loss per capita than the United States; some having less.
 3. Compare urban and rural fire losses.
 4. What is our fire loss per capita?
 5. Why are fires more common here than in Europe?
 6. Compare average fire loss in European and American cities.

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- Report of the Children's School Farm. MRS. HENRY PARSONS, DeWitt Clinton Park, New York City.
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1916 PARTY PLATFORMS*

DEMOCRATIC

THE Democratic party, in national convention assembled, adopts the following declaration to the end that the people of the United States may both realize the achievements wrought by four years of Democratic administration and be apprised of the policies to which the party is committed for the further conduct of national affairs.

INDORSE ADMINISTRATION

We indorse the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It speaks for itself. It is the best exposition of sound Democratic policy at home and abroad.

We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping of pledges, and our constructive legislation, with those of any party of any time.

We found our country hampered by special privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends. The Republican party, despite repeated pledges, was impotent to correct abuses, which it had fostered. Under our administration, under a leadership which has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected and our people have been freed therefrom.

Our archaic banking and currency system, prolific of panic and disaster under Republican administrations—long the refuge of the money trust—has been supplanted by the Federal Reserve Act, a true democracy of credit under government control, already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry and making a currency panic impossible.

We have created a Federal Trade Commission to accommodate the perplexing questions arising under the anti-trust laws so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged. Fair competition in business is now assured.

We have effected an adjustment of the tariff, adequate for revenue under peace conditions, and fair to the consumer and to the producer. We have adjusted the

* The Socialist and Prohibition Platforms were not available when this edition went to press.

burdens of taxation so that swollen incomes bear their equitable share. Our revenues have been sufficient in times of world stress and will largely exceed the expenditures for the current fiscal year.

We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities and have secured to the working man the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

We have advanced the parcel post to genuine efficiency, enlarged the postal savings system, added 10,000 rural delivery routes and extensions, thus reaching two and one-half millions additional people, improved the postal service in every branch, and for the first time in our history placed the postoffice system on a self-supporting basis, with actual surplus in 1913, 1914 and 1915.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM

The reforms which were most obviously needed to clear away privilege, prevent unfair discrimination, and release the energies of men of all ranks and advantages have been effected by recent legislation. We must now remove, so far as possible, every remaining element of unrest and uncertainty from the path of the business men of America, and secure for them a continued period of quiet, assured and confident prosperity.

THE DEMOCRATIC TARIFF

We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of the government economically administered, and unreservedly endorse the Underwood Tariff Law as truly exemplifying that doctrine. We recognize that tariff rates are necessary, subject to change, to meet changing conditions in the world's production and trade. The events of the last two years have brought about many momentous changes. In some respects their effects are yet conjectural and wait to be disclosed, particularly in regard to our foreign trade.

Two years of a war which has already directly involved most of the chief industrial nations of the world, and which has indirectly affected the life and industry of all nations, are bringing about economic changes more varied and far reaching than the world has ever before experienced. In order to ascertain just what these changes may be, the Democratic Congress is providing for a non-partisan tariff commission to make impartial and thorough study of every economic fact that may throw light either upon our past or upon our future fiscal policy with regard to the imposition of taxes on imports or with regard to the changed and changing con-

ditions under which our trade is carried on. We cordially indorse this timely proposal and declare ourselves in sympathy with the principle and purpose of shaping legislation within that field in accordance with clearly established facts rather than in accordance with the demands of selfish interests or upon information, provided largely, if not exclusively, by them.

AMERICANISM

The part that the United States will play in the new day of international relationships which is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character. The Democratic party, therefore, recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and coherent strength of the nation, as the supreme issue of this day in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change, it summons all men, of whatever origin or creed, who would count themselves Americans, to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America.

This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it. In this day of test, America must show itself, not a nation of partisans, but a nation of patriots. There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry and the genius of the whole world, the elements of a great race and a magnificent society to be melted into a mighty and splendid nation.

Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interests of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home and whoever, by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious or other nature creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and is disloyal to his country.

We, therefore, condemn as subversive of this nation's unity and integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and national purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the nation and its free institutions.

We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist and have been

instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country.

