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OUR GOVERNMENT



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OUR GOVERNMENT

A TEXTBOOK OF CIVICS

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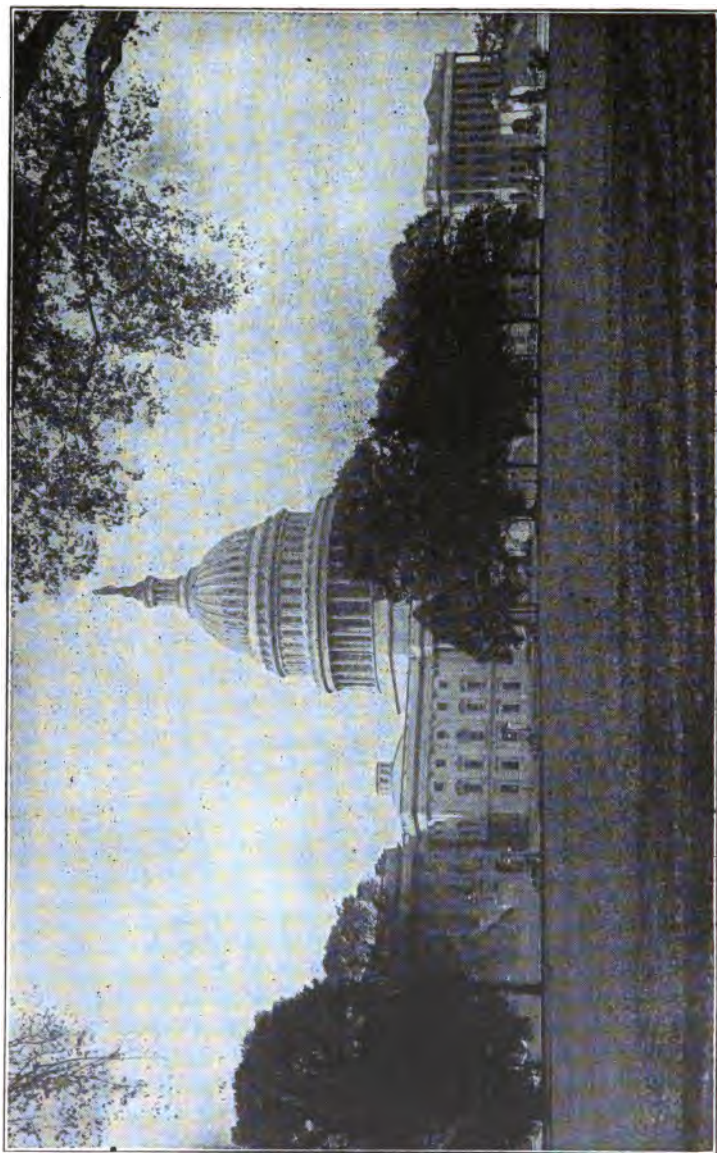
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NATIONAL CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

FOREWORD

For the past decade there has been an increasing emphasis placed upon the study of Civics in our schools. This movement began with a very definite tendency to criticise the old time Civil Government which dealt with a formal study of the Constitution of the United States—the qualifications, length of term, the duties of national officials—and a brief survey of the state government along similar lines. This criticism led to a complete change in the content of the civics course. Neighborhood problems were studied without much regard as to whether they were economic, social, historic or civic. Thus were developed the various courses known as community civics. They dealt with the problems of community life and left little time for the study of government.

This movement was doubtless caused by the failure of the old type of Civil Government teaching to function in the life of the citizen. Much that was included in the newer courses was worthwhile and gave concrete subject matter that was of vital interest to the child, the future citizen.

This text has been prepared for the purpose of collecting the most worthwhile and important of the newer type of content and relating it to the great principles of government which have too often been forgotten in the desire to deal with local material that would arouse immediate interest. Here the principles of government and the concrete problems of the community are related in a logical and natural way that aids in the understanding of both.

The government—national, state and local—is treated as a unit composed of organized and articulated parts working in harmony for the accomplishment of the co-operative work which can be done better working together than any one or a small group can do working alone. The problems of government and community life are presented and the part that each organized unit bears in their solution is made clear.

The material is so treated that the pupils who master the book cannot fail to have pride in the institutions that our government has made possible; nor will they lack in appreciation of what the government offers to its citizens in protection of life and property both at home

and abroad; they will recognize that through the national and state constitutions the fundamental principles of liberty and representative government are secured to the people and through the opportunities for education and the provisions for safeguarding the health of her citizens, the facilities for comfortable travel, rapid transportation, speedy communication, and the development of our great industries—all made possible by the government, that America offers to her citizens conditions for a high standard of living found nowhere else in the world.

Brief historical accounts of the origin and growth of national institutions have been included—for only with such a background can there be an understanding of present community conditions and their accompanying problems. Only through a knowledge of the Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, the Bill of Rights and our own Constitution of the United States can Representative Government in its fullest meaning be understood, and only with accurate information as a basis can the problems of modern government be satisfactorily met.

Through the *Suggested Activities* and *Study Questions* the pupil is made familiar with civic problems and the application of the principles of government to them. Applied civics is a matter of *doing* rather than *learning*, so an abundance of interesting problems that the pupil will delight in doing have been suggested. The suggestions for personal interviews with those in authority, the investigation of problems of local interest and the observation of civic conditions in the community offer to the pupils an opportunity for gaining much first-hand information. Aside from the information secured by each pupil through his own activity is the value he gains in sharing his information with the class. The pupil thus becomes a member of a co-operative body in which each has an opportunity to make his contribution. The ability to make a concise, accurate and interesting report on a current problem cannot be overestimated, nor can the importance of co-operation in government be better illustrated than through the co-operative efforts of the class in planning for the solution of some simple school or community problem.

With the hope that OUR GOVERNMENT appeals to the present active interests of the pupils and through its very activity will prepare them for intelligent citizenship, the authors present this book to the future citizens of America.

SHELDON E. DAVIS
CLARENCE H. McCLURE

February 20, 1922.

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OUR GOVERNMENT

PART ONE

THE BACKGROUND OF OUR GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER I

OUR FIRST GOVERNMENT

Do You Know These Terms?

effective government, 1.

anarchist, 2.

voluntary association, 2.

monarchy, 6.

blood-tie, 4.

clannishness, 4.

These expressions as used on the pages indicated must be understood before the chapter can be read intelligently. Explain each. Consult a dictionary or Explanation of Terms, page 275.

Government Is Necessary Guidance. "The governor is at his place and the ship is coming safely into port." This use of *governor* was once the only one and it is still useful to think of government in relation to control or guidance rather than the use of force. While we usually think of governor, govern, and government as they are connected with state or nation, government is necessary in the home, at school, in the shop or on the farm—in short, anywhere that groups of people are working together. Someone must guide.

Government Implies Force. All effective government must be strong enough to enforce its guidance if this becomes necessary. In modern life we do not often witness the use of brute force in securing the co-operation without which there could

be no civilization, but it is always possible to use it. Many criminally minded are kept from wrong-doing because of the constraining force of a possible prison sentence. If all other means were to fail, an army could be raised to bring a truant to school. Supporting every rule or law must be something which could be turned into force.

Why We Must Have Government. Anarchists, those who believe that we should need no law if only all people were good, are engaging in idle talk about some ideal future which none of us will ever experience; there are many who must be held in check by laws which inflict sure and severe penalties. But the extreme anarchist's notion is foolish for another reason; he leaves out of consideration the fact that government energy is mostly devoted to guiding without use of force; it performs useful services which individuals could not do for themselves.

Beginnings of Government in the Home. 1. *Co-operation and Obedience.* Government in the family is the first with which children become acquainted. When a child is born he immediately becomes subject to family discipline, thus proving an exception to the maxim, "All just government is based upon consent of the governed"; the family is not a voluntary association. All early forms of the family are monarchies, and even in the most democratic society, children do not choose their rulers. Without the guidance exercised by the family, every other government would prove a failure, since it is here that all learn their first great lessons of co-operation and obedience to authority.

2. *The Discipline of Force in the Cave Dweller's Family.* The father was head of the family of which Ab*, the cave-dweller, was a member. Strength counted for much in the

*The Story of Ab."

day of the club and the fang; the father commanded and was obeyed because he was stronger than anyone else. But it was probably not often that he had to depend upon force alone. Father and mother carried on their hunting and their housekeeping together; they co-operated. They governed the children without much violence, though it may be recalled that Ab had his ears boxed soundly now and then. Thus in the earliest times we find the family the natural unit of government. There was not much humoring of childish whims among cave people. Parents exercised authority because children needed protection and guidance; commands were obeyed because of the force which might inspire fear of disobedience, but more often because there was no objection to being guided.

3. *The Stern but Kindly Roman Family.* The Roman family of early times often exhibited a beautiful example of co-operation. The father was supreme, to be sure, but the marriage ceremony in which the bride repeated, "Where you are Julius, there I am Julia," recognized many women's rights not related either to strength or cunning. The father went to war, attended court, looked after business; the mother regulated home affairs and both shared in training the children. Family life was kindly but unquestioned obedience was expected; as in the Hebrew family of the Mosaic Law a wilfully disobedient child could even be put to death.

4. *The Tribe as an Enlarged Family.* Among all early peoples, the tribe became important. It may be thought of as a number of families banded together for protection or better winning of livelihood. Ab's father needed help in hunting big game; several men could stampede a herd of deer into a snare or over a precipice where but one would merely frighten them. Tribes were thus held together by common needs.

Tribes were often formed of related families. The Hebrews traced their relationship to Jacob for whose sons the tribes were named. Indians traced tribal origin to real or fancied ancestors whose traits they were thought to possess—Foxes, Snakes, Flatheads, or Crows. Whether actual kinship existed made little difference; their customs and rites made blood relationship an important bond. Only members of the tribe, that is blood relatives, had any rights which they dared to defend. Killing a member of the tribe brought quick revenge, “an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth” while the life of “the stranger within the gates” was not considered of great value. The wars which engage tribal people are the never-ending struggles of avenging kinsmen.

The idea of blood relationship, you may note, was of supreme importance in family and tribe; the father governed his children; the chief, usually with the help of a council, ruled the tribe. Blood relationship is still a powerful bond in our lives. “Blood is thicker than water.” In small American communities a few numerous and powerful families often control; in isolated neighborhoods quarrels, even dangerous feuds, may be waged continually between such factions. The clan-nishness of many foreign immigrants is another example. Because of the tie of blood relationship, near kindred are not required to give evidence against each other nor allowed to sit on a jury when their relatives are on trial. Of course, nothing will so quickly plunge nations into war as mistreatment of their citizens, kinsmen by nationality, by a foreign power.

In early society, family and tribe possessed all governing powers and duties. In the hard struggles of primitive life, government rested upon very evident force, the might of the father or the prowess of the chief and his supporting coun-

cil. Tribal rules were strictly enforced, and since there was no safety outside of the tribe, one who was not willing to obey had nowhere to go. In modern life, the tribe has lost its significance; it developed into city or nation, but the family retains its importance as a governing agency.

5. *Pioneer Families in America Had Strict Discipline.* Among most families of American pioneers, there was much of the firm discipline of early Roman days. "Spare the rod and spoil the child" was a proverb, quoted commonly even by kind-hearted parents. Work was hard, days of toil very long, recreations few. The father, nearly always more stern than the mother, believed in and secured strict and unquestioned obedience—partly through force. Every member of the household had work to do in the home. Parental discipline furnished vigorous control and guidance. The family was not more democratic than in earlier days.

6. *The Modern Family Is Democratic.* The modern family is more democratic. Husband and wife are partners, recognized in law as equals. Home discipline is kindly; children are seldom whipped; they are encouraged to have and defend opinions of their own. In the best homes, they are taught to obey, as they have always been, usually without appeal to force but in any case word of father or mother is law.

But the modern home as a school or government has many problems. Parents who were reared in strict homes think to make their children happier by permitting them to do exactly as they please. Father, mother, or both may spend little time in the home because their work is in factory, office, or store. There is often no profitable work for children to do at home. They spend more time on the street, at the picture shows, or elsewhere with the crowd. The home as the foundation of

co-operation and obedience necessary for all government, finds its task much harder than ever before.

The Family the Foundation of all Government. It may thus be seen that government—guidance—is necessary wherever groups are associated. The early family and the tribe secured co-operation and obedience by stern measures. The modern family at its best secures these essential qualities by gentler means, but it secures them. Many modern homes meet difficult problems and are not teaching boys and girls to obey proper authority.

The child who has not learned obedience is handicapped for life. If he does not obey at home, he is not more likely to observe the laws of the state, even though he helps elect the men who make them. Boys and girls who study *Our Government* will quickly discover that obedience to authority is as necessary in a government by the people as in a monarchy. The great difference is that we choose our own guides.

Suggested Activities.

1. The problems of family life in the rural community, the village and the large city are very different. Choosing a family in the circumstances with which you are most familiar, plan the duties for the day of both the boys and girls, the mother and father, showing how the tasks may be divided so that each may do his part and the spirit of co-operation be developed.
2. Read the story of the Tree Dwellers or the Cave Men. Select examples of using force in government.
3. Read the Bible—Numbers, Chapter XXXV, 11-28. Find out under what conditions it was considered right for a member of a tribe to avenge the death of a fellow tribesman.
4. Make a list of five or more persons to whom you owe obedience. Show by illustration that the co-operation necessary in modern civilization is impossible without obedience.
5. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that the shortest way to learn to command is to learn obedience.

(b) Resolved, that America is more in need of obedience to present laws than of new laws.

Study Questions.

1. Some believe that people are good enough to do without laws or government, in fact, that laws are the cause of wrong-doing. How would you prove the truth or falsity of this?

2. A common saying is, "All just government is founded upon consent of the governed." Test the truth of this statement in relation to government in the home.

3. Of the four types of families, cave-dwellers, Roman, pioneer, and modern, which is most likely to develop citizens who will obey the laws they themselves have made? What common characteristics appear in each type of family?

4. Account for the formation of tribes. Compare family and tribe as to government.

5. Make a list of ways in which blood relationships are of importance.

6. Civilization depends upon co-operation which is not possible without obedience. From this viewpoint are you civilized? Prove your answer.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY CITY

Do You Know These Terms?

province, 9.

specialization, 9.

fundamental factors, 10.

free trade, 12.

customs duties, 12.

aliens, 12.

guilds, 12.

subsistence, 10.

Before you can master this chapter you must understand the meaning of these expressions as used on the pages indicated. Tell what each means.

Cities and Civilization. You have seen that people who live in tribes are engaged in war much of the time. It seems that the ancestors even of our civilized nations were once tribesmen. Peoples who did not get beyond the tribal stage are still made up very largely of fighting bands; those who brought about civilization developed cities. In fact, large cities are so important in civilization that countries without them have never been progressive nor great powers.

Cities have grown largely because of war and conquest, trade and industry. In varying degrees each of these may be discovered as the cause of growth in all the world's older cities. The last two are at the foundation of modern city development. We shall discover many ways in which each of these is related to city growth and problems.

1. *War and Conquest.* (a) *Choosing City Sites.* When warring tribes sought protection they found a steep hill or mountain stronghold the best place to settle. Sometimes a deep river or an arm of the sea afforded safety on one or more sides. If you have read stories of Babylon, Athens, or Rome, you may remember how such natural features were depended upon for protection. The story of Romulus and Remus

shows how early tribes built walls along sides of their cities when there was no river or natural embankment. Because of their military origin and purpose nearly all ancient cities had walls around them. You may remember that the Spartans were proud of the fact that their city needed no walls, but this was because they were a very hardy, warlike people always in training and their city was situated in a well protected valley. Sometimes, as in the case of early Rome, several tribes formed a settlement, united for defense only, each being separated from the others, keeping their own customs, names, and tracing blood relationship as among the earlier tribes.

(b) *Conquest and Capital Cities.* As time passed cities which were most strongly fortified were able to conquer others. After many generations, a few which were not only strong in a military way but also situated where a large population could be supported, became very large. Instead of being tribal chiefs their rulers were kings and emperors. They were capital, that is, head cities, from which control of nearby territory and of remote provinces was extended. For protection and government of vast empires, soldiers and officers were needed; servants and families of these swelled the population of the military city.

2. *Trade.* Tribal peoples had no money but depended upon individual trade or barter. As all lived much the same life and had similar needs, such exchange of goods was all that became necessary. If one had more berries than he cared for, and another more fish, a trade might result but all might have some berries and some fish. There was not much specialization before cities developed.

It is easy to see that a city could not become large without including many inhabitants who might have neither berries

nor fish, and who might not produce any of the immediate necessities of food, clothing, or shelter. Soldiers had to be clothed and fed, and the materials needed often had to be brought from long distances. Trade and traders thus increased the size of the military city and brought new problems. Strongholds not favorably situated for trade could not compete successfully with those located on rivers, near great mountain passes or on safe harbors. Since the city originally established for protection, had to depend upon trade for subsistence, only those to which great food supplies could be brought became of first importance.

3. *Industry.* The military stronghold with its trading population acquired raw material which needed to be worked up before it could be used. Spinning, weaving, dyeing, and various ways of preparing food were the occupations of many who were not rulers, fighters, nor traders. There were of course other classes of people in ancient cities, teachers, priests, magicians, entertainers, and practitioners of medicine, but the principal original causes of the growth of cities are the three noted: (a) protection, which accounts for soldiers and rulers; (b) trade, necessary to provide subsistence; and (c) industry, which transforms raw materials into products that can be used. These are still the fundamental factors in city growth. In attempting the solution of modern city problems, every proposal must give consideration to these vital elements of life in all cities.

Old World Cities from Which Early Americans Came. If a student of our government could have visited any one of many European cities about the time Columbus discovered America, he could have seen more clearly than is now possible indications of these three causes of city growth. He would also become aware that most of our city problems

which we sometimes think have not been well solved, such as sanitation, had not even been discovered. Many conditions now considered intolerable were accepted as a matter of course.

1. *Protection.* As the traveler approached one of these medieval cities he would see a wall, higher than the house-tops and many feet thick. This and perhaps the steep approach to the walls or a deep moat suggested protection of those within. The great gate which opened at sunrise and closed at sunset, suggested the same origin, defense against enemies without.

2. *Trade.* In the center of the city was a market where traders stood in little booths or stalls and sold or exchanged their wares. Instead of newspaper advertising in large type, each trader shouted the excellence of what he had to sell, much as the noisemakers of side-shows now do. The procession of hucksters each morning waiting for the big gate to open suggests trade coming in from the country.

3. *Industry.* Mills and workshops were found in these cities, though most of the industry was carried on in small establishments and in the homes. Most manufacturing was handwork, for large factories with their great machines had not yet come into use. Manufacturing originally meant making by hand.

Crudeness of Medieval Cities. 1. *Filth.* What our cities might become if we are not vigilant in solution of our problems may be imagined by looking more closely at one of these old cities. The streets were very narrow—only a few feet wide sometimes; they were exceedingly crooked and equally dirty, since all manner of filth was thrown into them without rule or law. On such state occasions as the visit of a king “clean-up day” was observed, but at their cleanest our dirtiest

streets are much better. In the market there was no food inspection and no sanitary handling of what was offered for sale. The general rule in sale of such things was "let the buyer beware," but neither seller nor buyer knew that dirty streets and unclean food brought disease.

Houses were nearly as dirty as streets; they were usually built of wood, fires were frequent and fire protection inefficient. In the streets there were no lights at night and there was no safety. All houses and many streets were locked up securely at dusk as a protection from thieves and ruffians.

2. *Disease.* With such houses and streets and, of course, no health department, contagious diseases and plagues were very common and the death-rate high. Walls might defend against external attacks, but they were powerless against the miseries brought about by the inhabitants themselves as the result of carelessness due to ignorance.

3. *Unfair Laws.* There was no such thing as free trade between cities; some collected customs duties upon everything brought through the gates. Foreigners had more rights than among savage tribes, but there was nothing like democracy or what we should now call justice. The blood tie of tribal days was strong enough to make aliens very uncomfortable at times and to deny them "equal protection of the law." Guilds and other associations of tradesmen made and enforced standards much as modern trade unions do.

City Problems Not Yet Discovered. Though important activities of government seem to be lacking in these old cities, it is evident that they had in their own way solved many governing problems. To us it seems that their greatest trouble lay in not discovering their problems at all. For example, they did not recognize that pure water, clean streets, and sanitary living would prevent diseases which wrought

so much havoc. They could not realize that superstition, intolerance, and riots which all took for granted would be lessened if their city government provided education for all. Ignorance was regarded as in the nature of things. Poverty and vice were not systematically combated. We have discovered city problems which were never dreamed of by city-dwellers at the time of Columbus. Perhaps those who live in the future may wonder why we were not aware of other city problems in addition to those which we talk about but often do not solve.

Co-operation and Government in Old Cities. The city which early American colonists knew used various institutions for securing obedience and co-operation. The family was then as always the foundation unit. Tribes had developed additional co-operation which was continued in city governments. All cities were in some measure subject to the government of a kingdom or empire, thus coming into political relation with the world outside its walls. Tradesmen and handworkers had guilds or unions co-operating very powerfully in enforcement of rules relating to production or standardizing of goods. The church brought about co-operation and obedience. Schools were conducted by the church, by guilds, and a few by cities themselves. The colonists adapted the city they knew to American conditions, but the most important changes were those resulting from inventions which applied steam in industry, so that great factories took the place of small shops and household manufacturing. The problems of American cities are largely those of cities everywhere. Our rural and village communities have become strictly American; these and their problems will be treated next.

Suggested Activities.

1. After reading an encyclopedia article about some ancient great city, such as Tyre, Jerusalem, Babylon, Athens, or Rome, write a description of its defenses.
2. Make a drawing to show walls and watch towers of an old city.
3. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:
 - (a) Resolved, that without cities, civilization could not exist.
 - (b) Resolved, that dangers within the older cities were more to be feared than invasions by armies.

Study Questions.

1. What are the three fundamental causes of city growth?
2. Granting that an ancient city was well protected so that it could be defended from external attack, what other conditions were necessary to make possible large growth?
3. Make a list of professions, or occupations represented in a modern city which were probably not found in cities before the time of Columbus. Show why a large city could not develop without specialized occupations.
4. Describe the locations of three large cities which owe their size to advantageous trade situations.
5. Comparing mediaeval cities with those of the present, what great improvements may be noted? Show that these are the result of increased co-operation.
6. What is meant by giving "equal protection of the law?"
7. Name three city problems we have solved which mediaeval cities did not. List a number of modern problems which the old cities did not need to solve. What inventions have made the modern city with its problems possible?

CHAPTER III

THE SMALL COMMUNITY

Do You Know These Terms?

co-operative activities, 15.

mutual co-operation, 17.

like-minded neighbors, 19.

class distinctions, 19.

exploiting the soil, 21.

scientific farming, 21.

rotation of crops, 21.

"turn over" of products, 22

municipal improvements, 25.

You should understand the accompanying expressions as used on the pages indicated. Use each in a sentence.

Village and Rural Life in America Unique. A teacher in a European school was showing her pupils a picture of a group of children. "Where do you suppose they live?" she asked. "In a village." "Why?" "Because they are dirty and ragged," came the answer promptly. Of course not all village children are untidy in Europe, but there is much greater difference between city and country than is found in America. Small-community life has much in common with living in cities here; there are newspapers, churches, lodges, ball teams—the same co-operative activities as in larger communities. Upon the average, country people read as many magazines as their neighbors in the city. Country life in America shares in large measure the comfort, refinements, and culture of the best in civilization. The advantages of rural life have been so great that "All great men are born in the country" has been a frequent quotation. While many of our great men have come from the country, the saying is not true, but no one would ever think of making such a statement about any country in Europe. American country life is unique.

Protection, Trade and Industry in Growth of Community.

In the early settlements of America the factors of protection, trade, and industry may be traced in the location of settlements, but modern inventions have greatly changed the operation of these. The fact that in this new world there was plenty of room for all has also had much to do with making American small communities different from those our ancestors left behind them.

1. *Protection.* Protection operated in its usual way so long as it was a question of defense against Indian attacks, but the necessity of this kind of protection did not last long. The only city walls which have been at all important were the stockades of colonial and frontier days.

2. *Trade.* Trade has been far more important in determining location of American towns and cities. "Is this a good place for a store?" has been heard more than "Is this safe from attack?" In pioneer and fur-trading days new settlements were located with reference to rivers and lakes. The development of railways has reduced the significance of waterways for trade. Hundreds of thriving towns and a few large cities are now remote from navigable waters. Railroad crossings are likely to be of more consequence than river junctions.

3. *Industry.* Industry, using the word to include all occupations, has been the important influence in location and growth of American communities though it cannot be separated from trade which implies transportation. Reserving to the next chapter consideration of large cities, which of course were once in the small-community stage, we may note that while we have fishing villages, mining villages, and mill villages, the characteristic small community in the United States has developed in relation to agriculture. The open

country is directly agricultural; the town or village center is the market, an exchange point for farm products, with manufactured goods or professional services needed by those who till the soil. It is the mutual co-operation of small town and country which has made American rural and village life better than the landlord and peasant conditions so generally found elsewhere. The common interest of town and country cannot be too much emphasized.

The Influence of European Customs. 1. *New England Towns.* In addition to the three primary causes of city growth, American communities show the influence of customs and traditions brought from the old country. The New England town was the English village adapted to the conditions of a new country. From a hamlet of closely grouped houses, the village spread over a considerable space as Indian dangers vanished; the town, as the term is used in the New England states, often included several clusters of dwellings and isolated farmhouses between.

The inhabitants of these towns met their simple problems of government with great independence. Many of them had left England in order to enjoy freedom not possible in a crowded country, and the independent spirit was constantly strengthened by the knowledge that new farms could be had "out west." This feeling was voiced by Franklin when he said, "I have some little property in America. I will freely spend nineteen shillings in the pound to defend the right of giving or refusing the other shilling; and, after all, if I cannot defend that right, I can retire cheerfully with my little family into the boundless woods of America, which are sure to furnish freedom and subsistence to any man who can bait a hook or pull a trigger."

The early New England town governed itself as an almost

pure democracy. All matters were voted upon by all who were allowed to vote in the town meeting, some being excluded from suffrage because of lacking church membership or property qualifications. Anything of concern to the community might be voted upon. Selectmen were elected to have general charge of town affairs; a clerk, constable, and justice were chosen. Besides these the town expressed its mind by selecting many minor officers whose names suggest their duties. There were tithing men, measurers of wood, fence viewers, cattle pounders, and wardens to inspect the "Meeting House on the Lord's Day and see to Good Order among the Boys." In addition to preserving English customs of representative government, these town meetings were a school of democratic co-operation. Colonists learned obedience as well as the art of governing, for once the meeting had declared itself, everyone was expected to co-operate in carrying out the will of the majority.

2. *French Villages in Mississippi Valley.* To see how different were the political customs brought from other European countries it is sufficient to study a Mississippi River French community. The people all lived in the village itself which usually consisted of a long, straight street with houses on each side and fields back of the houses. Life was as simple as in early English settlements, but Frenchmen at home in France had not been accustomed to much self-government nor did they find need to develop it in their new environment. They usually elected no officers; even their local officials were appointed by the principal officer of the colony. Thus it may be seen that conditions in a new country alone did not make early American communities democratic; customs already learned were quite as important. Comparison of the French village with the New England town shows that English suc-

cess in the contest for American territory meant a great deal for the cause of free, representative government.

Independence of Early American Rural Communities. The typical American rural community has been much more like the New England town than the French village. It spread out so that it is often composed entirely of isolated homes with their collections of farm buildings. Because farms have been larger than in Europe, the American farmer has remained near his work instead of dwelling in a farmers' village as is a common practice in most of the world.

The world has never seen anything like country life in America. Vigorous immigrants from the older colonies and states and from Europe poured into the Mississippi valley, the richest of agricultural regions. They subdued the wilderness and made themselves homes where Jefferson thought only a few roving savages or traders could ever live. The farmer who tilled his own land and produced most of the necessities of life at home was independent. He associated himself with a few remote but reliable like-minded neighbors in conducting churches and schools, and kept an interest in state and national politics. He has been at once one of the finest products of American development and a safe guarantee of democracy with the smallest amount of class distinction. Little government was needed, and outside interference with local customs was likely to be resented. The rural community seemed sufficient unto itself.

Problems of the Modern Rural Community. But the rural community no longer lives to itself. Every city and village problem affects life in the open country, and the country has grave problems of its own. Some of these are related to making a living and owning property. Others, quite as important, have to do with how to live so as to share reasonably

in the comforts, enjoyments, and amusements which civilization has made possible in so large a degree for all.

1. *Ownership of Farms.* "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." So ran the words of an old song. So long as this was true, the per cent of farm owners might be very high, but for many years, the supply of valuable free land has been practically exhausted. Crop failures, poor man-



PLOWING THE OLDER WAY

agement, and personal misfortune lead to mortgages or sale of farms which thus pass into the ownership of those who do not live on them. Increased costs of land and necessary implements make it increasingly difficult for one without capital to save enough to purchase a farm. The per cent of farm owners who live in the country shows a steady though not rapid decrease. Tenant farmers are often less careful of land, in some parts of the country working only for the greatest possible yield during the one or two seasons before they move to another farm, to exploit it in the same way.

The social life of any community needs the influence of those who have the permanent interest of home owners.

2. *Scientific Farming.* The soil which the first farmers found had been developing for centuries and for a greater or less number of years it produced bountiful crops. When fertility was exhausted, the pioneer farmer might take up another claim, thus "exploiting" the original productiveness of



MODERN IMPLEMENTS AID IN SCIENTIFIC FARMING

many acres. Since there is little more land to exploit in this way and the same tracts must be kept in cultivation, scientific rotation of crops is now practiced in all intelligent rural communities. By this means fields in Europe which perhaps have missed few crops in a thousand years are producing as well as in the beginning. Such scientific problems as rotation of crops, combating of insect pests and adaptation of varieties of products to climate and soil, have been made the subject of experiments by agricultural colleges which thus give back

to the farmer in expert services many times the amount of money he contributes in their support.

3. *Marketing.* Instead of attempting to produce as nearly as possible all of the things he needs, improved machinery and large farms cause the modern farmer to be a specialist. An entire community may be so well adapted to production of a single crop, that its output is almost as highly specialized as that of a factory. Marketing becomes a vital concern to a farmer or a community whose livelihood depends upon a single crop. Fruit and grain growers associations are examples of co-operative effort to find advantageous markets. Such organizations bring about reliable standards of quality which interest the buyer, and secure for their members a satisfactory price. Eggs marketed by a similar association often sell at nearly double the ordinary market price.

The "turn over" of most farm products is very slow and opportunity to borrow money at a low rate of interest is essential to profitable marketing. Change in freight rates may be sufficient to take away most of the profit from the heavier farm crops. The farmer now sells on a world market all staple crops, and his interests are no longer confined to a local community.

4. *Good Roads.* Roads are now recognized as a major rural problem. Especially is this true where soils are richest, rainfall abundant, crops the heaviest, and natural dirt roads the worst. The "mud tax" may in such cases be the highest tax paid. In spite of the auto the isolated farm home may be "a shut-in" for weeks at a time. The road problem calls for co-operation not only of the rural community but of state and nation. The farmer is most concerned, but all use public roads.

5. *The Rural School.* The small rural school of an earlier

day, the "little red school house" of the story book has not kept up with the changes of modern life. In many communities it has not been liberally supported. No neighborhood likes to be accused of lacking interest in education but poor dilapidated old school houses and employment of the cheapest teacher on the market proclaim unmistakably that some who insist that they are interested in education, are not. Those who effectively believe in education regard it as an investment and not as a tax to be avoided, or kept low as possible.

But even honest, liberal tax-payers genuinely devoted to the welfare of their school need to study the rural problem. A lavishly equipped school enrolling a mere handful of pupils is a poor educational investment wherever consolidation is practicable. It is hard for the independent spirit of the local community with its pride in the home school to give up the old way of doing things even though it is possible in co-operation with other districts to maintain a school which can have better equipment, more life, and perhaps, offer a high-school course. In thousands of consolidated districts today, the best of educational opportunity is being offered, and no one would think of going back to the little school even though it were a few miles nearer. It is evident that the road problem and this school problem are closely connected.

6. *The Lure of the City.* All the real advantages which cities possess may be traced to the fact that many are served instead of a small number, as in the country. Fine churches, great theatres, the largest stores, art galleries, libraries, the most convenient water and lighting systems, sidewalks, and paved streets cost so much that they must be where many can use them and help pay for them. Opportunities to enjoy these advantages will always attract people from farms and villages.

Another class of seeming advantages are much less real.

Wages seem higher in the city. To the few who are most successful they may be, but the majority of city dwellers do not live better than those whose homes are in the country, for high cost of rent and other necessary expenses use up the earnings of all except the fortunate few. Working hours in most trades and professions seem short, but workers cannot own nor control their tools and they are subject to enforced idleness during slack times and to loss occasioned by class struggles known as strikes and lock-outs. There can be no eight-hour days on the farm during crop seasons, but the efficient farmer need not in normal times work more hours during a year than his average city brother to earn a much better living. With the improvement of country roads and general use of automobiles there is no reason to fear the lure of the city. The farmer will visit the city just as the city dwellers spend their vacations in the country. All need acquaintance with both.

Villages and Small-City Problems. The small urban community has many of the same problems as the open country. Both share the same limitations inseparable from the co-operation of small instead of large groups. World stirring events are not occurring daily but, for that matter, very few in the great city have more to do with these than do those who live in the village. All know about these chiefly through newspapers. Much of what seems to make a difference between city and small town is mere noise, bustle, and nervous confusion which the smaller community is fortunate to be without. Two problems of co-operation are noticeably difficult in small cities.

1. *Taxes for Civic Improvement.* The typical small town includes in its population a large number of retired farmers. With the independence of rural life these find it hard to unite

in supporting civic affairs. They have not been accustomed to paved streets, and sidewalks, street cleaning, or a city water supply. Also, having retired, their income is seldom one which increases. Most small cities encounter discouraging set-backs in raising tax rates for municipal improvements, even in the support of adequate schools.

2. Law Enforcement. Law enforcement is likely to be lax in all small communities. "Keep off the grass" must be obeyed in the city or there would be no grass; in the village no great harm is done if half the people do not see the sign. Again, officers elected are always acquaintances and frequently relatives of those who disobey laws, and they dislike to offend their neighbors. It is well known, for example, that compulsory attendance laws are not usually well enforced. No American small community would tolerate government in such matters by officials from outside, such as was characteristic of the French villages described earlier in this chapter; knowing that law enforcement is in its own hands, the small city cannot shift this problem to any other branch of government. Here, as everywhere, government will be as strict as the people really wish it to be.

Summary and Rural Outlook. In this chapter it has been shown that American rural development has followed the pattern of the English free governing community rather than of the French or other European village. Because of unlimited space, resources, and inventiveness, our rural life has been unique in its freedom and opportunity for contented living. There is no reason for fearing that our rural communities will ever become like those in less fortunate countries. Instead, the rising intelligence of those in other lands who dwell in the same house with their cattle, is causing them to discard these age-long habits, which seem so crude to us. We

might even say that their rural life is becoming Americanized.

Many country people will move to the city as they have always done. The cities need them and improved farm machinery substitutes city-made implements for man power; the proportion of rural dwellers thus becomes much less, as it has done in most farming states for many years.

Those who live in the country will solve their problems as bravely as the home builders of earlier days met their very different but not easier tasks. In the solution of rural as well as city problems we are sure to find that the welfare of one cannot long conflict with the best interests of the other. Neither city nor country will long be without grave problems and "Only those deserve freedom who can achieve it every day."

Suggested Activities.

1. Make a list of officers in your community. Interview as many as you can. Learn:

- (a) For what particular work each is responsible.
- (b) The length of his term of office.
- (c) How citizens may co-operate with him in his work.

2. Study the farms in your community. Compare any differences between the "owned" and rented farms as to:

- (a) Size of crop yield.
- (b) Conditions of buildings.
- (c) Scientific care of the soil.

3. What is the early history of your community? Learn from one of the oldest settlers how the spirit of co-operation was shown in early times through "barn raisings" and "quilting parties."

4. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

- (a) Resolved, that the country is a better place to live than the city.
- (b) Resolved, that the farmer who does not read Bulletins issued by the United States Department of Agriculture and the State Agriculture College cannot properly be called a scientific farmer.
- (c) Resolved, that improved rural schools can best be brought about through consolidation and transportation.

Study Questions.

1. What are some of the differences between villages in America and in Europe?

2. What are the important causes which have led to growth of the town in or near which you live?

3. Name five small cities which owe their size and importance almost entirely to railroad connections.

4. "Our town cannot be prosperous unless the surrounding country is." Prove that this statement is true.

5. Describe differences between early New England villages and French villages in America. How was each governed?

6. Why do American farmers live in isolated houses instead of in villages as rural people do in most other countries? What are the advantages of each plan?

7. What is meant by "the self-supporting rural community?" Show how specialization in farm crops prevents a community from being self-sufficient.

8. Why is it harder for a poor man to become the owner of a farm than it was when Franklin said he could live in the woods? (See Page 17.)

9. What is meant by exploiting the soil? What crops exhaust the soil very quickly?

10. Show how co-operative marketing helps both producer and consumer of rural products.

11. If a loaded truck or wagon becomes stuck in an impassable road the one who is hauling goods at once pays what is sometimes called a "mud tax." The same tax is also collected when five hours are required to make a reasonable three-hour journey, or when a one ton load is carried by a team and wagon which should be carrying two tons. Give other examples of paying a mud tax.

CHAPTER IV

THE LARGE COMMUNITY

Do You Know These Terms?

urban center, 28

raw materials, 28.

mass production, 29.

division of labor, 30.

related industries, 30.

by-products, 30.

voluntary aid, 31.

home rule for cities, 33.

franchise, 34.

stockholders, 36.

municipal ownership, 36.

"city hall ring," 32.

Intelligent reading of this chapter requires understanding of the expressions as used on pages indicated. Discuss them with your teacher.

Trade and Industry the Life of Cities. All great modern cities owe their expansion to trade and industry. Examination of a world map shows that every important urban center has developed where abundant supplies of raw material may be made available, and where a large population is dependent upon its commerce. Navigable rivers, harbors, canals, or railroads may be looked for in every case.

A City Age. How large the cities of the ancient world were no one knows. They seemed very great to those of the time who wrote about them, but without street cars and the use of modern inventions, it is difficult to see how more than a half million inhabitants could be crowded into a single community. The largest city in the United States has a population of more than five millions. There are sixty-nine large cities as classified by the United States Census Bureau, that is, those having more than one hundred thousand inhabitants; and when we consider the people living in the medium sized cities of from twenty-five thousand to one hundred thousand

and the great number of small cities with a population ranging from twenty-five hundred to twenty-five thousand, together with those living in villages and places of less than twenty-five hundred, which call themselves and are recognized by state laws as cities, we see a large proportion of our population is living in cities. Truly, this may be called an age of cities. What has made so many possible?

Why Cities Grow Great. 1. *Use of Machines.* Until little more than one hundred years ago work was largely done with what may be called tools instead of with more complex machines. To illustrate, a spade is a tool while a steam shovel may be called a machine. A man with a machine can do many times as much work as one who uses the simpler tool. In this way large numbers of men are set free for other pursuits; the world's wealth is also greatly increased, and a better living for all is made possible.

In the case of farm machinery this has meant that a smaller number of farm workers can produce a greatly increased amount of the necessities of life. A reduced proportion of the entire population thus live on the farm. Part of the change has been merely a shift of the *place where* labor must be performed. The binder or header does not save all the time represented by the difference between simpler tools of an earlier day and modern implements. The machines themselves must be manufactured always in the city. The city mechanics or day laborers may thus be thought of as farm workers, harvesting grain in fields they will never see. Farm machinery cannot be made economically except in large factories, that is, in cities.

2. *Specialization.* What has occurred in regard to farming has happened in other occupations. Economy means mass production of wearing apparel, furniture, and in preparation

of many foods. The street car or the automobile in which we ride cannot be constructed except in large manufacturing plants. By what is known as division of labor, each man or group of men making but a single part, work is greatly "speeded up." The plant depends upon co-operation of experts none of whom could build the entire machine or carry out the whole manufacturing process.

3. *Related Industries and Use of By-Products.* Once a large manufacturing plant is established, it is usually found that related industries develop. For example, a meat packing community economically manufactures soap. Much of the slaughtered animal formerly wasted when each little community prepared its own meat is now turned to account in such by-products. Several companion industries sometimes rival in importance the one originally planned.

4. *Many Serve Industry Indirectly.* Great masses of city population are directly engaged in industry and trade. Railroad men, dock men, transfer men, and the operatives of the plants themselves must be near their work or have rapid and cheap transportation, possible only in the city. Commercial travelers who sell manufactured or imported goods are almost sure to find train connections so much better in the cities that they are compelled to live there. Besides all these, physicians, lawyers, ministers, teachers, entertainers and other professional people of every kind who are not directly concerned with trade or industry are found in every large city in proportion to its population.

5. *Some Enterprises Possible Only in Large Cities.* As the city increases from all the foregoing causes, the possibility of co-operation seems to grow; "the larger the city the faster it grows, the larger it may be." As an example, a theater which might attract a large house a few nights in a small city,

may draw crowds month after month in a large city. It becomes profitable, therefore, to build and maintain such theaters. One moderate sized hotel might be all which a small city could support; with its thousands of guests every day New York needs hundreds of hotels, some of them with thousands of rooms. It has already been shown that great museums, art galleries and libraries can exist only in the city. Enough has been cited to prove that cities do not owe their size entirely to industry and trade; size itself is necessary to render possible many of the activities of civilization. A city is the result of the most extensive and complex degrees of co-operation.

Great Size of Cities Brings Great Problems. 1. *It Is Impossible for All to Be Acquainted with City Needs.* The great size of cities also brings its problems. The impossibility of personal acquaintance among those who co-operate in city life gives all city activities a peculiar aspect when compared with the relations of inhabitants of small towns and the country. The fact that everyone knows everyone else in the small community may lead to lax law enforcement, but there is more effective unorganized human sympathy in dealing with the unfortunate. In a sense all "are strangers within the gates" in the city. Less dependence can be placed upon the honesty and personal worthiness of those who suffer from poverty or are chronic paupers. More must depend upon organization of expert service. In the small community a few shiftless or degenerate families may live in the same neighborhood, recognized as in need of voluntary aid and sometimes of official relief; in the city such persons are likely to crowd into slums; voluntary aid does not solve their problems and their many unknown neighbors of the great community must employ unknown workers to spend the city's money upon

these unknown dependents. There is as much sympathy and kindness among city dwellers as among those who live in the country, but this obstacle of lacking personal acquaintance is always found in dealing with city problems.

2. *Crime and Vice.* Statistics show that there is more crime in cities than in smaller communities, but the difference is probably not so great as many who talk about "wicked cities" believe. Much of the wrong-doing is committed by persons who do not belong permanently in the city. It has been shown that many laws must be enforced in the city for the violation of which no arrests would be made in a village. It is true, however, that those who are deterred from bad deeds only by fear of gossip of small town neighbors feel free to lead their own lives in the city. One who leans toward crime may take a chance more readily among strangers.

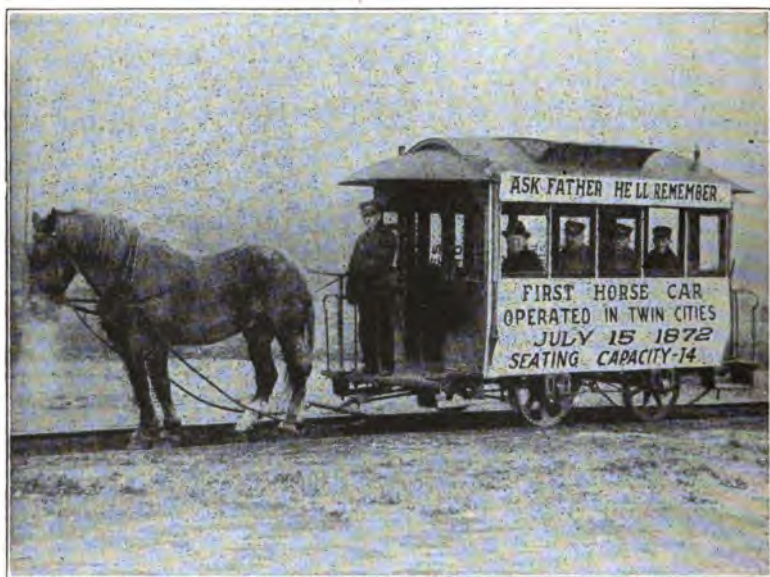
3. *Police.* A large police force is necessary in the city and there are serious difficulties in securing the right kind of men and in working out an honest and effective system of administration. Sometimes individual policemen make agreements with the vicious and criminal not to interfere with their business of gambling or liquor selling provided the officers are paid for being blind. Now and then "city hall rings" seem to agree not to enforce certain laws. The situation becomes so bad at times that it proves difficult to get rid of such officers since they may have it in their power for a time to prevent fair elections, by allowing repeaters to vote under several names or even by making it unsafe for those who might oppose their vote to go to the polls. Much of the blame attached to the police force is unjust; such officers can hardly be blamed for not enforcing laws which the "good" people of a community enact and then, to the limit of their ability, evade.