We condemn any political party which in view of the activity of such conspirators surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

PREPAREDNESS

Along with the proof of our character as a nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which cannot be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry, or their enterprise; but they insist upon having absolute freedom of national life and policy, and feel that they owe it to themselves and to the role of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter, and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world. We, therefore, favor the maintenance of an army fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety, and of the protection of the nation's rights, the fullest development of modern methods of sea coast defense, and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens, trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise, and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a navy worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States and fully equal to the international tasks which this nation hopes and expects to take a part in performing. The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Democratic administration has, throughout the present war, scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of neutrality and of the peaceful pursuit of the legitimate objects of our national life which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history. But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power, not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and, both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice. We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy

from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve these principles, to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations.

The present administration has consistently sought to act upon and realize in its conduct of the foreign affairs of the nation the principle that should be the object of any association of the nations formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights. It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller states even to property interests and has secured the friendship of the people of these states for the United States by refusing to make a more material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence. It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity as of greater moment than material rights, and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action.

PAN-AMERICAN CONCORD

We recognize now, as we have always recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States and the other peoples and republics of the western hemisphere in all matters of national independence and free political development. We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other republics of the American continents for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity. To that end we favor all measures which may be necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and her neighbors to the south of us, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends.

We commend the action of the Democratic administration in holding the Pan-American financial conference at Washington, in May, 1915, and organizing the International High Commission which represented the United States in the recent meeting of representatives of the Latin-American republics at Buenos Aires, April, 1916, which have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the western hemisphere.

THE MEXICAN POLICY

The Monroe doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. That doctrine guarantees the independent republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. It implies as well the more scrupulous regard upon our part of the sovereignty of each of them. The want of a stable, responsible government of Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing marauders and bandit bands, who have not only taken the lives, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion of the territory of that friendly state. Until, by the restoration of law and order therein, a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining will continue. Intervention, implying as it does military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been great and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last resort. The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisors to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks.

THE MERCHANT MARINE

Immediate provision should be made for the development of the carrying trade of the United States. Our foreign commerce has in the past been subject to many unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in the way of legislation, of Republican Congresses. Until the recent Democratic tariff legislation, it was hampered by unreasonable burdens of taxation. Until the recent banking legislation, it had at its disposal few of the necessary instrumentalities of international credit and exchange. Until the formulation of the pending act to promote the construction of a merchant marine it lacked even the prospect of adequate carriage by sea. We heartily endorse the purposes and policy of the pending shipping bill and favor all such additional measures of constructive or remedial legislation as may be necessary to restore our flag to the seas and to provide further facilities for our foreign commerce, particularly such laws as may be made to remove unfair conditions of competition in the dealings of American merchants and producers with competitors in foreign markets.

CONSERVATION

For the safeguarding and quickening of the life of our own people we favor the conservation and development of the national resources of the country through a policy which shall be positive rather than negative—a policy which shall not

withhold such resources from development but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly in their exploitation, and we earnestly favor the passage of acts which will accomplish these objects, and we reaffirm the declaration of the platform of 1912 on this subject.

The policy of reclaiming our arid lands should be steadily adhered to.

ADMINISTRATION AND FARMERS

We favor the vigorous prosecution of investigations and plans to render agriculture more profitable and country life more healthful, comfortable and attractive and we believe that this should be a dominant aim of the nation as well as of the states. With all its recent improvement farming still lags behind other occupations in development as a business and the advantages of an advancing civilization have not accrued to rural communities in a fair proportion. Much has been accomplished in this field under the present administration—far more than under any previous administration. In the Federal Reserve Act of the last Congress and the Rural Credits Act of the present Congress, the machinery has been created which will make credit available to the farmer constantly and readily, and he has, at last, been put upon a footing of equality with the merchant and the manufacturer in securing the capital necessary to carry on his enterprises. Grades and standards necessary to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of agriculture have also been established, or are in the course of being established by law. The long needed cotton futures act passed by the sixty-third congress has now been in successful operation for nearly two years. A grain grades bill, long needed, and a permissive warehouse bill, intended to provide better storage facilities and to enable the farmer to obtain certificates upon which he may secure advances of money, have been passed by the house of representatives, have been favorably reported to the Senate, and will probably become law during the present session of the Congress. Both houses have passed a good roads measure which will be of far-reaching benefit to all agricultural communities. Above all, the most extraordinary and significant progress has been made under the direction of the Department of Agriculture in extending and perfecting practical farm demonstration work which is so rapidly substituting scientific for empirical farming. But it is also necessary that rural activities should be better directed through co-operation and organization, that unfair methods of competition should be eliminated and that conditions requisite for the just, orderly and economical marketing of farm products be created. We approve the Democratic administration for having emphatically directed attention for the first time to the essential interest of agriculture involved in farm marketing and finance, for creating the Bureau of Markets and rural organization in connection with the Department of Agriculture and for extending the co-operative

machinery necessary for conveying information to farmers by means of demonstrations. We favor continued liberal provision, not only for the benefit of production, but also for the study and solution of problems of farm marketing and finance and for the extension of existing agencies for improving country life.