Because of police difficulty in cities, some states have endeavored to control the situation by having the governor appoint a police commissioner or police board, not supposed to be subject to local influence. In general, this plan has not been successful; "home rule" for cities fixes responsibility for conditions at home and the majority of those who live in any city are as anxious for clean government as are citizens of the state at large. When bad conditions persist in a police system it is the penalty people pay for not being interested in politics.

Boys and girls are likely to think of the policeman as one who may "arrest you or put you in jail." It is much more nearly the truth to consider policemen as honest, kindly, helpful officers who are working for all of us. Most policemen seldom make arrests; their work consists largely of giving information, keeping people from crowding together and obstructing traffic, and guiding the great throngs who must cross busy streets. You may watch a policeman for many hours without hearing him utter a loud or angry word, or saying anything about arresting anyone. But of course laws and ordinances must be obeyed; if kindness and a pleasant manner are not heeded it becomes the policeman's duty to use force. Boys and girls can help policemen, not only by obeying laws, but by being as orderly and polite as these law-enforcing officers are.

4. *Transportation Problems.* Without street cars our largest cities could not exist. It even requires on some streets, surface cars, elevated lines, and a subway, or underground line, to carry people to and from daily work. Construction of such street railways requires the greatest engineering skill; they must often build under rivers or buildings or high above house tops. But the engineering is a simple matter when

compared with their financial relations to the community. Before a track can be laid, the city must award a franchise either by popular vote or through action of its governing body. No company would be willing to incur the enormous expense of installing a system without reasonable guarantees of opportunity for profit during a term of years. How much



AN EARLY FORM OF CITY TRANSPORTATION

money should owners of traction systems be permitted to make? If a five-cent fare assures reasonable profit when one hundred thousand people are served, may that not be too much when five hundred thousand pay fares daily? Or, suppose increased costs of operation make it impossible to continue at the fare agreed upon in the franchise. The system cannot

long operate at a loss and voters are usually very slow in consenting to an increase. The foregoing are the kind of problems which arise in every large city.

If it were an ordinary private business venture we should say, "If you can't afford to continue, just quit, or turn the business over to someone else." But the public cannot afford



NOW SURFACE CARS AND ELEVATED RAILROADS AID IN SOLVING THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM OF THE LARGE CITY

to allow its transportation to cease, even for a day. The system may be so large and complex that only an expert can discover whether it is earning an income or losing money. The riding public is likely to be suspicious, regarding the owners as rich people taking money without doing anything in return.

Difficulties with franchises and in regulation of traction companies have led to city ownership in some cases and discussion of the plan even when it has not been adopted. Those who favor municipal ownership or control argue that systems can be operated profitably at very low fares, and that surplus earnings should go to the city thus benefiting the population at large instead of a few stockholders. If fares must be increased in order to continue service, voters are supposed to be more ready to consent, regarding the additional cost as necessary tax. Those who oppose city ownership, say that city governments have not usually been very successful in preventing waste, graft, and dishonesty in service and that there is no reason for expecting them to operate traction systems economically or in a manner satisfactory to their patrons.

5. *Water Supply and Clean Streets.* An adequate water supply is essential for trade and industry; a sanitary supply is necessary for preservation of health. A fairly reliable measure of a people's civilization might be the amount of water used in bathing. Fire protection calls for a steady and unlimited water supply. The modern city thus demands abundant, scientifically tested, pure water; a large number of typhoid cases is now regarded a disgrace since their relation to a polluted water supply is well known.

Clean streets are also related to health. An orange peel, a chewing gum wrapper, or apple core may be of little consequence upon a country road, but if all the thousands who walk city streets are careless with such minor items, it is a different matter. The street cleaning department is as necessary as the police system. Modern cities cannot afford "clean-up days"; they must be clean all the time. In keeping them so, boys and girls can co-operate with those who are appointed to keep streets clean and sanitary.

6. *Industrial Nuisances.* Manufacturing communities often meet peculiar problems in relation to the great plants which are the chief cause of their growth. A factory may be very noisy; it may give forth offensive odors or even dangerous gases. The interest of the entire population is always to be placed before the gains of even a large number; hence cities are solving such problems by requiring concerns which become a nuisance or a menace to find quarters apart from most of the population or to install equipment which will do away with the evil. The most familiar example of solving such a nuisance problem is the smoke consuming provision now almost universally required.

City Planning and the City Beautiful. People can seldom foresee in the rambling village or hustling small town the great city of the future. In the old world and in the older parts of the United States crooked paths seem to have become streets. Most American cities are laid out in squares or rectangular blocks, a great improvement over the irregular streets of earlier days, but modern traffic often finds its needs inadequately met by the unmodified rectangular plan. Wider thoroughfares and parks become necessary. Modern cities thus have much to undo because plans were not made earlier. Most cities are now developing commercial thoroughfares adequate for increased traffic due to the automobile. It is interesting to note that our national capital was laid out more than a hundred years ago in accordance with plans made by a famous expert. The "city of magnificent distances" it was long derisively called because it had been planned for a great future, but those who visit Washington now can see the significance of city planning.

The rapid and unplanned growth of modern cities has often resulted in ugly features. Of necessity much in all cities can-

not be made beautiful, but we have accustomed ourselves to more ugliness than is necessary. A considerable amount of our advertising is more conspicuously shocking to refined taste than successful in attracting business. Many water fronts could be turned into little parks. Unsightly and unused shacks might be removed. Any keen observer is able to discover numerous ways in which "the city beautiful" may be brought to pass without interfering with "the city useful." Like all other city problems, educated popular taste will determine the city of the future; it will be as ugly or as beautiful as its inhabitants choose to make it. Those now studying about our government will soon be called upon to decide what kind of cities they shall live in.

Cities Willing to Pay for Service. To solve city problems and make needed improvements vast sums of money are needed and taxes must be very high. Nevertheless city people perhaps pay these high taxes with less protest than their neighbors in small cities and the country in the case of their much lower rates of taxation. City voters are accustomed to co-operation in more ways and the compelling necessity of working together is so evident that as long as efficiency and reasonable economy characterize the city government, money for established municipal activities is usually voted without question.

Suggested Activities.

1. Talk with anyone connected with transportation—the flagman, the conductor, the motorman, and learn what difficulties he meets in his work—and what the good citizen may do to assist him.

2. Select a committee of three to investigate the ways in which the water supply of the community is provided. The more detailed and definite information which the report contains, the more valuable it will be.

4. Appoint two pupils to interview your local police officials, constable or sheriff. Have them study the work of this particular branch of the government, how it is done—and most important of all, how the citizens of the community may co-operate with these officials in their work. Discuss this report, other pupils making suggestions.

5. Write a plan for the improvement of the community in which you live. Make suggestions as to how money could be raised for carrying out these plans.

6. List all community or city activities which are supported by taxation, and find out from your local officers the three items which cost the most in your community.

7. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that too many people are living in cities.

(b) Resolved, that in spite of stricter law enforcement in cities than in the country, crime and vice are freer from interference in the city.

(c) Resolved, that the price good people pay for not being interested in city politics is to be ruled by bad people.

(d) Resolved, that city regulation of street railways is preferable to city ownership.

(e) Resolved, that provision for an abundance of playgrounds and parks would reduce the number of policemen needed.

(f) Resolved, that city people have better opportunity for good health than country people have.

Study Questions.

1. What is meant by calling this a city age?

2. How are cities classified by the United States Census Bureau?

3. What has been the effect of the growth of factories upon the number and size of cities? How have city factories affected industry in the country? In what sense may it be said that many people who live in the city are working at farming?

4. The old time shoemaker made shoes; it may take fifty or more shoe factory operatives to make a pair. What are the advantages of each plan?

5. Make a list of all occupations you can think of which are not directly connected with producing, manufacturing, or selling goods. Mark with a "c" all those which are found only in the city.

6. How does the impossibility of personal acquaintance of each with all in a city affect the solution of its problems?

7. From the paragraph upon crime and vice select two reasons for their greater prevalence in the city than in the country.

8. What do you think should be done—

(a) If a street railway is losing money?

(b) If a street railway is making its stockholders rich?

(c) If street cars and track are not kept in repair according to franchise requirements?

9. Why not allow street railways to cease operation when they are not paying expenses?

10. Passengers are usually ready to find fault with "the company" when street cars are late, cold, or crowded. What effect upon such useless complaints would city ownership have?

11. "The country can afford clean-up day; the city cannot." Explain.

12. In most American cities house numbers are counted one hundred to the block regardless of the number of houses or lots. In New York City and in most European cities, lots are numbered without omitting numbers when going from one block to the next. What are the merits of each plan?

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZED UNITS OF OUR GOVERNMENT

Do You Know These Terms?

authority, 41.

assessed, 43.

trustees, 42.

judicial district, 43.

ratifying, 48.

specialist, 48.

expert service, 48.

inter-state problems, 48.

Look up these expressions on the pages indicated and explain each.

Units of Our Government. Our government operates through a number of units each of which is recognized by custom and law. These divisions are more or less related and vary greatly in different parts of the country. Each exercises authority in its field through some person or persons recognized by law as acting in an official way. Those in authority have the right to make rules or laws, interpret them, and put them into operation. Each division has its special work to which it is best adapted or for which it has been created. The methods are constantly undergoing changes, and in many cases what has been done for years by one unit of government gradually passes under another. For example, road work in many sections of the country was formerly done through the township unit, but because of the use of the automobile, road work is passing from the township to the county and is often supervised by the state and nation. Another example is the regulation of railroads which is rapidly passing from the state to the nation.

Every person is a member of several divisions of government. The best interest of each individual is bound up with

the successful operation of every one of these divisions. The good citizen takes his part in the work of every unit of which he is a member.

The Family. The family as has been explained is the simplest organized unit of government. Persons other than the husband, wife and children are sometimes attached to it, but they always observe the rules and customs of the household. The old English adage, "a man's house is his castle" is still recognized in America. Certain privileges and duties not found elsewhere accompany membership in the family group; but much of the work that was once done in the home under family supervision is now carried on under supervision of other units of government. For example, bread-baking, which was once a home activity, is now done by a bakery which is operated under a city license, inspected by state officials and is subject to state and national pure food laws.

The School District. The school district is a special unit created to do a specific work. The instruction of children is better and more economically done by persons who make teaching their business than by parents already too busy with other things.

Americans have agreed that all should have opportunity to secure free an elementary and high school education. Special boards of school trustees or directors whose only official duty is the general direction of the schools which the community supports, have been provided in every state. They employ teachers, provide buildings and equipment, and make all necessary regulations for the management of the schools. The success of our schools is often dependent upon the unselfish service of school trustees; they must devote many hours to school problems, usually without compensation.

The Town or Township. The town or township is a unit of government in most states. In New England it is of great importance since it is the unit for carrying on the local government. Property is assessed, taxes collected, roads constructed and schools maintained by township officials. In the South the township as a unit of government is of little importance; a constable and justice of the peace usually being the only officials elected. The work which the middle and western states do through the township unit of government varies greatly, and there is a strong tendency for much of it to pass to the county. Most of the territory of the United States is laid off in congressional townships six miles square. These are in no sense units of government, but are used for the purpose of locating and describing land boundaries.

The County. The important local unit of government is the county. It was established largely as a judicial district and a convenient unit for assessing property and collecting state taxes. In general, the county is still the agent of the state for these purposes. Much that was formerly done by smaller units has been and is being transferred to the county. For example, in pioneer days the school district was usually a small unit from two to four miles square. A number of states have made the county the unit for administering schools. Another example is the building and maintenance of roads which has usually been the work of the township. In states where the county was the unit of administration, county officials usually made a number of small road districts and appointed an overseer for each. This plan did very well when roads were worked by the farmers who lived in the district; they used their teams and the few tools which the road district could buy. In these days of automobile travel when road grading is done with large machines, the township

or small road district is not practical; the small unit cannot afford to buy the expensive machinery necessary in building modern roads, and if it could, there would not be sufficient road work to keep the machinery in continual use. The county can afford to buy modern machinery and it has suffi-



THE COURT HOUSE—THE CENTER OF COUNTY GOVERNMENT

cient road mileage to keep the machinery in operation. The administration of schools and roads are illustrations of the general tendency to make the county the important unit of local government.

County Officials. As more work has been given to county government the number and importance of county officials have increased. The County Board, whose members are

called commissioners, supervisors, or judges, has such general legislative and administrative power as the state has conferred upon it. Its duties vary, but in most states it determines the rate of taxation, appropriates money for county purposes, appoints minor county officials, keeps the accounts, and allows claims against the county. The chief items of county expenditure are court expenses, the cost of roads and bridges and relief of the poor. Salaries of the county officials, usually fixed by state law, are another large item of county expense. Boards usually number from three to five members; in some states they are elected by townships or districts, in others by the county at large. The small board is probably more efficient and less expensive.

The official title of other important county officers indicates their duties.

1. The county judge presides over the court which tries important cases arising in the county. In some states two or more counties are united into a judicial district. In this case the judge is called a circuit judge and presides over the courts in each of the counties of the district.

2. The sheriff is the chief peace officer of the county. He attends the courts and carries out their orders, has charge of prisoners, and in case of disturbance of the peace may require the services of citizens of the county as deputies.

3. The county or state's attorney is the legal representative of the county and adviser of the county officials; he prosecutes those who violate the laws of the state.

4. In case of the death of any person from mysterious and unknown causes the coroner holds an inquest, that is, makes inquiry to determine the cause of the death.

5. The probate judge has the supervision of all legal matters pertaining to the administering of estates and carrying

out of the intent of deceased persons as expressed in their wills.

6. The assessor makes a list of the property owned by each of the citizens of the county for the purpose of securing a valuation upon which to base taxation.

7. The treasurer keeps records of the money of the county and pays it out upon vouchers, or orders, issued by the proper authorities.

8. The superintendent of schools has general supervision of education, visits rural and village schools, distributes the necessary blanks to school officials, and makes reports to the state superintendent of schools.

9. The amount of bookkeeping required by county government depends largely upon the population, wealth and size of the county. In some cases this work can be done by one or two officials, but in most cases it requires the services of a large number. The usual county officials whose duty is connected with keeping records and accounts are the collector, auditor, county clerk, and recorder of deeds.

Villages and Cities. The words village and city are applied to groups of people, many of whom live within a comparatively small area and whose problems, therefore, differ from those who live in the country. The terms do not always have the same meaning; for example, in Alabama a village by legal definition has not more than one hundred inhabitants, while in New York it may have as many as ten thousand. Cities are organized under state laws. In some cases the states authorize them to frame charters.

The officials in villages and cities vary in proportion to the population of the community. They may be roughly classed in three groups. The mayor, who is the chief administrative officer, the officials known as aldermen, councilmen, or

assemblymen, who make ordinances, and various departments which are organized to do special work. The police department, organized for protection and law enforcement, the health department, organized to promote the public health, and the street cleaning department are examples. In many cities officials performing duties similar to those of county officers are found. The city may have its own assessor, treasurer, attorney and collector.



A STATE CAPITOL

State or Commonwealth. The state as a unit of government existed before the nation. It developed during the colonial period. The close of the Revolutionary War made the thirteen colonies free and independent states. Each possessed full governmental powers; England no longer con-

trolled and no satisfactory agreement had been made by which the states shared their power with a central or national government. Upon ratifying the Constitution each state surrendered part of its power to the national government. The Constitution guarantees a republican form of government to each state; it provides that all powers not expressly given to the United States remain with the states. In this division of powers the state retained most of those which affected the people directly. Thus the power of making laws concerning marriage and divorce, ownership and transfer of land, incorporation of industries, the management of education, the organization of local units of government, and a great many other matters of importance were retained by the state.

The growing tendency to do more and more of our work in co-operation is constantly increasing the variety and importance of state laws and the work of our state officials. For example, like people in an ancient city we once took no official notice of food offered for sale; in recent years we have laws prescribing its quality and state specialists to make examination or inspection. Thus the state is furnishing more expert service for its people.

The Nation. The United States is the greatest and most powerful unit of government under which we live. In the allotment of powers made by the Constitution protection from attack by other nations, regulation of our trade with foreign countries and between states, the coining of money, the management of post offices, are but a part of the important work done by our national government. Much of the work formerly done by the state is now carried on by the United States. For example, railroads which we long attempted to control by state laws are being regulated by the national government.

In general, interstate problems are dealt with by the na-

tional government. Some have feared that the increasing activities of the national government would detract too much from the importance of the states. A careful examination will show that we are doing so much more than formerly through our government that the work of the state is increasing as fast as that of the central government at Washington.

Membership in Organized Units of Government. One may be a member of a family, a resident in a school district, a citizen of a township or a city, a county, a state, and the United States at the same time. Most of us pay taxes to support several of these units of government and they in turn do work for us which we could not do for ourselves. We do much more of our work through these units of government than anyone ever thought of doing "in the bad old days" or even a few years ago. Our government, which includes all of these units, is an important business—important to each of us. Under old conditions government did little for its subjects and they had little to say about how it was conducted. Even in the early days of our national history many "believed government to be a necessary evil," the best being the one which did least for its people provided it let them alone. Since we expect so much of our government, no one can afford to be too busy to give attention to all these units. "Our government is part of your business and mine."

Suggested Activities.

1. Select a committee of three to interview or write your County Superintendent of Schools. Learn through this communication what he thinks could be done to improve the schools in your district. Have this committee report to the class.

2. Who are the trustees or directors in charge of the school you attend? Appoint a committee to interview one of them. Learn—

- (a) How he is chosen.

- (b) For how long a term.

(c) What is the chief problem they are now considering in their work.

3. Use four large sheets of paper. At the top of one write "City" (or "Village" or "Town") on the next "County," the next "State"—and on the last sheet "Nation." Watch the newspapers for news of services performed by each—and when you have two clippings for each sheet, attach them—and bring them to class to read.

4. Make a list of the services rendered by some unit of government for you or your family. Learn which unit performs each service and what is your individual responsibility in return for this service.

5. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that county boards should have the power to appoint all other county officers.

(b) Resolved, that school trustees should be paid for their services.

Study Questions.

1. "A man's house is his castle." What is the meaning of this quotation to an American citizen?

2. Contrast the New England township with that in the Southern States.

3. What is a "congressional" township?

4. A county contained forty small road districts. The county was re-organized into four large districts. What reasons may be given for the change? Who would be likely to object to the change?

5. What are the principal duties of the Board of County Commissioners?

6. Is the town in or near which you live called a village, town, or city? What determines which word is used?

7. Name four important county officers with their principal duties.

8. How many different governmental units have authority to levy taxes upon property in your neighborhood? What benefit is received from each unit?

PART TWO

THE PLAN AND MACHINERY OF OUR GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER VI

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Do You Know These Terms?

tun-moot, 52.
hundred-moot, 52.
shire, 52.
shire-moot, 52.
charter, 53.
crusader, 53.
Magna Charta, 54.
The Great Council, 54.
Parliament, 55.
House of Commons, 55.
serf, 58.

House of Lords, 55.
Bill of Rights, 55.
class distinctions, 57.
Industrial Revolution, 58.
property qualifications, 58.
priceless heritage, 59.
representative, 58.
senator, 60.
congressman, 60.
hereditary lords, 63.
suffrage, 58.

In order to get the correct meaning from this chapter you need to understand these expressions as used on the pages indicated. Look up each.

The Anglo-Saxon Contribution to Government. The ancient world developed a high civilization, vast empires, and democratic city state governments in which all the citizens voted upon measures of public policy and elected officials. Sometimes, as in the case of Rome, these rights of citizenship were extended to men living hundreds of miles away. Of course, these citizens living at a distance could not go to the city to vote and no one seems to have thought of the plan of having one man represent many citizens who lived at a distance. The plan of representation was gradually worked out

later by the Anglo-Saxon people from old customs and institutions of that race. They valued personal independence very highly and believed in the rights of the individual man. They carried these ideas along with their customs into England when they conquered and occupied that country.

Local Government of the Anglo-Saxon. When the Anglo-Saxon tribes invaded England, kinsmen settled in groups known as "tuns," later called townships. At appointed times the freemen of the "tun" assembled in their tun-moot or town meeting to transact such business as came before them. The town meeting elected a reeve, or presiding officer, and four representatives, who, with the reeve, represented the township in an assembly, the hundred-moot. After the organization of the shires (counties) the shire-moot also was made up of the reeve and four representatives from each township. These assemblies probably made a few laws, but their chief duty was settling quarrels among the tribesmen. This custom of holding local representative courts was among the most important Anglo-Saxon customs when the Normans conquered England.

Early Charters. The Normans were a Germanic people who had established a home in northern France and had lived there more than a hundred years when their ruler, Duke William, conquered England. After the Anglo-Saxon king had been killed and his army defeated William marched on London. The people of the city decided to make him their king. Duke William accepted the crown as William I and gave the men of London a written document in which he declared they should continue to be governed by the laws of Edward the Confessor, the last Saxon king of England. This was the first charter of English liberty and was very brief.

When Henry I became king he was very anxious to have the loyal support of the English people. He issued a charter in which he promised to do away with the evils of the preceding reigns and rule by the laws of Edward the Confessor, which it seemed the kings found convenient to forget. This document enumerated in detail a number of these laws and customs and has been called the parent of all later charters.

Henry II called a council and ordered it to draw up a document containing the laws and customs of Edward the Confessor, about which there was again more or less disagreement. He also revised and extended the King's Courts, making use of the representative idea which still existed in the local courts of the hundred-moot and the shire-moot.

Richard the Lion Hearted Crusader was always in need of funds for his wars. In order to raise this money he sold charters to many of the cities of England in which he granted them rights of self government. He also extended the elective representative system of the local units of government. All the charters we have mentioned had been given of the king's free will, but the next advance in English liberty was to be made against the will of the king.

The Great Charter. King John, said to be the meanest king who ever ruled England, continued to engage in wars, but attempted to raise the money by taxing the people without their consent and without following the customs that had been used in taxation. He also refused to recognize the rights granted in the charters which his brother Richard had sold to the towns. Finally the great barons and churchmen held a council and agreed to resist the king. A churchman named Langston placed before the council a copy of the charter of Henry I. Using this as a basis, a new charter containing

sixty-three articles was drawn up. The barons then went to the King at Runnymede and compelled him to sign the Magna Charta—the *Great Charter*. We trace our liberties back to the Magna Charta since English history before the American Revolution is our history. While the Magna Charta says nothing of representation, it went into great detail in guaranteeing the ancient rights and customs, chief among which was the right of trial by jury. It was the method of choosing juries in local courts which later suggested the general idea of representation.

The Representative Parliament. After the death of King John, his weak, incompetent son, Henry III, repeatedly violated the provisions of the Great Charter and was compelled to sign it not less than six different times during his reign of fifty-six years. This king, too, was always needing money and frequently called upon the Great Council, composed of nobles and higher clergy, to vote funds for his use. Sometimes he called upon the shire-reeves, later called sheriffs, to send two knights from each shire to represent the common people in the Great Council. The King called these representatives of the shires because he thought he could get money from the people more readily if they had, in the Great Council, representative who had agreed to the levy.

At one of these meetings the Great Council made the King sign a charter before granting any of his requests. This document provided that a committee of the Great Council should rule the country for the King. He soon refused to be bound by this agreement and war followed. The barons defeated the King's forces, captured the King and took charge of the government. They compelled him to call another meeting of the Great Council to which two representatives

from each town and two knights from each shire were invited to meet with the nobles and clergy. This body known as Parliament, unlike the Great Council, included representatives from all classes of Englishmen—lords, clergy, representatives of the towns and counties (shires). The King called Parliament very often as he was frequently in need of money. As the nobles and clergy met in one hall and the representatives of the towns and counties in another, Parliament became the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

The Petition of Rights. Membership in Parliament was not a popular official position. Men were not anxious to pledge themselves and their neighbors to pay taxes. Leaders soon learned to bargain with the King; they secured the right to examine the accounts of the King's officers and impeach unworthy officials. Parliament became very strong and sometimes deposed kings.

About the time the Puritans were settling New England, Parliament compelled Charles I to sign the second great charter of English liberty known as the Petition of Rights. This charter among other things provided that "no man hereafter should be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, or benevolence, tax, or such like charge without common consent by act of Parliament." This was another way of saying that there should be no "taxation without representation."

Bill of Rights. After signing the Petition of Rights King Charles, who was very obstinate, sent Parliament home and ruled in violation of his agreement. Finally, he needed money so badly that he was compelled to call Parliament again. The new Parliament quarreled with Charles, refused to furnish him money, and after a long struggle put him to death. England was ruled for a time without a king. The two sons of

Charles who later became kings had not learned to respect the rights of Parliament or the people. The second of these, James II, stubbornly persisted in disregarding these rights and was driven from England. The newly elected King was compelled to sign the "Bill of Rights," the third great charter of English liberty. This document, like its predecessors, enumerated the things that it was illegal for the King to do. Among them it mentions: levying money without the consent of Parliament, suspending laws passed by Parliament, or interfering with the election of members of Parliament. It also declared that freedom of speech and debate in Parliament ought not to be called in question in any other place. All these provisions made possible more complete representation of the wishes of the people.

A New Idea of Representation. The next great development of representative government came in America. In most of the states of Europe where there was any pretense of representation, the representatives of each class were assembled in separate halls. Each group voted yes or no upon such measures as the King saw fit to put before it. Two of the three houses could carry or reject a measure. The advantage was clearly with the privileged classes, the nobles and clergy, who usually had common interests and always had two of the three houses. As we have seen, this plan was somewhat changed by the peculiar growth of Parliament in England. There the same idea of representation by classes is found, but two of the classes, the nobles and clergy, became united in the House of Lords and the representatives of the towns and shires met together, forming the House of Commons. Every clergyman in the House of Lords represented his class, that is, all the clergymen in England; every

noble in the House of Lords represented his class, that is, all the nobles in England; and every man in the House of Commons represented his class, that is, every man in England not a clergyman or a noble.

When the English settled America no political class distinctions developed. There were few nobles or clergymen of the established church among the colonists. Representation was considered by the Americans to be one of the rights of Englishmen guaranteed in the early charters. In 1619 the first representative assembly of Americans met in Virginia. The members of the House were elected from the various counties and thus came to think of themselves as representing their respective counties. They soon represented the rights of the colony as a whole in its relations with the mother country. Thus developed the idea that a representative stood for the best interests of his colony as a whole and at the same time he was in a peculiar sense the representative of his particular district or county. In this way the idea of representation of the people in territorial units instead of classes of society developed in America. One of the chief causes of the American Revolution grew out of the difference of opinion in regard to territorial as opposed to class representation.

The Constitution of the United States. Our greatest charter of liberty is the Constitution of the United States. It might be called a charter of liberty for the world, since practically all civilized nations have adopted representative government modeled after either the American or the English plan.

The Constitution provides for the organization of a government. It then prohibits this government from doing any

of the things the other three great charters of liberty had prohibited the English king from doing. Instead of a king, it provides for a representative of the sovereign people of the United States, elected by them, to represent them in the execution of the laws. It provides for a Congress composed of two houses, both of which are representative of territorial units. It also provides for a supreme court and such inferior courts as Congress may establish; the courts represent the people in the interpretation of the laws. Thus the Constitution of the United States marks a great epoch in the development of representative government by providing for an organization, every part of which is representative of the people.

Representation and the Ballot. To be represented in a government one must have a voice or vote in choosing officials. As representative government has developed, the question of who was qualified to choose the officers has always been important. In early history the right to vote was limited to the few. The benefits of the Magna Charta were extended to all freemen, but five-sixths of the English people of that time were not free; they were serfs and not included in its provisions. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the population of England was 9,000,000, it is estimated that 15,000 voters elected a majority of the members of the House of Commons. As late as 1865 only one in six of the adult male population was permitted to vote. In America at the beginning of the nineteenth century many of the states limited suffrage by requiring property qualifications or church membership.

Something more than a century ago the Industrial Revolution caused the common man to feel the need of being repre-

sented in the government far more than ever before. The factory compelled men to move to the city to work with machinery which did not belong to them and to be herded together under unsanitary conditions which they were powerless to remedy. The Industrial Revolution increased the quantity of manufactured goods very greatly and at the same time reduced the price. This had the effect of enabling the common man to live much better. He could have the necessities and even some of the luxuries of life. The education of the workingman's children became a possibility. These conditions caused the first half of the nineteenth century to be a period of intense agitation for the extension of suffrage. This agitation bore fruit in England in a series of reform bills which gave the English people practically universal manhood suffrage and made the government really representative of the people. In the United States people enjoyed a much more widely extended suffrage at the beginning of the century. The wave of democratic sentiment which swept over the country between 1820 and 1840, usually known as Jacksonian democracy, brought about universal manhood suffrage in most of the states. The suffrage bill of 1918 in England and the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gave women the ballot and completed the development of representative government in the two great English speaking nations.

The Value of Representative Government. Every citizen of our country should know something of the history of representative government. He should know of the hardships, difficulties and struggles of our ancestors and of the conflicts which they waged to win and transmit this priceless heritage. He will then understand that it is an institution of slow

growth, that it has been thoroughly tried out as it has developed, and that it has proved to be the most valuable plan of government the world has ever known. One who knows this history will appreciate the privileges of the government which we enjoy. He will think carefully before giving his approval to any plan that will do away with its fundamental principles.

All Our Officers Representatives. All of the states have modeled their constitutions after the Constitution of the United States. All have representative officials in the state governments similar to those of the national government. The various state constitutions and state governments have provided governments for local communities, such as cities, counties, townships, and school districts. In each of these local units the officers, whether elected or appointed, are representatives of the people. In all cases, if these officers are doing their duty, they are doing the work of the people, for the people, and in the name of the people.

Responsibilities of a Representative. While all officers in the United States are in the broadest sense representatives of the people, certain legislative officers are called representatives. These are the members of the lower house of Congress and in the state legislative bodies. Senators, though not so named, are representatives in the same sense as the members of the lower houses. The president is the representative of all the people of the United States in executing the laws. If he should give undue attention to his own state or city he would be unfavorably criticised, and justly so, because he is no more the representative of the people of his own state or city than of any other person in the United States. His responsibility is to all of the people; his work

is for the entire nation. Likewise the responsibility of a governor is to the entire state.

In the case of a member of a legislative body there is double responsibility. If he is a member of Congress he is a United States official, legislates for the entire nation, is paid from the national treasury, and passes laws that are binding upon every citizen of the country. As a lawmaker he is responsible to the entire nation and is bound by his honor and his duty to his country to do what he thinks is best for the entire nation. But he is elected by a district, or if he is a senator, by a state, and is in a special sense the representative of his district or state. He is in this sense responsible to his district or state and can be re-elected or defeated by it. The same situation exists in the case of a member of the state legislature. All legislators in our country have this double responsibility to the people of their district and in a larger sense to their state or nation. These responsibilities should never be in conflict, but in case they appear to be, the legislator should not hesitate to be guided by his greater duty to the state or nation as a whole.

Territorial or Class Representation. Unofficial delegates of medical associations, labor unions, teachers' federations and other organizations with class interests are often sent to Congress or state legislatures to furnish information which may secure favorable consideration of proposed laws which they wish to have passed. In a perfectly honest way they work for or against pending measures. Senators and representatives know of course that these delegates represent the interest of special classes; the laws they urge may or may not be for the "greatest good to the greatest number." In this unofficial way there are in the United States many hundreds of persons who represent "special interests" in lawmaking.

Honest Elections. The great dangers to representative government are fraud and dishonesty in elections, the political boss, bribe taking, and dishonesty sometimes found among elected officials. Honest and fair elections in which every legally qualified voter casts one vote—not more than one—and has that vote counted, lie at the foundation of representative government as practiced in our country. If we do not have an honest election, the man or woman who secures the election certificate is not the representative of the voters, but the agent of election crooks. If the official feels that he owes his position to the political boss, whether it be an appointive or elective position, he is likely to take instruction from the boss and feel that he is responsible to him. In case of a dishonest official who receives a bribe, it is obvious that he has surrendered his manhood and all he is to the bribe-giver and is in no sense a representative of the people, but the tool of the criminal who has bought him.

Comparison of the English and American Systems. Sometimes we hear the English government praised as being more representative of the people than our government. In some particulars this may be true, but before agreeing that the English system is better because in some ways it responds more quickly to changes in popular opinion than ours, we should make a careful comparison. The following are a few of the more important differences in the two governments.

1. In England there is but one kind of official elected to represent the people in the government. That official is a member of the House of Commons. All others obtain their positions directly or indirectly through the action of the House of Commons except the hereditary officials (chief of whom are the members of the House of Lords) and such subordinate

officials as may be appointed by them. In the United States we elect two distinct kinds of representatives, our executive officials, such as the president and governors, and our law makers, who correspond to the members of the House of Commons. We also elect our senators who correspond to the hereditary Lords in England. A member of the House of Commons does not represent his district but represents all the common people of England. Frequently he does not live in the district which elects him. He has but one responsibility, the responsibility to the nation as a whole. Each member of an American legislative body, state or national, represents his district and is responsible to the people of his district for his official action. At the same time he has a higher and greater responsibility, that to his nation or state.

2. Members of the House of Commons are elected for a term of five years. If the politicians managing the political party in power can agree for five years, the people in England can have no chance to approve or disapprove of governmental action for that length of time. But politicians, even those holding office and members of the same party, can seldom agree that long. The leader of the majority party has the power to dissolve Parliament and order a new election. That means that he can bring the term of office of every member of the House to an end and order a new election at any time a measure he has proposed is defeated. In actual practice an English Parliament may end any day. Sometimes there are two elections within a year. An election is usually held when political discussion and excitement upon some one question is at its height and members of Parliament are elected solely with regard to their position upon that one question. Members of our House of Representatives are elected for a term of two years. There is no power to dissolve a Congress.

There may be ever so much excitement upon some question, but the people do not elect a new Congress to deal with that particular question. The Congress in which the question arises must deal with it or the settlement is delayed until the next regular election. Even then the people do not elect members of Congress with regard to one question alone. They elect congressmen to represent them for a definite period of years in dealing with any questions that may arise during that time. The English system is much more like direct government than the American system. In England one particular measure is usually in the mind of the voter. In America a large number of measures make up the platform of a party. The candidate is of much greater importance in America than he is in England.

In the House of Commons the political leaders are relatively far more important than the political leaders in Congress. About all the ordinary member of the House of Commons can do is to vote as his leaders direct. He does not introduce bills, is never responsible for the passage of a measure and does not debate unless assigned by the leaders to do so. In Congress any member may introduce bills, or debate and each member must look after bills in which he is particularly interested. No one is bound to vote with the leader of his party to prevent his term of office from coming to an abrupt close.

Suggested Activities.

1. Dramatize informally the following five steps in the development of Representative Government:

Act I. The Early Charters. (You may have four scenes.)

Scene 1. William the Conqueror gives the men of London a written document in which he agrees to rule by the laws of Edward the Confessor.

Scene 2. Henry I gives a new charter renewing the promises to rule by the laws of Edward the Confessor.

Scene 3. Henry II draws up still another document containing the laws of Edward the Confessor.

Scene 4. Richard the Lion Hearted sells charters to many of the towns of England.

Act II. The Great Charter.

King John meets his barons at Runnymede, 1215, and signs and seals the famous Magna Charta.

Act III. The Petition of Rights.

Charles I signs the Petition of Rights which establishes the principle of no taxation without representation.

Act IV. The Bill of Rights.

William III is compelled to sign the Bill of Rights.

Act V. America's Contribution to Representative Government.
(You may have three scenes.)

Scene 1. Signing the Declaration of Independence.

Scene 2. The Surrender of Cornwallis—as a result of which the English Government recognized the Independence of the American Colonies.

Scene 3. Adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

These are incidents of importance in the history of representative government. Each act may be introduced by a brief discussion of the historical background of the incident and a statement of the rights and privileges each document guarantees. The possibilities of using pupils from other grades to make up the necessary "retainers," "barons" and "signers of the Constitution" is apparent.

The pupil's efforts may at first seem crude and the task formidable, but if they result in spontaneous reaction to the knowledge gained from the study of this chapter the efforts of both teacher and pupils will be highly repaid. This furnishes an opportunity for the child to do original work and original work is after all the goal in education.

2. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that representation should be by territorial units instead of by classes.

(b) Resolved, that a congressman should support a measure that is of unquestioned value to the whole country although it may be detrimental to his own district or state.

Study Questions.

1. Show how the use of representatives increased the number who could co-operate in democratic government.
2. How did early Anglo-Saxons practice the idea of representation?
3. How did early charters granted by the kings of England contribute to the growth of representative government?
4. How did the method of obtaining the Magna Charta differ from that of earlier charters?
5. Why was membership in early Parliaments unpopular?
6. What is meant by saying that English history before the Revolutionary War is our history?
7. In English Parliament members represented classes. Why was this plan not satisfactory to colonial America? What do you understand by "class distinctions?"
8. Why is the Constitution of the United States called a great charter of liberty?
9. What proportion of the English people came within the provisions of the Magna Charta?
10. Inventions made use of machines in great factories more profitable than hand work. As a result many factory villages and cities grew rapidly in England. Many such changes of this kind constituted what is called the "Industrial Revolution." More and more people lived in cities. How did the change affect the demand for the right to vote?
11. How and when was the right to vote given to women?
12. What do you understand by the statement, "representative government is a priceless heritage?"
13. Explain: "A congressman has a double representative responsibility."
14. How may representatives of class interests honestly influence law-making? What is a "lobbyist?"

CHAPTER VII

NATIONAL AND STATE CONSTITUTIONS

Do You Know These Terms?

constitution, 67.

Stamp Act, 69.

Articles of Confederation, 71.

central government, 71.

ratified, 71.

Preamble, 74.

Legislative Department, 74.

Judicial Department, 74.

Executive Department, 74.

trading company, 75.

federal government, 74.

constitutional convention, 76.

commonwealth, 75.

unwritten constitution, 77.

To get the thought expressed in this chapter you must understand these words and phrases as used on the pages indicated. Write a statement employing each.

Liberty and Union. The Constitution of the United States stands for two distinct ideas which have been declared to be inseparable—Liberty and Union. It is the greatest charter of liberty ever given to the world. It included the important provisions won by Englishmen in their struggles with kings. In addition it contained prohibitions and guarantees intended to prevent a repetition of the tyranny which the colonies had suffered under George III.

The Constitution was more than a charter of liberty. It was the first written constitution of a national state—the first document in the world's history which created an organized national government. Liberty had been developed through centuries of conflict in England and America; union of all Americans under one government was a new idea requiring time for its acceptance among the scattered colonies.

Isolation of the Colonies. The first English colonies in America were separated from each other by great distances.

Usually the only way of communicating between them was by water. People could travel along the sea coast and up a river in boats, but it was easier to find a ship going to England than going from colony to colony. The people of one colony frequently were in different circumstances and had different customs, ideals and religion, from those in other colonies. For example, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Puritans of Massachusetts, the Cavaliers of Virginia, the Dutch of New York and the freed debtors of Georgia each had marked peculiarities.

In spite of these differences, the colonies were enough alike to make union possible. Four-fifths of the people spoke the English language; they had the heritage of English customs and law. Only immediate needs and common problems were necessary to bring about union. Though difficulty of communication among the colonies retarded growth of union, each problem solved strengthened the idea.

The New England Confederation. The first common need was that of protection from the Indians and foreign colonies. In New England in 1643 there were five colonies located comparatively near each other, having similar religious beliefs and similar customs. Four of these colonies, Connecticut, New Haven, Massachusetts and Plymouth, formed a union called the New England Confederation. Their purpose was defense against the Indians and Dutch. This league continued to exist for forty years; traces of it may be found in the Constitution of the United States.

The Albany Congress. The next need which became common to a number of colonies was that of protection from the French and Indians. Between 1689 and 1763 France and England fought four long wars. Naturally the French and

English colonies in America fought one another. The French were aided by Indian allies, and the English colonies were in continual danger of attack from the French and Indians. Both the King of England and William Penn suggested a union of the colonies for defense, but nothing was done. Finally during the last of these French and Indian wars a congress met at Albany in 1754 to plan for protection against the common enemy. Seven colonies sent delegates. A plan presented by Benjamin Franklin for a permanent union was approved by the congress and referred to the colonies. But neither the colonies nor the English government favored the plan. The colonies thought that it gave too much power to the king; the English government considered it too democratic.

The Stamp Act Congress. The next step in development of union was caused by the need for united action in resisting the efforts of England to tax the colonies. The English Parliament passed a stamp act in 1765, two years after the close of the French and Indian war. Resistance immediately developed in all the colonies. Lawyers declared that Colonial Assemblies had the sole power to levy taxes in America. A patriotic organization called "Sons of Liberty" was formed. The spirit of resistance caused a demand for united action. Nine colonies sent delegates to a Stamp Act Congress which drew up two formal documents. One was a petition to the British government asking the repeal of the Stamp Act; the other was a statement of "the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievance under which they labor." This statement furnished common ground for resisting the English government in asserting American rights. It was a landmark in the development of union.

Committees of Correspondence. Parliament repealed the Stamp Act but like a stubborn child declared it had a right "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." Other tax laws were passed which the colonists resisted. Since they had no continuing congress to plan united resistance to the acts of Parliament, committees of correspondence were appointed by the legislatures. These furnished a means of communication and secured co-operation in resisting the British. They form an important step in the development of the union.

First Continental Congress. British oppressive acts continued to increase in number and severity. Because of the Boston Tea Party, severe Parliamentary laws were directed against Massachusetts. Faced with a common danger, all the colonies except Georgia sent delegates to a congress at Philadelphia. This congress met in September, 1774. This "First Continental Congress" petitioned the king for repeal of the oppressive measures, made a statement of rights and grievances, and signed a non-importation agreement by which the delegates promised not to trade with England until the unjust laws were changed.

The Second Continental Congress. Under the necessity of defending themselves from the Indians, Dutch and French, and under the pressure of the tyrannical measures of the British government, the colonies had made much progress toward unity of action, but it took war to cause the formation of a real working union. When the delegates to the Second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia in May, 1775, the battle of Lexington had been fought and actual war was in progress. Without definite authority but acting in the emergency of war this congress governed as the representative body of the colonies. It provided for an army

and chose Washington commander, issued paper money, made treaties and plans for winning the war. The people approved of its action and obeyed its laws. A real union had been formed, but all recognized that this union was temporary and would last only as long as war continued. In 1777 Congress proposed a written agreement known as the Articles of Confederation as a basis for permanent union. These Articles were intended to make the union formed to win the war permanent when they were adopted, which did not happen until 1781. The Second Continental Congress then adjourned, after having ruled the country for six years.

Articles of Confederation. Before the Declaration of Independence was adopted, Benjamin Franklin suggested to Congress a plan of union somewhat like the one he had proposed at the Albany Congress in 1755. His plan provided for a strong central government with the states represented according to population. But the idea of union and nationality was not yet strong enough for a government of that type. After debating for more than a year, Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation. They were to go into effect when ratified by all the states. Four more years passed before Maryland, the last of the states, ratified.

The Articles of Confederation placed all powers in a congress of one house in which each state had one vote. There were citizens of the separate states, but no United States citizenship. Congress could not levy taxes, enlist soldiers, or perform any act of government which affected individual citizens directly. It could ask the states for money, soldiers, ships, or supplies, but it could not compel them to comply with a single request. It could make treaties with foreign nations, but could not enforce them. When the pressure of

war was removed, the various states did not respond to the acts of Congress as they had done in war times and the central government gradually grew weaker. Disorder was common and sometimes there was rebellion and open defiance of law.