GOOD ROADS

The happiness, comfort and prosperity of rural life and the development of the city are alike conserved by the construction of public highways. We, therefore, favor national aid in the construction of post-roads and roads for military purposes.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

We hold that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the nation are its greatest asset and that in the conservation of these the Federal Government, wherever it acts as the employer of labor, should, both on its own account and as an example, put into effect the following principles of just employment:

1. A living wage for all employes.
2. A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.
3. The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.
4. Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.
5. The standards of the "uniform child labor law," wherever minors are employed.
6. Such provisions for decency, comfort and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.
7. An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employes of the civil service to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained. We believe, also, that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and approved in the legislation of the states with regard to labor within their borders, and that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the nation should be conserved.

LABOR

We declare our faith in the Seamen's Act, passed by the Democratic Congress, and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement.

We favor the speedy enactment of an effective child labor law and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

We favor the creation of a Federal Bureau of Safety in the Department of Labor

to gather facts concerning industrial hazards and recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines.

We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means already begun under the present administration to assist laborers throughout the nation to seek and obtain employment, and the extension by the Federal Government by the same assistance and encouragement as is now given to agricultural training.

We heartily commend our newly established department of labor for its excellent record in settling industrial strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

PUBLIC HEALTH

We favor a thorough reconsideration of the means and methods by which the Federal government handles questions of public health, to the end that human life may be conserved by the elimination of loathsome disease, the improvement of sanitation and the diffusion of a knowledge of disease prevention.

We favor establishment by the Federal Government of tuberculosis sanitariums for needy tuberculosis patients.

SENATE RULES

We favor such an alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the nation's legislative business.

ECONOMY AND THE BUDGET

We demand careful economy in all expenditures for the support of the government and to that end favor a return by the House of Representatives to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee, chosen from its membership, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform and waste and duplication in the public service as much as possible avoided. We favor this as a practicable first step towards a budget system.

CIVIL SERVICE

We reaffirm our declarations for the rigid enforcement of the Civil Service Laws.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

We heartily endorse the provisions of the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives further promoting self-government in the Philippine Islands as being in fulfillment of the policy declared by the Democratic party in its last national platform and we reiterate our endorsement of the purposes of ultimate independence for the Philippine Islands, expressed in the preamble of that measure.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

We recommend the extension of franchise to the women of the country by the states upon the same terms as to men.

PROTECTION OF CITIZENS

We again declare the policy that the sacred rights of American citizenship must be preserved at home and abroad, and that no treaty with any other government shall receive the sanction of our government which does not expressly recognize the absolute equality of all our citizens, irrespective of race and creed or previous nationality, and which does not recognize the right of expatriation. The American government should protect American citizens in their rights not only at home but abroad, and any country having a government should be held to strict accountability for any wrongs done them either to person or property. At the earliest practical opportunity, our country should strive earnestly for peace among the warring nations of Europe and seek to bring about the adoption of the fundamental principle of justice and humanity, that all men shall enjoy equality of right and freedom from discrimination in the lands wherein they dwell.

PRISON REFORM

We demand that the modern principles of prison reform be applied in our federal penal systems. We favor such work for prisoners as shall give them training in remunerative occupations so that they may make an honest living when released from prison; the setting apart of the net wages of the prisoner to be paid to his dependent family or to be reserved for his own use upon his release; the liberal extension of the principles of the federal parole law, with due regard both to the welfare of the prisoner and the interests of society; the adoption of the probation system, especially in the case of first offenders not convicted of serious crimes.

PENSIONS

We renew the declarations of recent Democratic platforms relating to generous pensions for soldiers and their widows, and call attention to our record of performance in this particular.

WATERWAYS AND FLOOD CONTROL

We renew the declaration in our last two platforms relating to the development of our waterways. The recent devastation of the Lower Mississippi Valley and several other sections, by floods, accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below and diversion, storage and control of the flood waters above, and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and development of water power, instead of permitting the floods to continue as heretofore, agents of destruction. We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its waters for purposes of navigation, the building of levees and works of bank protection to maintain the integrity of its channel and prevent the overflow of its valley resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the national government.