Calling of the Constitutional Convention. Congress had no power to control commerce or trade among the states, and there were many disputes. Virginia and Maryland appointed commissioners in 1785 to meet at Alexandria and make rules concerning the navigation of Chesapeake Bay. These commissioners recommended commercial rules, which, to have effect, needed adopting by all the states. Virginia and Maryland then proposed that a convention composed of delegates from all the states meet at Annapolis to take uniform rules for commerce. Only five states sent representatives. These realized that any rules made by only five of the thirteen states would hardly be worth making. The discussion showed that there were many other subjects which should be considered. The Annapolis convention, therefore, recommended to the governors of the states that a constitutional convention be called to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787.

The Constitutional Convention. The convention which assembled in Philadelphia was composed of fifty-five delegates. Rhode Island, the only state not represented, had elected General Green as a delegate, but he died before the convention assembled. The fact that every state selected delegates indicates that all recognized the necessity of forming a "more perfect union." A number of the ablest men in America were members of the convention. George Washington was elected president. James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, and Charles Pinckney were

present as delegates. Differences of opinion immediately developed as to the purpose of the convention. One group thought that an entirely new constitution should be written. Another believed that the convention should confine its work to a revision of the Articles of Confederation. James Madison submitted the Virginia plan, a draft of an entirely new constitution, which provided for three departments of government. After much discussion, Madison's Virginia plan was adopted. This was a victory for a real union. Four months of hard work, earnest debate, and compromise followed. Thirteen of the fifty-five delegates, among them Patrick Henry, became dissatisfied and withdrew from the convention. Three of those who remained refused to sign the completed document. The Constitution was finally agreed upon and signed by thirty-nine of the delegates September 17, 1787. After many arguments, it was ratified by nine states, the number required. The union of the states under a constitution which provided a central government that could be made strong and effective was now an accomplished fact.

The Constitution. The term constitution in any discussion relating to the meaning or content of the Constitution of the United States includes the amendments to the original document. Considered as a whole, the Constitution accomplished four purposes. First, it places authority in the people; second, it provides for the organization of the government; third, it makes a division of governmental powers between the United States and the states; fourth, it defines a field of individual liberty.

1. *A Union of the People.* "WE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA." This language makes impos-

sible a mere league of states and creates a government of the people. The states are not mentioned as such in the Preamble. Nowhere is there the slightest hint that the authority for the formation of the government is derived from the states. The new nation was and is an organization of people, not of states.

2. *The Organization of the Government.* Articles One to Three provide for three separate departments. Article One deals with the legislative department whose powers are vested in a Congress of two Houses.

Article Two provides for an executive department which consists of a president and vice-president, who represent the people in the execution of the laws.

Article Three provides for a judicial or law interpreting department.

3. *Division of Powers.* The makers of our Constitution enumerated in Section Eight, Article Two, eighteen powers which they gave to the central government. They prohibited it from exercising eight powers which are named in Section Nine, Article Two, and they prohibited the states from doing any of the things listed in Section Ten, Article Two. The United States is a federal government because its powers are divided between central and state governments.

4. *The Field of Individual Liberty.* Individual liberty includes all that a government has no constitutional right to require its citizens to do or not to do. Individual liberty is guaranteed in the prohibitions against Congress and in the first ten amendments which may be called a bill of rights. All citizens have freedom of speech and the press, the right of petition, and religious liberty; no one can "be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

Early State Constitutions. State constitutions have their beginning in the charters of the early trading companies. The charters granted to the Virginia and Plymouth Companies necessarily made provisions for the government of the colonists.

The first written constitution made in America was the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut," drawn up in 1639. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War six colonies had written charters or constitutions and seven were ruled through instructions to their governors, but the general form of government was the same in all. Each colony had a governor, a legislature usually of two houses, and courts composed of judges appointed by the governors or by the king.

When the royal governors were driven out, the people were compelled to establish governments to take the place of those which had been overthrown. The first Continental Congress passed a resolution advising some of the colonies to establish governments for themselves and promising military assistance if it were needed. This was the beginning of state governments. Following this advice all the colonies adopted constitutions before 1781 except Rhode Island and Connecticut, which used their charters. The name "state" was adopted by all the new organizations except Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Virginia, which used the term "commonwealth." These early constitutions were short documents and were usually made up of two parts. The first made a statement of individual rights; the other provided for the organization of a government.

How State Constitutions are Made. Though not always followed exactly in adopting early constitutions, a common plan has come to be followed in recent years.

1. A resolution giving the people an opportunity to vote on

the question of calling a constitutional convention must be passed by the legislature. Most states require a two-thirds vote in both houses to pass such a resolution.

2. The question is submitted to the people either at a general election or at a special election held for that purpose.

3. The people having voted in favor of calling a convention, a special election for the election of delegates to the convention is called.

4. The convention meets and drafts a constitution.

5. The constitution is submitted to the people usually at a special election called for that purpose. If the people vote in favor of the new constitution, it is adopted. This process is slow and difficult. It makes constitutions hard to change. A law which once becomes a part of a state constitution is likely to remain a law for a long time, for legislative action cannot change it.

Recent State Constitutions. In addition to the bill of rights and the organization of the government formerly provided, recent state constitutions usually have a great deal of space devoted to detailed laws upon such subjects as corporations, education, and taxation. Thus constitutions have become very long. But they are filled with details which must be modified frequently to make them fit changing conditions and this makes it necessary to provide easier methods for amendment and revision. When constitutions become more like ordinary law they are less stable and permanent, and less respected.

Amendments to Constitutions. The Constitution of the United States authorizes two methods of amendment but only one has been used. According to that method the proposed amendment must be passed by the two houses of Congress receiving a two-thirds vote in each house. It must then be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. State

constitutions require the submission of amendments by the state legislature. Usually a two-thirds vote of each house is required to submit an amendment to a vote of the people before becoming a part of the constitution.

How We Find the Meaning of Constitutions. In America the meaning of the language of our constitutions is interpreted by our courts. The Supreme Court of the United States determines the meaning of the Constitution of the United States and the state courts interpret state constitutions. Legislative bodies occasionally pass laws which our courts declare "unconstitutional." That is, the courts say that some part of the constitution prohibits the government from doing the things that are provided for in the law. Through this power of interpreting the meaning of our constitutions the courts sometimes change their application as much as an amendment would change them.

The Unwritten Constitution. Sometimes people talk about "the unwritten constitution." We frequently hear people say that England's constitution is unwritten. This is not strictly true because important parts of it such as the Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights are written. But there is no written document providing for the organization of the government. Parliament, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the courts all exist because of custom and are not provided for in any written instrument.

In the same way there are many parts of our government that are not provided for or even mentioned in our Constitution. The president's cabinet is one. Political parties are another. Much of our court practice is determined by precedent and custom. Customs and practices that have become a regular part of our government are called the unwritten constitution.

Suggested Activities.

1. The Constitution has seven articles and there are nineteen amendments listed as articles numbered with Roman numerals; the articles are divided into sections numbered with figures and the sections are divided into numbered clauses. "Clause" in this sense does not have the same meaning as in grammar. It indicates the smallest numbered division of the Constitution as it is written or printed. It is very easy to find any reference to subjects discussed in the Constitution. Tell what subjects are discussed in each of these references:

Art. I. Sec. 2. Clause 2.

Art. I. Sec. 8. Clause 18.

Art. I. Sec. 5. Clause 4.

Art. II. Sec. 4.

Amendment XIV. Section 1.

2. In a brief talk, not to exceed three minutes, give your opinion as to what would have been the effect upon growth of union among the colonies:

(a) If good roads had connected them.

(b) If each had used a different language.

(c) If there had been no Indians.

3. Assuming that your state legislature has passed a resolution calling for a new Constitution, outline the steps in making such a document, following the topic "How State Constitutions Are Made."

4. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that the Committees of Correspondence were of greater value in developing the idea of union among the colonies than the Stamp Act Congress.

(b) Resolved, that a short state constitution which contains only fundamental principles is better than a long one which contains many details.

(c) Resolved, that voters who cannot read should not be permitted to vote upon amendments to state constitutions.

Study Questions.

1. What caused the isolation of the early colonies in America? What were some of the differences in ideals?

2. What great fundamental basis of union existed in the colonies from the beginning?

3. Why was the New England Confederation formed? Why was not Rhode Island a member of the Confederation?

4. What common need caused the Albany Congress to be called? Who proposed a plan for the permanent union of the colonies at this congress? Why was the plan rejected by the colonies? By the English government?

5. What action of the Stamp Act Congress was of importance in aiding the growth of the spirit of Union?

6. What caused the organization of Committees of Correspondence? How did these committees promote union?

7. In what way did the First Continental Congress make a definite advance in the development of union among the colonies?

8. What brought about the first real working union among the colonies?

9. What authority was exercised by the Second Continental Congress? What right did it have to exercise such authority?

10. Why was it necessary to provide for a permanent union under a written agreement of some kind?

11. How long were the Articles of Confederation discussed in Congress and the colonies before they were put in operation?

12. What great defect in the Articles of Confederation could not be corrected by revision?

13. What difference of opinion as to the purpose of the Constitutional Convention which met at Philadelphia prevailed among the members? How was this difference of opinion settled?

14. Who were some of the prominent members of the Convention? Which one had been a member of the Albany Congress and also the Continental Congress which framed the Articles of Confederation?

15. (a) The United States IS.

. (b) The United States ARE.

After reading this chapter and the Preamble of the Constitution which of the expressions (a) or (b) do you consider politically correct?

16. How did the state constitutions have their beginnings?

17. What changes were made in colonial governments after the beginning of the Revolutionary War?

18. What three colonies adopted the name "commonwealth?"

19. What is the difference between early state constitutions and recent state constitutions?

20. How may the Constitution of the United States be changed?

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL PARTIES

Do You Know These Terms?

specific task, 81.	repeaters, 89.
electoral college, 81.	spoils system, 86.
strict construction, 81.	stuffing ballot boxes, 86.
liberal construction, 81.	invisible government, 86.
extra-legal, 82.	party machinery, 87.
delegate at large, 85.	intimidation, 87.
alternate, 85.	Australian Ballot, 88.
precinct, 85.	straight party ticket, 88.

Citizens sometimes make mistakes in voting because they do not understand the meaning of expressions like the accompanying which they find in newspapers. Explain these if you think intelligent voters should understand them.

Authority. "Strike three! The batter is out," called the umpire. Then turning toward third base he called out the runner who had attempted to steal from second. Both players walked quietly to the bench. The umpire then called, "Batter up!" Another player stepped to the plate. Everyone obeyed the umpire without question. Not only player but spectators seemed to be under his control for he made them move back when they came too close to the diamond. How did this man get so much authority at the ball game? It came about as follows: This was a match game between the Pleasant Valley and Oak Ridge baseball teams. Each of the teams had organized by electing a captain for the season. The two captains represented their teams in all matters requiring official action. They had arranged the game and agreed upon the umpire. The umpire was thus given complete authority over all partici-

pating in the game, including captains, players, and everyone connected with it. His authority began when the game was called and ended at its close. After the game was over these players would not have obeyed the man who acted as umpire. He no longer had the right to command.

This method of selecting someone for a specific task, giving him authority and rendering obedience and support to him in doing the thing for which he was selected, lies at the foundation of political parties as they exist today.

The men who wrote the Constitution of the United States did not contemplate the formation of political parties. The plan of an electoral college for the election of president was deliberately worked out to secure his election without popular political action. However, men at that time were divided into two fairly well defined groups upon the question of the strength or weakness of the central government. Many who believed in a strong central government advocated the ratification of the Constitution. Many who believed that the central government should not be strong opposed ratification. This general division continued after the Constitution was adopted. Those who believed in a strong central government favored liberal construction of the Constitution. This would give officials great power. Those who opposed a strong central government urged strict construction of the Constitution. This would limit the power of government officials. These two groups were known as Federalists and Anti-federalists.

Caucus Nominations. Neither Federalists nor Anti-federalists had any general organization as political parties do now. There was no authority to nominate candidates. Men, urged by their friends, announced themselves as candidates for office or were put in nomination by some group who agreed

with them on political questions. After a time these friends, who included the most influential politicians from all parts of the country were found in large numbers as members of Congress. These groups in Congress met and nominated candidates for president and vice-president. This was called nomination by caucus. In state legislatures political caucuses nominated candidates for state office. Soon state legislatures began nominating candidates for the presidency. But the power of nominating candidates is too important to be assumed by any small group. The caucus method was discredited and a new method of nominating by conventions was substituted for it.

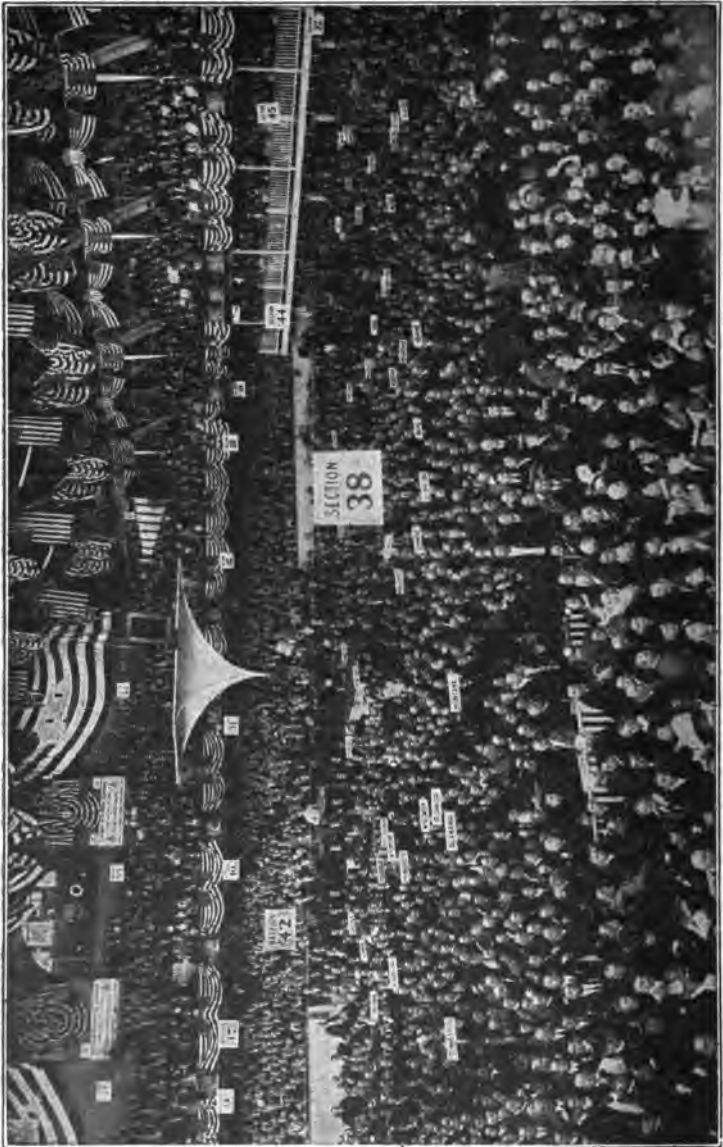
The Nominating Convention. Nominating conventions were first used for choosing state and local candidates. They were usually called through the influence of party newspapers. Nominating conventions were first held by both leading political parties in 1840. Their general use made a strong, permanent, political organization necessary. Like local baseball teams, these early political organizations were purely voluntary; they were not recognized by law at all until within recent years and many of their activities are still extra-legal, that is, not provided for and of course not prohibited by law.

Party Organization. Permanent party organization came into existence before the middle of the nineteenth century. The people of small units such as the township, the voting precinct, and the ward in cities, form the basis of the organization. One or more committeemen are selected in each of these units by the qualified voters of the party. All of these committeemen in a unit, such as the county or city, meet and organize by electing a chairman and secretary. This organization is known as the county or city committee. Its officers

have a great deal of political power. They call mass or delegate conventions which nominate candidates for county or city offices and select delegates to senatorial, judicial, congressional, and state conventions. These various conventions provide for their permanent committeemen. Thus each party has a permanent county, senatorial, judicial, congressional and state committee. A convention in each congressional district nominates two delegates to the national convention and a state convention nominates four delegates at large. The delegates from each state at the national convention select the national committeemen from their state. In that way a permanent national committee is formed. Each committeeman is a permanent official of his party and serves until his successor is elected. The committeeman is the chosen representative of the voters of the party which he represents. He is so considered by the men elected to office by his party and his endorsement has great weight in determining the appointments in his district. All power of party leaders is based upon the idea of representation expressed through the party organization.

How the Convention-Committee System Works. Let us see how the plan actually operates. Suppose a presidential election is to be held. Most state and local officials are elected at the same time as the president. The presidential election thus furnishes the best example of the system at work.

The national committee meets at some convenient city like Washington or Chicago. This committee decides upon the time and place of holding the national convention and also upon the basis of representation in the convention. This basis is two delegates for each member of congress. The national chairman issues the official call for the convention. The state congressional, senatorial, judicial and county committees are



A NATIONAL CONVENTION NOMINATING A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY

then called together by their respective chairmen. Each committee decides upon a time and place for holding a nominating convention. Usually county conventions are held earlier than the others as the county is the unit generally used for sending delegates to the other conventions.

The county chairman in his call designates a time and place for holding a mass meeting (in some vicinities called a primary). Mass meetings are supposed to be attended by all voters of the party residing in the precinct. The mass meeting elects delegates to the county convention and nominates candidates for township or ward offices. The county convention elects delegates to the state, senatorial, and judicial conventions and makes nominations for county offices. The state convention makes nominations for state offices and elects four delegates at large and four alternates to the national convention. Usually the delegates at the state convention from each congressional district elect the state committeeman. The congressional convention nominates a candidate for congress and elects two delegates and two alternates to the national convention. There are frequent variations from the general plan outlined above. For example, there may be two state conventions called at different times and places—one to nominate candidates for state offices and another to select delegates to the national convention. Whatever variations there are the whole system is a representative one and rests upon the will of the voters expressed in the precinct mass meetings. If all good citizens had been honest, and willing to give a large amount of time to politics and if everyone acted fairly and according to rule, real representative control of party organization would have prevailed, but abuses have grown up which have brought the whole system into disrepute.

Abuses of the Convention-Committee System. There is an immense amount of hard work connected with party organization. Delegates to conventions must pay their own expenses. Committeemen must pay their expenses to meetings of committees. Men who give their time and money to a political organization usually feel that they are entitled to remuneration of some kind. About the time of the development of the nominating convention and party committees, the "spoils system" came into practice in both our state and national politics. Thus there was placed at the disposal of party leaders public offices with which party workers might be paid. The ability to bestow public office increased the power of the political leader. Sometimes instead of being the representative of voters of his district he became "boss." In order to maintain his position the boss frequently resorted to corrupt practices such as, bribing voters, stuffing ballot boxes, organizing his followers and sending contesting delegations when beaten in mass meetings or conventions. These tactics, of course, defeat the will of the majority. Much money was required but since the boss had power he could collect money from corporations expecting favors, or from candidates for office. The control of conventions, nominations and, therefore, officials rested in the party organization. Government was controlled by party organization. Party organization was controlled by the "boss." Representative government had become a farce. "Invisible government" had taken the place of representative government.

Reforms. The chief trouble seemed to lie in the lack of representative control of party activity. There was no law to regulate parties or party action. The most noticeable evils grew up in connection with fraudulent ballots, bribery and

intimidation of voters. Many states have recently passed laws to safeguard elections, to provide for the printing of ballots at public expense, and their distribution by public officials, to prohibit corporations from making campaign contributions, to limit the expenditure of candidates, to regulate party organizations, and to prescribe methods of conducting elections. But the "political boss" with his "machine" already in good working order could comply with all these laws or evade them and still control party action.

1. *The Direct Primary.* As a remedy for improperly controlled conventions the direct primary has been adopted in most states. Instead of voting for a representative who goes to convention and together with other representatives of the voters of other districts nominates candidates, the voter votes direct for the candidates. The direct primary laws usually leave the committees as they were but makes provisions for the election of the precinct committeemen by direct vote. The party machinery has been adapted to the new plan; but the direct primary has failed to produce the results expected. It has failed to bring out the vote. It has proved very expensive to candidates. Many claim that it has not improved the character of our public officials, and that it has failed to destroy the power of the boss. Efforts are being made to remedy the defects of present primary laws.

The great objection to the direct primary holds against all forms of direct government. That is the fact that each voter no matter how intelligent, cannot know all the candidates for all offices in a large district or state. He must, therefore, vote blindly if he votes at all. It is safe to say that whatever progress is made toward good government, or the control of party organization which is the means through which the people gov-

ern, must be made by first securing a free, honest, intelligent ballot not only for governmental officials but also for members of the party organization.

2. *The Ballot.* In the early history of the country voting was done by voice. Ballots prepared, printed and distributed by the party organization gradually came into use. The party worker could easily put a printed ballot into the hands of the voter and see that he voted it. Corruption, bribery and intimidation became worse than before the days of printed ballots. Abuses at polling places became so bad that states passed laws regulating the use of ballots. They thus became official, printed at public expense, distributed by public officials, and their form and use prescribed by law.

3. *The Australian Ballot.* Many types and forms of ballots have been used, but most states have come to use a form known as the Australian Ballot. In this form the names of all candidates are printed on one large sheet. In the form generally used names of candidates of each political party are printed in one column. This arrangement makes it much easier to vote a straight party ticket. Along with the Australian Ballot came secret voting. Laws require polling places to be equipped with booths. The voter is given his ballot, goes into a booth alone, where he prepares it ready for the ballot box. Party workers are kept a certain distance from the polling place. The number of judges and clerks and their selection are prescribed by law. There is usually an equal number of judges and clerks from each of the two leading parties. Provisions are made for allowing election officials to mark the ballot of any voter who cannot mark his own.

Importance of the Ballot. Democracy or government by the people depends entirely upon an honest vote and a fair count of the votes cast. If there is dishonesty and fraud, if

repeaters are allowed to vote, if bribery is practiced, or if the returns are falsified, the will of the people is not expressed by the election. If such practices continue until elections do not express the will of the people, we do not have government by the people. The rapid growth of cities has made the task of safeguarding the ballot a very difficult one. In a large city no one knows all the people in a ward or election precinct. To prevent dishonest men from voting where they are not entitled to vote the election laws require registration. Certain days a few weeks before the election are set apart for this purpose. Every voter must go to his polling place on one of these days and give his name, age, place of residence, and any other information required by law. Registration enables officials to investigate each person to see if he is entitled to vote. If for any reason he is not legally qualified, his name is taken from the registration books, which means that he will not be allowed to vote. Even with all possible precautions it is difficult to prevent illegal voting and fraud in our thickly populated communities. In rural communities since election officials are usually acquainted with every voter, registration is not so necessary and in many states is not required, but it is a safeguard which will probably become universal. Fraudulent voting is a serious danger to our free institutions and every precaution possible should be taken to prevent it. Respectable citizens who fail to do their duty on election day are almost as great a menace to democracy as the election crook or dishonest politician. They are slackers in times of peace. They may, because of their number and respectability, become more dangerous to the government than slackers in time of war.

Qualifications of Voters. The qualifications of voters are determined by state law subject to two clauses of the United

States Constitution. One of these, the Fifteenth Amendment, says that no person shall be denied the right to vote on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The other, the Nineteenth Amendment, provides that women shall have the same rights as men in voting. All states require the voters to be twenty-one years of age, and to have resided within the state for a certain period. The period of residence varies from three months to two years. A number of states have an educational qualification and some of them require the voters to have paid a tax. In some cases this is a poll tax, in others it is a general property tax. However, the property and tax-paying qualifications have, for the most part, been abandoned. Some states allow an alien who has declared his intention to become a citizen to vote, providing he can meet the resident requirement, but most states require a voter to be a citizen of the United States.

The Party Platform. Party organizations come into existence because a group of citizens want the government to do specific things or adopt certain principles or policies. The party must have some means of announcing these principles and policies if it is to attract to its membership enough people to obtain a majority of the votes cast and secure control of the government. This is done by means of the party platform. A statement in a platform is frequently called a plank.

The party platform is adopted by a vote of the convention. Those who write it try to include many popular planks. Platforms, therefore, tend to become lengthy and frequently recommend policies that are not practicable. Officials have not always done what the platform upon which they were elected promised. The result is that party platforms are not taken as seriously by the voters as they once were.

In recent years it has become customary for the presidential

candidate to make a speech or write a letter of acceptance upon being officially notified of his nomination. This statement made by the candidate usually gives his views upon leading issues of the campaign. The speeches and letters of the candidate constitute a personal pledge to carry out certain principles and to do certain things provided he is elected. Although not official statements of a party organization they have come to be considered a better indication of party performance than the platform.

Political Parties a Necessary Part of Our Government. The government has work to do. But there are differences of opinion among the citizens as to what should be done and as to how the government should do its work. In order that anything may be done there must be agreement in favor of certain action among a large number of citizens, enough to convince those in power that it should be done or to replace them with other officials who will do what is desired. In a large community like the United States agreement cannot be reached except by organization of those who favor the policy. Such organizations being political parties, they take permanent form instead of reorganizing to meet new issues. It would be very difficult to accomplish any constructive work without political parties.

You remember that the Constitution divides our government into three distinct branches. Each of these is given powers which make it a check upon other branches. Thus the President is a check upon Congress and Congress is a check upon the President. Neither Congress nor the President can do much without help of the other. There is nothing in the Constitution to make them work together, but the political party which elected both the Congress and the President is stronger than either and can make them work together. Thus

the political party, although not mentioned in the Constitution is one of the most necessary and important parts of our government.

Suggested Activities.

1. Find out who the chairman is of each party organization in your county or city. Who represents your state in the national committee of each of the leading political parties? Find out whether or not these national chairmen have any power in the government. Through newspapers and magazines read of their activities, clip the articles and tell the rest of the class the interesting things you have learned.

2. Organize a club and elect your officers with the same election machinery that your community uses—primaries, registration of voters.

3. President McKinley made the following statement: "If your party is wrong, make it better; that's the business of the true partisan and citizen." Talk to someone in your community who is interested in politics and learn what his opinion of this statement is—and how it can be done.

4. Learn through discussion or by reading, the platforms of the leading parties for the last presidential election. Compare them and list the planks upon which they agree and disagree.

5. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that the convention system of nominating candidates for office secures better officials than the direct primary.

(b) Resolved, that political parties are necessary in a democracy.

(c) Resolved, that the life of our republic depends upon honest elections.

Study Questions.

1. How were candidates nominated in the early history of our country?

2. What is a nominating convention? When did this method of naming candidates come into use?

3. Why are political parties sometimes referred to as extra-legal?
4. When did permanent party organizations come into existence?
5. Describe party organization. How are national committeemen selected? Upon what is the power of a committeeman based?
6. Describe the working of the convention-committee system in nominating candidates.
7. If good citizens were good enough to help support their party, political bosses would not raise money from questionable sources. Compare the duty of pledging financial support to a political party with that of contributing to a church or paying lodge dues.
8. Describe the direct primary. What are the greatest objections to the direct primary? How may these be overcome?
9. Compare voting in our early history with voting under present laws.
10. When ballots first came into use who prepared, furnished, and distributed them?
11. Under what condition is registration of voters necessary?
12. Which is the greatest criminal, the bribe-taker, or the one who gives the bribe? What are the laws concerning bribing voters in your state?
13. Voting is as much a duty as a right. What objection is there to taking the right from those who do not perform this duty?
14. Where is the polling place in your voting precinct? What is done with the ballots?
15. What provisions are there in the Constitution of the United States concerning suffrage? Read the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments. Who determines other required qualifications?
16. Why are political parties necessary in this country?

CHAPTER IX

LAW MAKING

Do You Know These Terms?

national government, 94.
contiguous territory, 95.
compensation, 97.
slander, 97.
libel, 97.
felony, 97.
breach of the peace, 97.

pro tempore, 98.
sovereign people, 97.
quorum, 98.
deliberative body, 98.
filibustering, 99.
"playing politics," 105.
lobbyist, 107.

Foolish laws are sometimes made because the meaning of words is not understood. Explain the expressions in this list.

Three Branches of Our Government. Laws must be made, interpreted and enforced. The Constitution provides, therefore, for a law-making (legislative), a law-interpreting (judicial), and a law-enforcing (executive), branch of the national government. These are more distinctly separated in the United States than in any other great country. Each in its own sphere is designed to be a check upon the other two. Yet we shall see in this and the next two chapters that the Constitution sets up an organization which is a unit; each branch, in addition to the work which is peculiarly its own, also performs duties which make the other two effective.

Congress Is the Law Making Body. 1. *Constitutional and Legal Requirements.* "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." The Con-

stitution prescribes the age and other qualifications of senators and representatives, and their term of office. It authorizes Congress to make rules for their election, though this is left to state legislatures unless Congress acts. The only important regulation now in force as passed by Congress is that representatives must be chosen the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November in even-numbered years. Another law which is much harder to execute requires that districts from which representatives are chosen shall be of approximately equal population and of contiguous territory. In spite of this many districts are "gerrymandered" into very peculiar shapes in order to give the majority party political advantage. In case of doubt as to election or qualification each house determines for itself who is entitled to membership. Congress may also impose penalties for fraud in electing congressmen.

The term of office of representatives is two years; of senators it is six, and approximately one-third are elected each two years, thus making the Senate a continuous body, always having in its membership a large proportion of experienced men.

Those who made the Constitution found difficulty in agreeing as to the basis of representation in Congress. After much argument, each state was allowed two senators, and each was given representatives in proportion to population. This satisfied the smaller states as well as those having the greatest population.

2. *Political Parties Make Both Houses Represent the People.* Political parties, you remember, had not been thought of and it was supposed that the lower house would represent the people and the upper house the states. Some were even afraid of too much democracy, fearing that if the House did actually represent the people, it would be radical and unsafe. One of



THE PRESIDENT DELIVERING HIS MESSAGE TO A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS

the greatest political leaders of the time, Alexander Hamilton, spoke of "the people" as a "great beast" without wisdom enough to guide itself. Because of political parties through which voters express themselves the great difference between the two houses has not appeared. Both senators and representatives are elected by the people whom they represent. Both are directly responsible to those who entrust them with office.

3. *Salary and Privileges of Congressmen.* The Constitution fixed no limit to the compensation of Congressmen, but public opinion has made itself felt in preventing payment of very large salaries. When the annual amount was raised from \$5,000 to \$7,500, soon after the close of the Civil War, there was so much protest that the old figure was resumed. The salary is now \$7,500 annually, with additions for clerk hire, postage and traveling expenses.

Members of Congress are also guaranteed certain rights necessary to insure protection in their work. They cannot be called in question in any other place for utterances made in Congress. Neither can they be prosecuted for slander or libel on the basis of what has been said in Congress; except for treason, felony or breach of the peace, they cannot be arrested or imprisoned while Congress is in session. In the chapter on representative government it was shown that representatives once had to be protected against the King; some of the safeguards mentioned in this paragraph are needed to protect our representatives against the sovereign people. Under the complex conditions of modern business the speech of a senator might affect the market, causing many to gain or lose money. If congressional speakers could be held responsible it would hardly be safe to make a speech or to introduce a motion.

4. *Sessions of Congress.* Because representatives are elected biennially "Congresses" are numbered consecutively each two

years beginning with the first which met in 1789. Each session consists of a long term which begins the first Monday in December of odd years and a short term which is held from December of even-numbered years until the fourth of March following. Bills pending at the close of the long term are continued into the short; but at the close of the short term all bills not passed are lost.

In addition to regular terms, the President may call either or both houses in special session. The Senate has thus been called many times to ratify treaties; the House of Representatives has never been called alone.

How Congress Works. The Constitution makes few requirements, leaving Congress largely free to proceed in its own way. In each house a majority is required for a quorum; each house must keep and publish a journal of its proceedings; a ye and nay vote must be taken upon demand of one-fifth of the members present; neither house can adjourn to another place than that in which Congress is sitting, nor for more than three days without consent of the other house. With these few constitutional provisions, both Senate and House have developed long and complicated codes of rules as the result of many years of experience.

How the Senate Works. 1. *Officers.* The Vice-President is President of the Senate but cannot vote except in case of tie. A president pro tempore and other officers are elected according to a strict party vote.

2. *Rules.* The Senate, unlike the House, has remained a deliberative body, that is questions are debated thoroughly and seriously, occasionally with attention of all members at a time. This is possible because the Senate is a small group and its members elected for long enough terms to make them familiar with rules and customs followed. The greatest freedom of

debate prevails, each may usually speak as long as he wishes, provided he is recognized by the presiding officer. This freedom has often caused great waste of time, especially near the close of sessions, when senators opposed to a certain bill may prevent its passage by talking against time or "filibustering" until it is too late for the measure to be voted upon.

3. *Committees.* The Senate could never do its work without committees. No senator can even read all the bills and resolutions introduced during any session. It is made the special business of each committee to become familiar with bills referred to it, and with conditions which might be affected by change in laws. There are more than sixty Senate committees—finance, judiciary, foreign relations and others bearing descriptive names indicating their duties. All committees are elected by the Senate; the party which has a majority in the Senate controls each committee and the chairman is always the member of the majority party who has served longest on the committee. This practice does not always secure the ablest member to act as chairman, but like other customs, it has worked fairly well and would be very hard to change.

How the House Works. 1. *Officers.* The House elects its presiding officer, the Speaker, who is in a position of great influence. Before 1911 he appointed all committees but these are now elected by the House. The floor leader of the majority is always chairman of the most important committee, Ways and Means. Thus the chain of political responsibility described in the chapters on representative government and political parties appears in the House.

2. *Rules.* Because the House is so large, it has more than four hundred members, unlimited debate of all measures is clearly impossible. Under rules usually re-adopted at the opening of each session, no member may speak upon any measure

more than an hour. Very frequently the five minute rule is adopted; sometimes opposing leaders agree as to the amount of time each side may have and divide the period among their respective supporters.

Formerly members who wished to defeat measures through delay refused to answer roll call and were counted absent though in their seats. Speaker Reed ruled that one whose body was present was actually so, and thus counted a quorum one day when more than one hundred "present" members were expecting to be considered absent. For thus ruling, the Speaker was called a "Czar" and a tyrant but as the new plan saved a great deal of time both political parties have been using it since. The Speaker also has the power to refuse recognition of a motion if its purpose is evidently to delay, though of course he cannot prevent a yea and nay vote if one-fifth of those present demand it.

3. *Committees.* Even with the most economical use of time the huge volume of business and great size of the House make it even more dependent upon committees than is the Senate. "The business of the House is what the committees choose to make it." They may "pigeon-hole" bills, and it is exceedingly difficult to revive a measure which has been "killed in committee." As in the Senate, there are more than sixty standing committees, varying in size from three to twenty or more members. Since all revenue bills must originate in the House, finance occupies an important place in the work of the committees. Partisan responsibility and control are in evidence—since all committees are elected by the House, the controlling party always includes the chairman and at least half of the membership.

How Bills Become Laws. A proposed law introduced into Congress is called a bill; when it has been passed and signed

by the President, it is a law. If you should visit Congress you would be surprised at the confusion and lack of attention to any one item of business, especially in the House with its large membership. You would probably not be able to discover what either house was doing. Yet the procedure followed is systematic and all according to rule, for representative government cannot be carried on in any other way. We shall consider in outline the law passing plan followed in the House; the Senate proceeds in much the same way.

1. *Introducing Bills.* Any member may introduce a bill by depositing it with the clerk. If he wishes legislation upon a given subject but does not have time or ability to formulate a measure, he may petition for one. The petition is referred to a committee which may or may not make a bill.

2. *Referring to a Committee.* After a bill is introduced, it is next referred to the appropriate committee, numbered and printed. From this stage public opinion may make itself felt since all may read the proposed law, discuss it and write letters or newspaper articles for or against it.

3. *The Committee and the Bill.* The committee may report, recommending passage of the bill, passage with amendment, report without recommendation, suggest indefinite postponement, or make no report at all. These last two usually end the bill's chances of becoming a law. In deciding upon its action with regard to a bill, the committee has wide power; it may hold public hearings and even compel attendance of witnesses.

4. *Passing the Bill.* The reported bill is placed upon the calendar for consideration when its turn comes; it is given readings in accordance with House rules. The third reading is usually by title only, but any member has a right to demand full reading. After discussion and possible amendment, the

bill is put to vote by the Speaker without any motion from the floor. If a majority votes against the bill it is lost; if a majority is favorable, the bill is said to have passed the House.

5. *The Bill in the Senate.* The bill approved by the House is sent to the Senate. If the Senate vote is favorable, the measure goes to the President. If the Senate refuses to approve a bill which has passed the House, it cannot become a law. Very often amendments are proposed which have to be adopted by the House in which the bill originates. To save time in such cases, "managers" to represent each house are appointed; they hold conferences and frequently reach agreements satisfactory to both houses. Sometimes neither house is willing to make concession and the bill is lost.

6. *The President and the Bill.* After passing both houses a bill is sent to the President. If he signs it, it becomes a law. If he vetoes the bill, it is returned with his objections to the house in which it originated. If two-thirds of both houses now vote for the bill, it becomes a law notwithstanding the President's objections. Usually a vetoed bill has little chance of passage; the reasons which lead the President to oppose a majority of Congress are nearly always sufficient to influence at least one-third of the senators or representatives. A well known exception occurred in the case of the bill requiring a literacy test of foreign immigrants. This had been vetoed by every President to whom it came, but finally received the necessary two-thirds vote of both houses and became a law.

Political Parties Control Law Making. The foregoing represents the organization and mechanics of national legislation. Expression of the people's will through political parties was not foreseen by those who framed the Constitution, but such parties are at the foundation of all actions of Congress. Sen-

ators and representatives must inquire, "How will this affect the party?" in addition to "How will this affect the welfare of the United States?"

Official control of each house is always with the majority party with exception of the Vice-President's position as President of the Senate. Very often a secret party caucus is held for the purpose of agreeing beforehand as to how members of the party will vote upon important measures. Thus, while sessions of Congress are usually open to the public, the more important meeting of the caucus which determines the fate of bills before they are voted upon in Congress, may be secret. Committees are also safely in the hands of the political party in control; their sessions are often secret and party considerations exercise great influence in their actions. The interests of a political party and of the country at large are not usually in conflict but it is important for all citizens to recognize that Congress may represent their political party, and that it will do its best service for both party and nation if all Americans are actively interested in the politics of our government.

Powers of Congress. After the Constitution had been adopted, many people were afraid Congress might try to exercise too many powers. To settle this question the Tenth Amendment was adopted, which reads, "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." This means that the field in which Congress may act is limited; its powers are expressly listed in Articles One and Five of the Constitution (see pages 258-264; 268-269) and in several of the amendments.

These powers are legislative but of course many of them actually imply exercise of executive authority. The Senate

confirms appointments made by the President; it ratifies treaties which often require executive action. The power of Congress to appropriate money also carries with it great influence in executing laws, for in many cases laws are of no force until an appropriation has been made. The only important judicial activity of Congress is in making and trying impeachments.

Other Branches Share in Law Making. It has just been shown that Congress shares in the work of law enforcing; it may now be noted that other branches affect law making.

The President is not a part of the legislative department but most laws are signed by him. He makes treaties, ratified by the Senate, which become part of the law of the land. He recommends the passage of laws and by his executive acts may bring about conditions which almost compel Congress to legislate. Without actually making laws the executive branch of our government may be very influential in bringing them to pass.

The judicial branch often makes or unmakes laws by the power of the courts to interpret laws and to declare them unconstitutional. The Supreme Court has greatly increased the legislative responsibility of Congress by reading a wide meaning into parts of the Constitution. Such subjects as interstate commerce have been increasingly brought under the power of Congress by liberal interpretation of what has been called the "elastic clause" of the Constitution—"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 office thereof." (Article I, Section 8, Clause 18.)

Problems of Congress. Newspaper cartoons often represent Congress as an incapable, bungling old man, who cannot be depended upon to do his work. Our jokes about Congress and much of our fault-finding are based upon a very shallow understanding of the great tasks which confront every session of Congress. The members of both houses rank very high in ability, honesty, and patriotism; they sincerely desire to serve their country efficiently. Intelligent study of such problems as those which are mentioned here may in time lead to needed changes; it will be more effective than unintelligent fault finding.

1. *Representatives Elected Long Before Taking Office.* Representatives are elected in November of even-numbered years. They do not take their seats until months later and are not convened in regular session until thirteen months after election. The public opinion which made their party successful may change a great deal in so long a time. Many favor a change in the law so that the time between election and actual participation in Congress may be much shortened.

2. *Playing Politics in Congress.* "Playing politics" in Congress causes much loss of confidence in our government. The very important place of politics in all activities of Congress has been shown. Public opinion is not slow in condemning any serious delay or sacrifice of the nation's interest because of petty party contests or jealousies. No law or system can ever wholly prevent the loss due to partisan struggles, but more intelligence upon the part of voters in all activities of Congress is gradually reducing the "waste of politics." Every seat in Congress can be filled by a man who places Nation above party in all matters.

3. *Too Many Measures Introduced.* Too many measures are introduced into Congress. Twenty-five thousand bills and

thousands of reports and resolutions in a single session are not unusual. Near the close of the short term, especially, these crowd upon each other so thick and fast that good laws may be lost, poor laws passed, and always much ill-considered legislation which causes confusion and work for the courts. Modern changes in industry and business bring a heavy load of needed legislation for every session of Congress.

Evidently law-making must be more and more guided by those who know, by experts who have given long-continued and serious study to our problems. More generally than now is the case, laws should be passed upon the recommendation of specialists. Drafting commissions, similar to those now maintained in several states, will provide expert assistance to members in preparing bills. This will prevent much waste due to honestly intended, but poorly worded or improperly drawn bills. There is no doubt that the business of Congress will be handled more efficiently when law-making is guided by fuller knowledge of modern problems.

State Legislative Departments. 1. *Have a Wider Field Than Congress.* State legislatures differ from Congress in the fact that their field is wider. As you have noted, Congress can make laws only upon subjects delegated to it in the Constitution. Aside from a few important restrictions imposed by the Constitution, states are sovereign, that is, supreme. It is important to observe also that states confer upon counties, cities, towns and school districts all the power they possess. These exercise whatever power the state finds it necessary or convenient to give them.

2. *Organization Much Like That of Congress.* The organization of all state legislative departments shows considerable uniformity and all resemble Congress in operation. There are two houses in each state; the Senate varies in membership

from seventeen to sixty-three; the House ranges between thirty-five and three hundred ninety; generally speaking, age qualifications are slightly higher for senators than for representatives; the term of office is longer in the upper than the lower house in about half of the states. A few legislatures have annual sessions but most of them meet biennially. More than forty meet early in January of odd-numbered years.

In their methods of work state legislatures are much like Congress, Governor and Lieutenant-Governor take the place occupied in the national government by President and Vice-President. The speaker, committees, caucuses, special sessions are all familiar terms and political parties are in control. Bills become laws in much the same way.

3. *Too Much Law Making.* Like Congress, state legislatures are very harshly criticized. Sometimes, there have been graft and dishonesty, but a more serious cause of dissatisfaction is the fact that many members of every state legislature know little or nothing about law-making, and so in spite of honesty and good intentions, are unduly influenced by lobbyists.

State legislatures are usually, however, real representative bodies. Nowhere is the saying more true, "If you elect rogues to represent you, they do." Popular distrust of state legislatures is based more upon their inefficiency than their active badness. Thus lack of confidence has led to the wide use of the initiative and referendum explained on pages 160, 161. The lasting effect of these in securing beneficial laws, it is still too soon to determine.

Probably the greatest need of state legislatures is less and better law-making. Each two years produces a huge mass of ill-considered and contradictory legislation. "Make as few laws as possible and then go home" was the excellent advice

of a governor to a legislature when it convened. We need more intelligent, expert study of modern problems before passing laws which will not work. Every state needs some kind of drafting commission to put laws into such form that they will not be contradictory nor of doubtful meaning. Most Americans depend too much upon law to make conditions better, when the only real solution lies in greater individual honesty, thrift, and a practice of the square deal. If we are justly accused of being a lawless nation, it is not because we have shown little confidence in legislation to solve our problems; it is because we have passed so many impossible laws that proper respect for law no longer exists.