We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our harbors and inland waterways with economy and efficiency so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

ALASKA

It has been and will be the policy of the Democratic party to enact all laws necessary for the speedy development of Alaska and its great natural resources.

TERRITORIES

We favor granting to the people of Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico the traditional territorial government accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our government and we believe the officials appointed to administer the government of these several territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence.

CANDIDATES

We unreservedly endorse our President and Vice President, Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, and Thomas Riley Marshall, of Indiana, who have performed the

functions of their great offices faithfully and impartially and with distinguished ability.

In particular, we commend to the American people the splendid diplomatic victories of our great President, who has preserved the vital interests of our government and its citizens, and kept us out of war.

Woodrow Wilson stands today the greatest American of his generation.

CONCLUSION

This is a critical hour in the history of America, a critical hour in the history of the world. Upon the record above set forth which shows great constructive achievements in following out a consistent policy for our domestic and internal development; upon the record of the Democratic administration which has maintained the honor, the dignity and the interests of the United States and at the same time retained the respect and friendship of all the nations of the world and upon the great policies for the future strengthening of the life of our country, the enlargement of our national vision and the ennobling of our international relations as set forth above, we appeal with confidence to the voters of the country.

1916 REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

THE final draft of the Republican platform as adopted by the Republican National Convention follows:

In 1861 the Republican party stood for the union and against secession. As it stood for the union of states, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the constitution, to the government and to the flag of the United States.

We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

PROTECTION OF U. S. RIGHTS

We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the constitution and the law of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea.

These rights, which, in violation of their specific promise made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a strict and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality as well as the dignity and influence of the United States cannot be preserved by shifty expedience, by phrase-making, by performances in language or by attitudes ever changing, in effort to secure groups of voters.

The present administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican party believes that a firm, consistent and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican presidents in accordance with republican traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

MEXICO

We deeply sympathize with the 15,000,000 people of Mexico who for three years have seen their country devastated, their fellow citizens murdered and their women ravished by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators, who, when temporarily successful in any locality, have neither sought nor have been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace. We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the government of the country and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations.

We denounce the indefensible interference of this administration in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such friend, and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first by failure to act promptly and firmly and, second by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages.

We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise our citizens on and near our border and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty and property.

MONROE DOCTRINE

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny.

LATIN AMERICA

We favor the continuance of Republican policies which will result in drawing more closely the commercial, financial and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin America.

PHILIPPINES

We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by congress and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time, it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the islands, given the Philippine people a constantly increasing participation in their government, and if persisted in, will bring still greater benefits in the future.

We accepted the responsibility of the islands as a duty to civilization and the Filipino people. To leave with our task half done would imperil what already has been accomplished.

We condemn the Democratic administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican members of Congress, aided by a few patriotic Democrats.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD

We reiterate our unqualified approval of the action in December, 1911, by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance. We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land.

PROTECTION OF THE COUNTRY

In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders, the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defense ready for any emergency. We must have a sufficient and efficient regular army and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

We must have a navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our western or eastern coast. To secure these results, we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in these perilous days the Democratic party has utterly failed to develop but which we promise to give the country.

THE TARIFF

The Republican party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor, and does not regard an anti-dumping provision as an adequate substitute.

Such protection should be reasonable in amount, but sufficient to equalize the difference between the low wages of other countries and the high standard of labor and living in our own, but so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trust. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States, as in the case of dye-stuffs.

Through wise tariff and industrial legislation, our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark, but a powerful aid to national defense.

The Underwood tariff act is a complete failure in every aspect. Under its administration, imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has largely been cut off by reason of war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly curtailed. Under normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war, it was clearly demonstrated that this act deprived the American producer of that protection which enabled him to meet his foreign competitor and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry.

It has not in the least degree reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of enactment. The welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, field and factory.

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

BUSINESS

The Republican party has long believed in the rigid supervision and strict regulation of the transportation and great corporations of the country. It has put its creed into its deeds and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations, are the work of Republican congresses and presidents. Instead of this policy of regulation and supervision, the Democrats, in a stumbling, piecemeal way, are undertaking to involve the government in business which should be left within the sphere of private enterprise and in direct competition with its own citizens, a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the taxpayer and an inferior product.