Suggested Activities.

1. Write a brief statement giving definite information on the following points:

- (a) Number of senators.
- (b) Residence qualifications.
- (c) Age qualifications.
- (d) Citizenship qualifications.
- (e) Term of office.
- (f) Compensation.
- (g) The presiding officer.
- (h) The names of the senators from your state.

Compare the statements you have written with those prepared by others in your class.

2. Organize your class as if it were the House of Representatives and "pass a law."

3. Learn the names of the following:

- (a) The senators from your state.
- (b) The representative in Congress from your district.
- (c) The state senator from your district.
- (d) The state representative from your county or district.
- (e) The Speaker in the national House of Representatives.
- (f) The Speaker in the House of the State Legislature.

Find out what seems to be the most important measure before Congress or your State Legislature. Write for a copy of the bill, then discuss in class the merits of the proposed legislation.

4. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that Congress should meet at the first of the year following election in November.

(b) Resolved, that it is better to get rid of a bad law by enforcing it until it is repealed than to disregard it and allow it to remain a law.

(c) Resolved, that the House of Representatives should be gradually reduced in size until its membership becomes not more than half of what it now is.

Study Questions.

1. Name the three great branches of our national or state governments.

2. Read the following parts of the Constitution which provide for the law-making power of the United States. Article I, Article V, and Amendments 1 and 16.

3. The word "gerrymander" is said to have originated when Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts gained political advantage for his party by formation of a congressional district of peculiar shape which someone said resembled a salamander. "Call it a gerrymander" was the reply. In the accompanying diagram the process of gerrymandering is illustrated. Each small square represents a county, four being combined into a congressional district. Republican and Democratic vote are indicated in each county. Of course such straight lines and round numbers never occur in actual politics. Notice that the total vote of the parties remains unchanged but that according to the first distribution Democrats elect two and in the second but one member of Congress. From a map showing congressional districts of your state look for evidence of gerrymandering. Which party seems to have gained the advantage? Verify the figures for an exercise in arithmetic.

FIRST GROUPING OF COUNTIES
Democrats Electing Two Representatives

Republicans 5,000	Republicans 5,000	Republicans 2,000	Republicans 15,000
Democrats 20,000	Democrats 20,000	Democrats 23,000	Democrats 10,000
Republicans 1,000	Republicans 12,000	Republicans 13,000	Republicans 15,000
Democrats 24,000	Democrats 13,000	Democrats 12,000	Democrats 10,000

District A

Republicans, 23,000.
 Democrats, 77,000.
 Democratic majority in
 District A, 54,000.

District B

Republicans, 45,000.
 Democrats, 55,000.
 Democratic majority in
 District B, 10,000.

SECOND GROUPING OF COUNTIES
Democrats Electing One Representative

Republicans 5,000	Republicans 5,000	Republicans 2,000	Republicans 15,000
Democrats 20,000	Democrats 20,000	Democrats 23,000	Democrats 10,000
Republicans 1,000	Republicans 12,000	Republicans 13,000	Republicans 15,000
Democrats 24,000	Democrats 13,000	Democrats 12,000	Democrats 10,000

District A

Republicans, 13,000.
 Democrats, 87,000.
 Democratic majority in
 District A, 74,000.

District B

Republicans, 55,000.
 Democrats, 45,000.
 Republican majority in
 District B, 10,000.

4. If a vacancy occurs in the representation from any state how is it filled? (Article I, Section 2, Clause 4.)

5. Members of the English House of Commons are often not residents of the districts they represent. According to our Constitution members of the lower house must be residents of the state, and by custom they are always residents of the districts they represent. Compare the advantages of the two plans.

6. What is meant by saying that the Senate is a continuous body?

7. Show how representation in the Senate and the House was made to satisfy both large and small states.

8. Explain: "The Senate represents geography and the House represents people."

9. The basis of representation in the House when the Constitution was adopted was one representative for each thirty thousand of population. How many representatives would your state now have if this ratio had been continued? Why has the ratio been changed?

10. Until recently senators were elected by state legislatures and were supposed to represent the state rather than the people directly. Read Amendment XVII. How are senators now chosen?

11. What purpose had the framers of the Constitution in making the provisions of Article I, Section 6, Clause 2?

12. Imagine a senator hurrying to an important session of the Senate in which his vote may have great weight in law making. Long ago in such cases, the English King might arrest members of Parliament upon almost any trivial charge if afraid the vote when cast might be against his interests. How does the Constitution prevent such interference with legislation? In which, if any, of the following cases could policemen legally prevent a senator from attending by making his arrest?

(a) The senator cut across a forbidden grass plot in a park.

(b) The senator was caught smoking in a street car.

(c) The senator exceeded the speed limit with his automobile.

(d) The senator loses his temper and strikes a taxi-driver.

13. What Congress is now in session? Find its number by counting the two-year periods or the odd years beginning with 1789 when the first Congress met.

14. When does Congress meet? (Article I, Section 4, Clause 2.) What is the "long term?" The "short term?" What is done with bills pending at close of the long term? At close of the short term?

15. Why is each house required to keep a record of its proceedings and to publish this from time to time? How may those who elect a representative find out how he votes?

16. Write to your congressman for a copy of the Congressional Record. What information does it furnish?

17. What proportion of the membership of either house is required for a quorum? (Article I, Section 5, Clause 1.)

18. What are the duties of the president pro tempore of the Senate? How is he chosen? Why should he be allowed to vote while the Vice-President or President of the Senate, is not?

19. What is the smallest number of senators which can constitute a quorum? Ratify a treaty? Expel a member?

20. Account for the fact that the Senate alone has been called into special session but the House alone has not.

21. How may the Speaker prevent willful delay of House business?

22. The floor leader is next to the Speaker the most influential member of the House. How is he elected?

23. Explain "The business of the House is what the committees choose to make it." What does "pigeon-holing" bills mean?

24. What is the difference between a BILL and a LAW?

25. A bill may become a law in three different ways:

(a) Passing both houses and being signed by the President.

(b) Passing both houses and being kept by the President more than ten days during a term of Congress.

(c) Passing both houses after being vetoed by the President.

Explain fully the provisions made for (c). (Article I, Section 7, Clause 3.)

26. How are committees chosen in the Senate? In the House? How is the chairman selected?

27. What is a caucus? How is it important in Congress?

28. Show how political parties are recognized in the law-making process in both houses?

29. Make a brief list of the powers of Congress. (Article I, Section 8, Article V, Amendment 16.)

30. Under which of the powers enumerated in the preceding exercises can Congress do the following?

(a) Issue bonds.

(b) Adopt the metric system.

(c) Provide battle ships.

(d) Regulate the speed of automobiles in Washington.

(e) Determine how long a foreigner must reside in the United States before becoming a citizen.

31. After reading Clause 18, of Section 8, Article I, which seems to give Congress unlimited power, notice in Section 9, Article I, Section 3, of Article IV, and in several amendments the prohibitions upon Congress. Under which of these would Congress be prevented from making laws.

(a) Which would make punishable an act which was legal when it was committed?

(b) Imposing an export duty on oranges shipped out of Florida or wheat sent out of Kansas.

(c) Declaring that members of certain churches could not hold office.

(d) Forbidding newspapers to publish adverse criticisms of United States officers.

32. The House of Representatives "shall have the sole power of impeachment;" the "Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments." Explain these quotations from the Constitution.

33. Show how the executive and the judicial departments influence law making.

34. What wastes are caused by the huge number of bills introduced into each session? What remedy is suggested for eliminating waste due to poorly drafted bills?

35. Compare the legislative department of your state with that of the United States. What is the official name of your state law-making body? How many members in each house? When are sessions held?

36. Who determines what authority shall be exercised by counties, towns, and cities?

37. No other country possesses one-half so many laws as the United States. Many of these laws cannot be enforced. Perhaps you can think of laws which are not observed in your community. Why are they not enforced?

38. Show why the following actual or proposed laws could not be enforced:

(a) "All carpets and equipment used in offices and sleeping rooms, including walls and ceilings, must be well plastered and kept in a clean and sanitary condition at all times." (Actual law.)

(b) "Be it enacted by the people of the state of _____ that there shall be no smoking or chewing in public restaurants." (Proposed law introduced into legislature.)

(c) "It shall be unlawful for any lunch counter to sell sandwiches which are not buttered." (Proposed law.)

39. A written constitution like that of the United States is said to prove that government is in the hands of the people, since, being a matter of record, no one can take it from them. It is also said that a written constitution prevents immediate realization of the peoples' will at times, since laws may be declared unconstitutional. Show that the Constitution makes it possible for the people to have their will upon any measure for which there is serious and long continued demand of the majority?

CHAPTER X

LAW ENFORCING

Do You Know These Terms?

executive, 121.
usurp authority, 115.
doubtful states, 117.
solid south, 119.
allegiance, 117.
inauguration, 118.
dictator, 121.

ex-officio, 131.
negotiations, 122.
administrative, 126.
ratification, 122.
bureau, 123.
constitutional officer, 130.
commissions, 130.

Intelligent reading of this chapter requires an understanding of these words as they are used on the pages indicated. Write a sentence using each.

The President a Powerful Officer. The most powerful officer in the world is the President of the United States. When the Constitution was framed everyone knew the need of a law-enforcing power, but experience with kings had made people afraid of "one man power," and the voters themselves would probably have been unwilling to adopt the Constitution with all the powers it gives the President. Yet the office has grown stronger and stronger; the President is the real head of our government; unlike the King of England, who is said to reign without ruling, the President rules without reigning, but, with all this power we are not in the least afraid that he will usurp authority which the Constitution has not conferred upon him. The Presidency is democratic; the President is responsible to the people politically. "The President comes from the people and must return to the people." He is simply our chief political servant.

How the President Is Chosen. Those who framed our Constitution expected Washington to be the first President, since they regarded him as wisest and most fair-minded. The plan they devised for electing a President provided that the one who received most electoral votes should be President and the one receiving next highest should be Vice-President. This plan was satisfactory enough at the first two elections but at the



THE WHITE HOUSE—THE PRESIDENT'S HOME

close of Washington's administration political parties with candidates who bitterly opposed each other arose, and the plan could no longer be continued because President and Vice-President so elected were reasonably sure to be political enemies. Every President since Washington has been the representative of a powerful political party, the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution which changed the original plan, says nothing about political parties, but it provides candidates for both Presidency and Vice-Presidency, who are always elected from the same party.

Each state chooses as many electors as it has members in the Senate and House combined. These electors merely vote as they are expected to for the party candidate. It was originally supposed that they might express their own political opinions but an elector who failed to carry out the party will would now be regarded as a traitor to those who elected him.

Since electors are chosen by states, greatest attention during the political campaign is centered upon "doubtful states," especially if they are populous enough to have a large number of electoral votes. It is more worth while to employ the best political speakers to carry a state with thirty electors than one with only three or four. In the same way a state whose political history shows unbroken allegiance to the same party is not likely to receive so much attention as the one which casts small majorities now for one party and then for another.

If the President were chosen by direct vote of all the people, the candidate receiving most votes would of course be elected, but this is not always what happens under the electoral college plan. To understand how a "minority President" is possible, study the little tabulation which follows; it indicates only in a general way how a result like that of the election in 1888 can occur. At that time Harrison had sixty-five more electoral votes than Cleveland although the latter had one hundred thousand greater popular vote.

State	Democratic		Republican	
	Votes	Votes	Electors	Electors
A	300,000	100,000	4	0
B	390,000	410,000	0	8
C	600,000	700,000	0	13
D	540,000	560,000	0	11
Total . .	<u>1,830,000</u>	<u>1,770,000</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>32</u>

In this example the democratic popular vote is sixty thousand greater than the republican but the republicans have thirty-two electoral votes while the democrats secure only four. As long as electors are chosen by states it will be possible to have minority presidents.

Presidential elections occur the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November every fourth year, 1920, 1924, 1928, 1932. Election night is a time of great excitement as "returns" are reported. Though several days sometimes elapse before results are established beyond doubt, the country usually knows very soon who its next President will be. He is not actually elected until the electors meet in their respective states, cast their ballots, and send them to Washington in February following election, and the President of the Senate receives and counts them. To make sure these ballots reach Washington, one list is mailed, one is sent by a special messenger and one is deposited with the judge of the federal district court. The President is inaugurated on March 4th, the occasion being one of very great interest. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court administers the oath of office (Constitution, page 265) upon the same Bible used at the inauguration of George Washington.

If no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes, the President is elected by the House of Representatives (Twelfth Amendment, page 271). Jefferson and John Quincy Adams were thus chosen.

In order to make sure that someone is ready to act in case the President dies or is unable to perform his duties, the Constitution created the office of Vice-President. The question of who would serve in case the Vice-President also were not able to act was often discussed but never answered until 1887,

when the Presidential Succession Law settled the matter by naming the cabinet officers in the order which follows:

Secretary of State.

Secretary of the Treasury.

Secretary of War.

Attorney General.

Post Master General.

Secretary of the Navy.

Secretary of the Interior.

Secretary of Agriculture.

The President's office is too important to allow any doubt as to who is expected to act.

Who May Be Elected President. The Constitution requires three qualifications of the President (or Vice-President). He must be not less than thirty-five years of age, a natural born citizen and a resident of the country not less than fourteen years. Thus no one but a genuine American can hold our most important office.

Custom imposes other conditions in selecting the President. Since success of a political party may depend upon election results in doubtful states, candidates who live in these are likely to receive the nomination. It is said to be "bad politics" to choose candidates for either President or Vice-President from states in which their party is very strong. The Vice-President's office, said to be "a tail to the President's kite" is usually filled by a candidate chosen with great regard to geographical influence upon the party of which he is one of the chief standard bearers. No President has yet been elected from west of the Mississippi River and in sixty years only one from New England and none from the "solid South." And, of course, though the Constitution says nothing about it, no

one but a thoroughly honest, well educated man has any chance of nomination or election.

Term of Office. Presidential elections excite the country and are not good for business. For these reasons some think they should not come as often as they do. Others say that four years is not a long enough period for the President to carry out any great plans; he must give too much attention to politics. When our government was started people were afraid of a long term, thinking the President might wish to keep himself in office, even to become a king; now no one seems to have this fear, though we willingly give the President more authority than any king possesses. It is perfectly understood that when the President's term is over, he will at once become a private citizen, without claim to official authority. Perhaps no one would care to make the term shorter; some would like it to be eight years without possibility of re-election. Still others insist that while Presidential elections cost a great deal in time and money, they are the best means of keeping voters educated politically, a necessity in a country where everyone shares in the government. While it is customary to elect a President a second time if his record and the condition of the country are satisfactory, the example of Washington in refusing a third term has prevailed. Though we are no longer afraid to trust our chief executive with so long an administration only a very unusual condition could result in electing the same candidate the third time.

Powers of the President. As head of a government employing hundreds of thousands of persons, the President's power is very great, not alone in law-enforcing but in law-making and law-interpreting. The people, by looking to him as their leader, have increased his influence far beyond what is provided in the Constitution or even in law. In any enum-

eration of his powers, it should be remembered that every act of a cabinet officer or of an executive department is an act of the President since he appoints them and is responsible for their work.

1. *Military Powers.* As commander-in-chief of the army and navy, the President exercises authority which in war is practically without limit. Lincoln became almost a dictator; he took every means which seemed necessary to win the war; the war powers of President Wilson were very great. In all such cases, the people realize the necessity of prompt action without wasting time in arguments; they follow the lead of the strong character they have chosen to do their will.

2. *Power of Appointment.* The Constitution gives the President power to appoint many officers, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." He is entirely free in choosing members of the cabinet; since he must work directly with them and be responsible, no one should interfere with his appointing or dismissing them. With regard to other officers, in spite of Jefferson's opinion that the "Senate is only to see that no unfit person is appointed," the Senate has caused trouble to many of our Presidents. By "senatorial courtesy" individual senators also expect to be consulted about important appointments in their own states.

The task of appointing thousands of officers from tens-of-thousands of office seekers is the most burdensome duty of the President. Congress has by law given him final appointive power in the case of many minor federal officials, but growth of civil service reform (page 156) is gradually reducing this burden. There is no constitutional provision for removing officers by the President but, in general, he may remove those whom he may appoint. He cannot remove supreme court justices nor officers who are under civil service rules.

3. *Pardoning Power.* The power of the President to grant pardons is limited to violations of United States law or military orders, but in this field there is practically no limit, though he has no authority in cases of impeachment.

4. *Power in Foreign Affairs.* The President is supreme in dealing with representatives from foreign countries and with the ambassadors, ministers and consuls we send to them. He has absolute power to recognize or not to recognize new governments, a very important duty in dealing with the republics to the south of us. Though the President cannot declare war, he can bring about a situation which may make war unavoidable, as was the case when Polk sent an army into disputed territory where our soldiers were fired upon. In all dealings with foreign powers the President works through the State Department, and all negotiations may be secret.

An important part of the President's relation to foreign governments is his treaty-making power. A treaty may be made by the President but it must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate; since a treaty is defined in the Constitution as part of the law of the land, its ratification is to some extent at least a law-making act, and the Senate has repeatedly tried to amend treaties as prepared by the President, and has often thwarted his will by refusing ratification.

5. *Legislative Powers.* It has been noted (page 103) that Congress, though a law-making body, has great influence over law enforcement. The President, although he is an executive officer, has even greater influence upon law making. Some of his legislative power rests upon provisions of the Constitution; some of it depends upon custom and the position of the President as political leader.

(a) *Constitution Provisions.* The Constitution, as has been noted, gives treaties negotiated by the President the

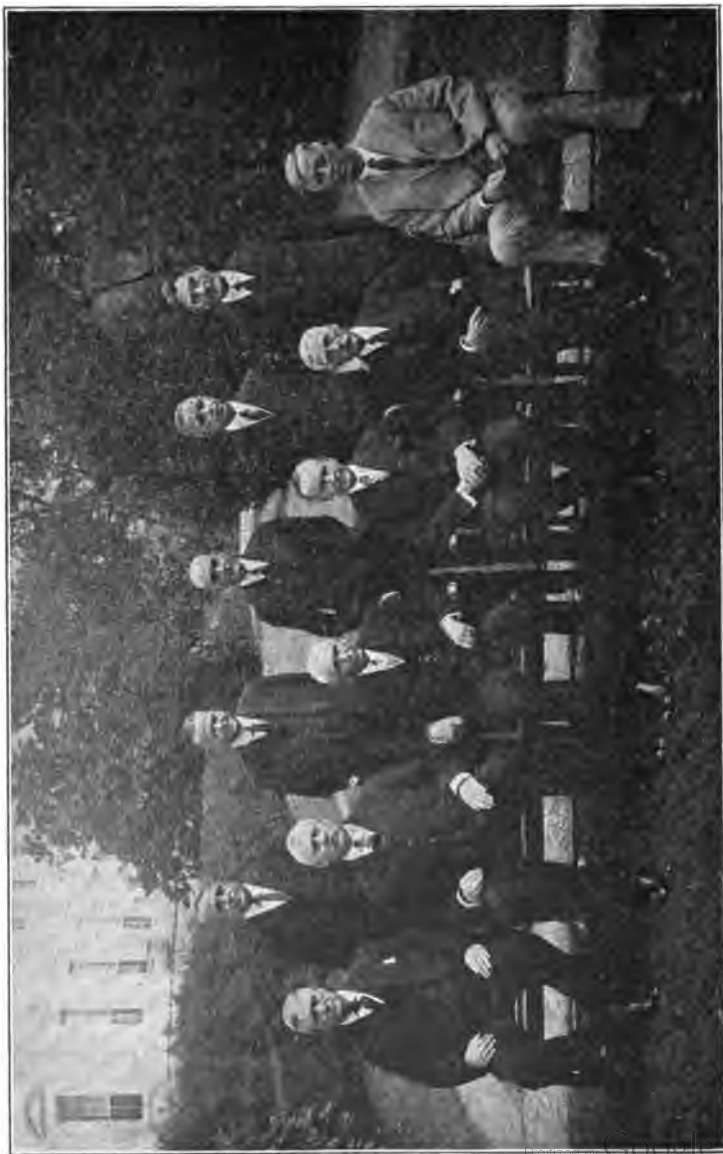
force of law. It authorizes the President to call Congress in extra session whenever, in his opinion, new laws or appropriations of money are needed. It is made the duty of the President to recommend action by Congress in his messages; these are either annual or special and though Congress may pass none of the laws suggested, the President's message always receives attention both from law makers and the voting public. It is interesting to note that our first two Presidents delivered their messages to Congress in person: Jefferson sent his message to be read and this plan was followed from 1801 to 1913 when President Wilson revived the custom of delivering the message in person.

By his veto power (page 102) the President may greatly delay or change law making. This power was very slightly used by our early Presidents, only nine measures being vetoed in forty-one years, but Jackson vetoed many more, and since his time lack of agreement between the President and Congress has resulted in its more extended use.

(b) *Extra Legal Customs.* The President cannot introduce a bill into Congress but he never encounters difficulty in finding a member of Congress to introduce and champion such a bill, which receives special attention as an "administration measure."

Members of the President's cabinet cannot debate in Congress but they have great influence in law making by furnishing opinions and information to committees of the Senate and the House, which, as we have seen, are often the deciding influence in passing laws.

Many regulations of the Patent Office, Pension Bureau, Indian Bureau, Consular Service and other departments, bureaus and divisions go into effect and have all the force of law without any action of Congress. There is much of such



PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND HIS CABINET

"law making without legislation"; at any time a law can be passed changing such regulations but until special necessity arises, it seems a wise economy to allow those who know most about their problems to make their own rules.

(c) *The President as Party Leader.* The party platform and the President's letter of acceptance of the nomination center attention upon laws favored by public opinion. The President is leader of all the people, responsible for seeing that their will is carried out in law making. He is able to exert great influence upon legislation because of this fact. The public knows what laws the President favors, and exactly which members of Congress support or oppose his will. Under these circumstances, it is not easy for members of either house to oppose the President when he recommends passage of a measure supported by public opinion. And though no President barter appointments for the votes of senators and representatives, the fact that the party leader who can make political appointments favors a bill, insures it careful attention. No politician prefers to oppose his chief.