The Republican party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulating business should be individually punished. But prosecution is very different from persecution and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democratic party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and beliefs choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. The Republican party believes in encouraging American business as it believes in and will seek to advance all American interests.

RURAL CREDITS

We favor an effective system of rural credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic administration.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery system and condemn the Democratic administration for curtailing and crippling it.

MERCHANT MARINE

In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interests and in order to enable us to compete with them for the ocean-carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mail and such further legislation as will tend to build up an American merchant marine and give us ships which may be requisitioned by the government in time of national emergency.

We are utterly opposed to the government ownership of vessels as proposed by the Democratic party, because government owned ships, while effectively preventing the development of the American merchant marine by private property, will be entirely unable to provide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard grip of the foreign syndicates.

RAILROADS

Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassments in operation and inconvenience and expense to the public. The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We therefore favor such action, either by legislation or, if necessary, through amendment to the constitution of the United States, as will result in placing it under complete federal control.

ECONOMY AND NATIONAL BUDGET

The increasing cost of national government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for government service, call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this Democratic administration, of its shameless raids on the treasury and its opposition to the rejection of President Taft's oft-repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simply business-like budget system to which we pledge our support and which we hold necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances.

We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the nation—a husbandry which means development without waste—use without abuse.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

The Civil Service law always has been sustained by the Republican party, and we renew our repeated declaration that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced wherever practicable.

The Democratic administration has created since March 4, 1914, 30,000 offices outside of the Civil Service law at an annual cost of \$44,000,000 to the taxpayers of the country. We condemn the gross abuse and misuse of the law by the present Democratic administration and pledge ourselves to a reorganization of this service along lines of efficiency and economy.

APPENDIX

TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS

Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Republican party, we hold that officials appointed to administer the government of any territory should be bona fide residents of the territory in which their duties are to be performed.

LABOR LAWS

We pledge the Republican party to the faithful enforcement of all federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment of rigid enforcement of a federal child labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law, within the commerce power of congress and an accident compensation law covering all government employees. We favor the collection and collation under the direction of the Department of Labor of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

SUFFRAGE

The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each state to settle this question for itself.

CONCLUSION

Such are our principles, such are our purposes and policies.

We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with peril. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration, and we call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country and, above all things, to keep the faith.

1916 PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM

THE Progressive party's platform as drafted by the Resolutions Committee follows:

This is the year of decision for the nation's future. As we now decide, so we shall go forward in righteousness and power or backward in degradation and weakness.

Of necessity we deal now with the foundations of our national life. We are facing elemental facts of force, of right and wrong, of extreme national peril. Our present choice of path will be irrevocable. The tradition of isolation has been ended. The United States is now part of a world system of civilization. We stand or fall as we prepare now to take our part in peace or war and hold our own therein.

DUTIES OF NATIONS

As members of an international community, we are subject to certain basic duties:

To secure the rights and equal treatment of our citizens, native or naturalized, on land and sea, without regard to race, creed or nativity.

To guard the honor and uphold the just influence of our nation.

To maintain the integrity of international law.

CIVILIZATION'S BASIS

These are the corner stones of civilization. We must be strong to defend them.

The present war shows that it is the supreme duty of civilization to create conditions which will make for permanent peace. We earnestly desire to keep the peace, but there are higher things which we must keep if we would keep the faith as Washington and Lincoln kept it. Peace at the price of submission and cowardice is not desirable, nor is it the peace of justice, which alone would make it permanent.

Supine submission to the invasion of our rights or indifference to the wrongs of weaker nations will not long maintain peace, nor will mere threat of action enforce our rights under international law. There must be an unfaltering determination and a prepared ability to defend our rights, and to fulfill our international obligations. In such a readiness lies the surest safeguard of both national honor and continued peace.

MEXICAN POLICY

Failure to deal firmly and promptly with the menace of Mexican disorders has brought conditions worse than warfare and has weakened our national self-respect. Every resource of government should be forthwith used to end those conditions and protect from outrage the lives, honor and property of American men and women in Mexico.

Whatever our country can legitimately do to attain peace for war-stricken Europe, and to aid in the procurement of equal rights without discrimination because of race or creed to all men in all lands, should be done.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Adequate provision for the common defense has become the task of foremost national concern. We must be ready, in spirit, arms and industry.

Beneath the structure of military and economic strength there must be a unified spirit of this cosmopolitan people, a deep loyalty and undivided allegiance to America, the land which has welcomed us and our immigrant forefathers. Back of any adequate national preparedness in arms or in industry must remain the democratic soul of an undivided people, determined to keep America's great heritage and traditions unflinching in first place. America's problems must be faced and solved solely in the light of American ideals.

American political action must be taken in the service of American ends. Unwavering patriotism and unflinching fidelity to America is the only spirit which should animate our citizens. If in this melting-pot of a hundred nations the children of any fail to find our common destiny worthy of common devotion and defense we shall sustain irreparable loss of national character.

In this spirit of Americanism action must be taken for the common defense.

PREPAREDNESS

Preparation in arms requires:

A navy restored to at least second rank in battle efficiency;

A regular army of 250,000 men, fully armed and trained, as a first line of land defense;

A system of military training adequate to organize with promptness, behind that first line of the army and navy, a citizen soldiery, supplied, armed and controlled by the national government.

TRAINING FOR ALL

In our democracy every male citizen is charged with the duty of defending his country. This duty is not new. It has existed from the foundation of the government. Under modern conditions it cannot be performed without military training; service without training means slaughter and disaster. As the nation has always recognized and exercised the right to enforce compulsory military service in time of war, so should there be universal military training for that service during times of peace.

We believe in preparedness for defense, but never for aggression. We must not sacrifice the lives of men for the glory or gain of military conquest. And we believe that the women of the country, who share with men the burdens of the government in times of peace and make equal sacrifice in time of war, should be given the full political right of suffrage, either by federal or state action.

ARMS NOT ENOUGH

Arms alone cannot maintain a nation. Of far greater permanent importance must stand a national industry efficient for the general welfare, a prosperity justly distributed, a national life organized in all points for national ends. Four years ago this party was born of a nation's awakened sense of these fundamental truths. In the platform then adopted we set forth our position on public questions. We here reaffirm the declarations there made on national issues.

A nation to survive must stand for the principles of social and industrial justice. We have no right to expect continued loyalty from an oppressed class. We must remove the artificial causes of the high cost of living, prevent the exploitation of men, women and children in industry by the extension of the workmen's compensation law to the full limit permitted under the constitution, and, by a thoroughgoing child labor law, protect the wage earner; and by a properly regulated system of rural credits encourage the farmer and give to the landless man opportunity to acquire land.

A country must be worth living in to be worth fighting for.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

To make possible social justice, to maintain our position in peace and war, we must insure business and industrial prosperity. This can be done:

By regulation of industry aimed at promoting its growth and prosperity and a just distribution of its return and a healthy expansion of foreign trade.

By a conservation and development of our national resources for the good of all.

By the re-establishment of our merchant marine.

By the development of a system of interstate national highways.

By making a new standard of governmental efficiency through a complete civil service system, a national budget and the destruction of 'pork barrel' legislation.

By the creation of a permanent, expert tariff commission, with a view of intelligently and scientifically adjusting the tariff, so as to build up rather than destroy American industry.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF

The protective system is essential to our national prosperity. Tremendous new pressures will be thrown upon our industries, after the war, by the highly mobilized production of Europe. At all times conditions of competition must be equalized between our own and foreign countries.

We can only get the protection we need through the use of exact and complete knowledge, unaffected by prejudice or politics. We can secure that knowledge at all times and when needed only through such a commission.

The industrial issues are chiefly national. The present and certain future make it imperative that the regulation and promotion of industry, and especially of transportation and foreign trade, be national, not local. Only federal power can work justice to capital and labor throughout the nation. Only national authority can mobilize industry for defense as the nation's need demands it.

We have set forth in this platform plain essentials of national existence. They are not new in principles. Most men agree with them. Any man may propose them. The urgent and immediate need is for their performance. We have had ample experience with the promiser; with words and the bitter taste of words retracted.

ISSUE ONE OF MEN

We must choose a man who not alone by words but by past deeds gives guarantee that he can and will make these things good. The issue is one of men. In the midst of world changes, unparalleled in history, we cannot forecast the problems which will confront our government during the war and at its end. We therefore need as President a leader who knows the nations—a man who acts. If we continue longer to stand for words as above deeds, for fancies as above facts, we shall receive and merit the fate that surely awaits the man or people who do not face the truth.

We will meet and work with any man or party who sees the nation's need and puts forward a leader fit to meet it. We will accept no less, in plan or in the man, and we solemnly charge upon any who place partisan politics above country the responsibility for a nation's future, sacrificed to self-interest and spoils.

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