The President's Cabinet. Some of those who framed our Constitution believed that the Senate might act as a small advisory body for the President. Had this come to pass we should have had something like the cabinet government of England, in which members take an active part in Parliament; though it has been discussed repeatedly, Congress has never given cabinet officers the right to speak in either house. Cabinet members are responsible alone to the President who appoints them; Congress cannot make them resign nor, except by impeachment, call them in question. The President is held accountable for their work.

In appointing his cabinet the President considers personal fitness, party service in the past and probable effect upon party

strength in the future. Some of his "official family" must be capable business men and all must be experienced in dealing with the public if the administration is to be in the greatest possible degree successful. So important are cabinet officers that many are inclined to base their support of a presidential candidate upon his probable cabinet appointments.

The cabinet has weekly meetings at which important matters are considered but no record is kept other than a brief statement for the newspapers. Usually questions arising in relation to the Department of State are considered first, followed by others in the order the departments are listed in the pages which follow; this program is varied so that most important problems may receive attention whenever they arise.

Executive Departments. In addition to being one of the President's advisers, each cabinet member is head of a great administrative department—some of them employing thousands of persons. Most of the duties of the President are transacted through these departments; they enforce laws passed by Congress; in brief they carry on the work of the federal government. Each department includes several bureaus in charge of commissioners, or divisions headed by directors. Only the most important duties of each department can be noted here.

1. *Department of State.* This department has charge of our foreign relations. We send ambassadors to leading countries like England and Italy; to small nations we send ministers. In all important commercial cities, we have consuls who protect business interests of Americans abroad and look for opportunities to expand our commerce. Passports are issued by the State Department, for the purpose of guaranteeing the American traveler his rights in foreign countries to which he may journey. The State Department has charge of

the great seal of the United States, preserves copies of all laws and publishes these in accordance with law.

2. *Treasury Department.* The Treasury Department collects all tariff duties on imported goods, all internal revenue upon such articles as tobacco, and all income taxes. In collecting duties swift boats called revenue cutters are used to prevent smuggling goods into the country without payment of duty. In connection with this work the life saving service of the government is maintained on all our coasts.

With all our sources of income, war made it necessary to borrow billions of dollars by issuing bonds and thrift stamps which are government promises to pay with interest. The Treasury Department has charge of issuing these. Though they do not pay a high rate of interest, they are the safest investment in the world. All our money and stamps are made under supervision of the Treasury Department. American paper money is made with great care; it is convenient, durable and very hard to counterfeit. Our coins are made at the mints located at Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco. The Treasury Department also directs National Banks, Farm Loan Banks, and the Federal Reserve Bank. Examiners are sent to all of these to make sure they are safely operated. The Bureau of War Risk which looks after Soldiers' Life Insurance is part of the Treasury Department.

3. *The War Department.* This department cares for the details of our military forces. In time of peace, the United States has a very small army, but in war this department expands. The United States has always practiced preparedness to the extent of having well trained officers ready for a much larger army than that of "peace footing." These leaders are trained at West Point Military Academy, and in various training camps, all directed by the War Department.

4. *Department of Justice.* This division of the executive branch of the government is headed by the Attorney-General. The Department of Justice directs the work of United States district attorneys and gives legal advice to the President and heads of departments, since it is better to know beforehand the full meaning of law than to depend upon the courts. The Department of Justice renders "opinions," in a sense deciding cases before they actually arise. Such opinions may be overruled by a decision of the court.

5. *Post Office Department.* The Postmaster-General who is usually an able business man has charge of the department of federal government with which we are in most constant contact. Our government has always encouraged the circulation of papers and magazines and the writing of letters. This policy has greatly aided communication and the spread of intelligence. If you visit a post office and make a list of its activities it may be surprising to note how much this department is doing for all of us. Stamps, post cards, newspaper wrappers, registry, money, parcel post, rural free delivery, aerial mail service, are some of the names which indicate what our people do for themselves through the post office. Careful wrapping of packages and plainly written addresses represent ways in which boys and girls can help this branch of the government.

6. *Navy Department.* Unlike the army which is very small, our navy is very powerful. The Secretary of the Navy is in charge of this great force and of the Naval Academy at Annapolis where our naval officers are trained.

7. *Department of the Interior.* Conservation of our resources is the principal business of this department. To preserve our few remaining forests, Forest Reserves have been set aside since 1891; irrigation and reclamation projects

carried on under this department have made great areas of arid land productive; the Bureau of Mines and the geological survey spread intelligence concerning our mineral resources; the Bureau of Education, Pensions, and of Indian Affairs each in charge of a commissioner conserve our human resources.

8. *Department of Agriculture.* Most of the activities of this great department are related to the work of the farmer. The Bureau of Plant Industry seeks the world over for new varieties of useful plants, fights plant diseases and keeps poor seed from being sold. The Bureau of Soils investigates soils and fertilizers. The Bureau of Crop Estimates issues a monthly crop report based upon information from every section of the country. The Weather Bureau issues daily reports and forecasts. The Bureau of Chemistry helps to enforce the Pure Food and Drug Act. The Bureau of Entomology issues suggestions for destroying insect pests. These are part of the important bureaus or divisions of the Department of Agriculture. The intelligent farmer is able to secure help in solving almost any agricultural problem by writing to the Department at Washington or to the State Agricultural College. Boys' and girls' club work is directed by this department. Those who belong to these clubs will soon be our most progressive farmers.

9. *Department of Commerce.* The Census Bureau which finds the population of the United States every tenth year and assembles this and other statistical information in usable form is part of this department. A Bureau of Standards determines our weights and measures.

10. *Department of Labor.* This department collects information relative to labor and endeavors to improve conditions of living among those who toil. A Bureau of Immigration helps the unemployed; the Bureau of Naturalization encourages aliens to become citizens. The Women's Bureau and the

Children's Bureau make investigations which should lead to better working and housing conditions and to better opportunities for rearing of children.

State Executive Departments. 1. *Constitutional Officers.* Each state has an executive department resembling in many ways the executive branch of the National Government. At the head is the Governor; the Lieutenant-Governor corresponds to the Vice-President; Secretary of State, State Treasurer, and Attorney-General may be roughly compared to cabinet officers. In most states there is an auditor and in all a state superintendent or commissioner of schools. State constitutions prescribe the qualifications, term of office and duties of these, most of whom are elected by popular vote. The Governor, like the President enforces laws, makes appointments, recommends new legislation, exercises the veto power and issues pardons. Unlike the President, he does not appoint the other most important executive officers; they, being elected in the same way as the Governor, are not obligated to follow his lead, with the result that there is sometimes serious lack of co-operation in state government.

2. *State Offices and Commissions Created by Law.* The simply organized state executive governments just described, failed to provide for many modern problems and for the increasing number of services which states are performing. Universities, normal schools, prisons, reformatories and institutions for the mentally or physically defective are controlled by boards, usually serving without compensation. Many states have commissions of experts who are given wide powers in regulating railroads and street railways. A State Board of Health enforces health and sanitation standards. Grain inspectors, boiler inspectors, hotel inspectors, factory inspectors, and examining boards for licensing teachers, lawyers, physicians,

dentists, accountants, engineers and barbers are part of the states' executive machinery.

Reorganization of Executive Departments. In both national and state governments there is a great need of economy of effort. As each new problem has appeared the usual plan has been to create an additional board or commission to deal with it. Sometimes several boards are at work on the same problem, each in its own way and frequently in ignorance of the others' efforts. Some state officers, like the Governor, may be *ex-officio* members of dozens of these boards with the result that time for sufficient study of any one question is lacking. Occasionally there is serious disagreement among such boards, two of them claiming authority to deal with the same situation, or quite as often, claiming that some other board or officer should act. When there is much of the latter tendency, the public loses confidence in its experts and accuses them of "passing the buck," that is of shirking responsibility. Government by commissions costs much of the people's money and they demand results, often more immediately than anyone can bring them about. The real cause of disappointment at results achieved by boards and commissions is not found in any lack of honesty or willingness to co-operate but in the very perplexing nature of the problems we expect them to solve. As an example, many states have some kind of tax commission; after reading Chapter Thirteen you can see how very difficult it is to solve taxing problems with fairness to all so that each shall contribute his just share toward carrying on our government. Solution of these problems will call for the greatest skill and patriotism which our country has ever needed. Patriotism may show itself in years of study of budgets, tax-lists, government expenses, and economic problems and in thoughtful attention to attempts to secure fuller justice for all.

Suggested Activities.

1. Read Article II and Amendment 12 of the Constitution. (Pages 264; 271.) Copy the statements which provide for:

- (a) The length of the President's term.
- (b) His age, residence and nationality.
- (c) His oath upon taking office.
- (d) The President's message.

2. Find out from your postoffice the meaning of first, second, third and fourth class mail with the rate on each. Why are newspapers carried at a cheaper rate than letters?

3. Choose one member of your class to write for a list of free publications issued by the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. When the pamphlet has been received, let each pupil write for some bulletin in which he is interested. When they have all been received and read, make a report to the class on the result of your reading.

4. In a brief talk, not to exceed three minutes, account for the fact that while educated men are always in a minority, only educated men are chosen as President.

5. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

- (a) Resolved, that the President should be elected for an eight-year term.
- (b) Resolved, that the President should be elected by direct vote of all.
- (c) Resolved, that the President should have power to make treaties, without concurrence of the Senate.
- (d) Resolved, that Cabinet Members should be members of Congress.

Study Questions.

1. What is meant by saying, "The President comes from the people and must return to the people?"

2. In 1789, the people were afraid to give the President much power, fearing that he might become a tyrant. After reading Chapter X what possible relation can you discover between this fear and popular education? Apply this quotation to the case:

"And why should Caesar be a tyrant then?
Poor man! I know he would not be a wolf,
But that he sees the Romans are but sheep."

3. Why did the plan of giving the Presidency to the man who received the greatest number of electoral votes and the Vice-Presi-

dency to the one receiving next highest vote prove unsuccessful? When was the plan changed?

4. In the constitutional convention some favored having plural executives so that no one might become too strong. What objection to such a plan can you think of?

5. Explain how the President is elected.

6. Since the time of John Adams, the President has been leader of a political party as well as of the country. To what party did Jefferson belong? Jackson? Lincoln? Cleveland? Roosevelt? Wilson? All these were able politicians and statesmen. What do these words mean?

7. According to the Constitution, what is the smallest number of presidential electors a state can have? (Article II, Section 1, Clause 2; Article I, Section 2, Clause 3; Article I, Section 3, Clause 1.)

8. The total number of electoral votes is 531. How many are required for a majority? What was the total number in 1789? (Article I, Section 2, Clause 3 and Article I, Section 3, Clause 1.)

9. If presidential candidate A received 250 electoral votes, B 100, C 100, and D 81, how would the election be determined? (Twelfth Amendment, page 271.)

10. If no candidate for the Vice-Presidency secures a majority of the electoral votes, how is a Vice-President chosen? (Twelfth Amendment, page 271.)

11. What is the "solid South" in politics? If yours is not a "doubtful state," for which party does it usually cast its electoral vote?

12. From the standpoint of party politics alone, what would be the explanation of the fact that of our last eleven Presidents (1921) five have come from Ohio and four from New York?

13. The electoral vote of New York state is forty-five. This is greater than the combined vote of Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. How does this affect a presidential election campaign?

14. What is meant by a minority President? Show how election by direct vote of all the people would make minority Presidents impossible.

15. For what causes and how may a President be removed from office? (Article II, Section 4.)

16. Which of these would be ineligible to the Presidency according to the Constitution?

(a) Born in Paris of French parents in 1870; naturalized in the United States in 1895; resident of the United States since 1871.

(b) Born of American parents in New York in 1871; lived in the United States 1871-1908; lived in England 1908-1916; lived in the United States 1916 to the present.

(c) Born in Ohio in 1894.

17. What question was settled by the Presidential Succession Law?

18. Name the Presidents who have served two terms. What objection to an eight-year single term for the President?

19. In brief form, list the powers of the President enumerated in the Constitution, Article II, Sections 2 and 3, pages 264-271.

20. Why do the President's powers increase during war?

21. How does growth of civil service reform make the President's work easier?

22. In which of these cases could the President issue a pardon?

(a) A highwayman arrested and imprisoned for robbing a pedestrian in Chicago.

(b) A postal clerk takes a valuable package from the mail and is convicted of the theft?

(c) A sailor on an American battle ship refuses to obey the commander of the ship and is imprisoned for the offense.

23. Make a clear distinction between ambassadors, ministers and consuls.

24. How are treaties made?

25. List six ways in which the President may influence law-making.

26. In "talking politics" voters who had not studied our government expressed the opinions which follow. Select passages from the Constitution which make impossible carrying out the plans suggested by their remarks. (Article II.)

(a) "I am going to vote for Senator Jones as presidential elector."

(b) "I am going to introduce a bill into the state legislature to have all our elections in the summer. It is too cold in November and it nearly always rains."

(c) "The President we elected last year is not doing anything. I hope Congress will reduce his salary if he vetoes any more bills."

(d) "Congress seems to be doing nothing but talk; I think the President should send them home."

27. Why is the cabinet called the "President's official family?" Describe a cabinet meeting. Who are members of the present cabinet?

28. Give reasons for your selection of the best of these answers to

the question, "Where does the United States get the money to pay its expenses?"

- (a) It makes the money at the mint.
- (b) It issues bonds.
- (c) It makes money out of paper.
- (d) It collects taxes.

Which of the duties of the Treasury Department have to do with raising money and which with regulating its value?

29. Examine a silver coin of the United States. Why does it have milled edges? Explain the number of stars and the engraved figures. If E PLURIBUS UNUM is on this piece of money, what does it mean?

30. What is the difference between an "opinion" of the attorney-general, and a decision of a court?

31. Of what value to your community is the Weather Bureau?

32. To what bureau or department would you write in the following cases?

- (a) You need a passport.
- (b) You wish information about child labor laws.
- (c) You want a weather map for your school.
- (d) A neighbor wishes you to find out about business opportunities in Argentine.
- (e) You have moved to a strange community and wish to know what varieties of strawberries will be best for your garden.

(f) You wish information as to getting rid of an insect which is eating the leaves from your shade trees in your yard.

33. Make a comparison of your own state executive department with that of the United States.

34. In what important way is the power of the Governor in a state government constitutionally less than that of the President in national government?

35. What commissions or boards are part of your state government? What duty does each perform?

CHAPTER XI

LAW INTERPRETING

Do You Know These Terms?

code, 138.	original case, 140.
ordeal, 138.	civil case, 142.
precedent, 139.	federal courts, 142.
statutory law, 139.	decision, 143.
common law, 140.	jurisdiction, 145.
ordinances, 140.	appeal, 145.
unconstitutional, 141.	admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, 146.
petit jury, 140.	corporation, 148.
grand jury, 140.	injunction, 148.
Bill of Rights, 141.	

In making decisions judges use words according to their exact meaning. Find what the words in this list mean.

Playground Law. "It isn't fair," said Harry as a player passed a base without touching it. "There's nothing fair about it and I am going to quit." In another game a player did the same thing; the two sides began to argue but the umpire stopped all argument by deciding that the player was out.

In the first case there seemed to be a rule but no one to interpret or decide whether it was being kept. Each player could decide for himself and the game came to a sudden end. In the second it had been agreed that all would heed the decision of one who knew the rules and watched every play to see that all "played fair."

Interpreting Community Rules. Now living and co-operating in any community are in many ways like playing a game,

though of course, no one can "get mad and quit" as he may on the playground if he is selfish or is not what is commonly known as a "good sport"; if he leaves one community, he is pretty sure to find that others have much the same rules. The more important rules are called "laws"; the officers who most nearly act the part of the umpire are called judges. Judges, like the umpire, do not make laws but they interpret and apply them.

Wherever men have lived and worked together, they have made laws to guide them. There have always been a few of the strong who tried to impose upon the weak, or of the intelligent who were dishonest enough to take advantage of the stupid and the ignorant.

Might Is Not Right in Interpreting Rules. No one ever heard of a tribe so uncivilized that it had no rules or customs which were enforced like laws. Sometimes no better way to decide disputed cases than by fighting could be found. In a civilized community, it is very unusual for individuals to decide who is right by "fighting it out," though nations confess by going to war that they have not learned to abide by laws nor to submit their differences to judges. "Might does not make right," and war is no more sure to result in justice than is a fight between individuals.

Laws Define Rights and Duties. As people became more civilized, able to co-operate in a greater number of undertakings for the common welfare, the most important rules were taught to all so that each should know his rights and his duties. Some people talk a great deal about their "natural rights" as if their community owed them something. This is not true, for "natural duties" are always to be looked for when rights are defined. Laws are simply statements of rights and

duties which a community or group agrees that its members may or must have.

Why Judges Are Needed. No laws can make everyone's duty plain to him at all times. The greatest code of laws ever made, the Ten Commandments, says "Thou shalt not steal," but in addition to what all recognize as stealing, one may steal another's pleasure or comfort by filling the air with smoke or by incessant playing of a tune which only the player enjoys. Even when all mean to do right, judges are needed to tell what laws mean as well as to decide what shall be done when they have been disobeyed.

Chiefs, strong men and kings used to act as judges, partly because they were best able to compel obedience after their decision had been made. Force and superstition often entered into their judgments in a way which seems to us very crude. It is said that an Indian chief, uncertain as to a just opinion, would throw the accused into the river; if he swam out he was declared innocent; if he drowned, guilty. Disputes were settled by games of chance and by what was known as an ordeal in which guilt or innocence of the accused was determined by his ability to endure some hardship like walking through the fire without being harmed.

Written Laws and Courts. Long before our government was established under the Constitution, all civilized countries had rights and duties defined by clearly written laws; all had courts with judges who had an expert knowledge of the law and everywhere were lawyers, ready to defend the accused by explaining the law as it applied under the circumstances which the evidence established or to prosecute wrong-doers. Englishmen had developed legal institutions and customs unlike those of any other country; to England we owe three of the most

important inheritances which have influenced law interpreting and legal justice in this country.

Inheritances from England. 1. *Statutory Laws.* Laws are rules to guide our conduct and to make possible the right decisions in disputed cases. You may remember how hard it is in the playground games to make rules which will always "work." Most quarrels occur when new conditions arise. Some boys had applied the rule "over the fence is out" to their ball game; one batter knocked the ball *through* the hole in the fence, a thing which might not happen again in many years. The game broke up because the players could not agree as to whether the ball had gone "over the fence." Now, though these boys did not know it, that question had been ruled upon many times before. Some ball clubs had made out sets of rules, one of which settled the matter; umpires in the absence of any rules on this subject had made decisions. Had the boys been acquainted with these facts, they might have decided by law saying "that is the American rule" or they might have said "the great umpire Bill Jennings decided it thus." The first might be called deciding by *statute*; the second by *precedent*.

The statutory laws in the American colonies were those which had been passed by parliament and by colonial legislatures. Neither parliament nor colonial assemblies had ever passed laws to cover a large portion of cases which might arise.

2. *Common Law.* For more than a thousand years English judges had been deciding cases. If parliament had made a statute which could be applied, it would determine the decision; if not the judge would look into records of past decisions and decide by *precedent*. If he could find no precedent, he would

make his own decision which would henceforth become a precedent or guide for other judges. In this way a witty remark often quoted sometimes proves to be true, "When a judge makes a mistake it becomes a law of the land." The great body of English court decisions which may be called "judge made laws" had been collected and published and were used in our courts. It was and is called "common law."

Law interpreting and justice are now dependent upon statutory law and upon common law—the law of precedents. Statutory laws are those made by Congress and the legislature of our states, with, of course, such ordinances as the states may authorize smaller communities to make. Judges make their decisions according to statutory law instead of by precedents if the two are not in agreement.

3. *Trial by Jury.* Englishmen early secured the right to trial by a jury of their peers or equals and they earnestly defended this political inheritance. Trial by jury was established in all the colonies when the Constitution was adopted and it provides that all crimes against the United States, except in case of impeachment, shall be tried by jury. (Article III, Section 2, Clause 3.) To make sure that jury trial was preserved the Seventh and Eighth Amendments further strengthen a jury trial. If the value of property in dispute exceeds twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury may be insisted upon.

When the word *jury* is used, it usually refers to the *petit jury* which listens to evidence given at a trial and renders its verdict. A *grand jury* hears evidence concerning a person accused of crime to determine whether it is sufficient to make a trial worth while. If the evidence seems sufficient, the *grand jury* reports a *true bill* and the accused is held for trial; if the evidence seems to rest merely upon personal dislike, hearsay or mere rumor, the accused is released without a court trial.

The Constitution Supreme. To our English inheritance of statutory law, common law and trial by jury, a strictly American idea is added, that of a written constitution which is above all law. This gives our courts a power never conferred upon courts in other countries, that of declaring acts of law-making bodies *null and void* if they conflict with this document.

The body of the Constitution contains many provisions which limit the power of the federal government; if Congress should pass laws which disregard these laws in regard to subjects upon which it is not authorized to legislate, the courts would have to declare them unconstitutional. If you read Articles IV and VI of the Constitution you will find some things which the United States cannot do, some which states are prohibited from doing and some which neither the national nor state governments can do. (Read Article VI, Clause 2 which declares that the Constitution is supreme.)

In addition to these provisions in the original Constitution, the Bill of Rights which Englishmen had won after so many years of struggle, was considered so important that Americans included such a bill in their Constitution at the earliest opportunity by adding the amendments. These rights which are so often thoughtlessly taken for granted, are an effective safeguard against any tendency of our government to take away "the people's rights." To make sure this has been done the Ninth and Tenth Amendments say, "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. 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."

Court Procedure. Amendments V-VIII especially apply to procedure of the courts themselves. In reading these intelligently, a few legal terms must be understood.

Criminal cases are those in which a person is accused of grave wrongdoing punishable by heavy fine, imprisonment or death. Counterfeiting, forgery, or murder are *felonies*. A lesser wrong legally punishable is called a *misdemeanor*. In criminal cases the United States or a state is the prosecutor endeavoring to prove the guilt of the accused; unless this guilt is proved the accused is declared innocent of the charge. In *civil cases* the right to property of some kind is always involved. A dispute over a "line fence," an irrigation ditch, or an unpaid bill may result in a civil case. The *plaintiff* (the one who complains) brings suit against the defendant to recover his property rights. In civil cases there is no question of crime against individuals, the community or the state; there is controversy over property rights and the courts decide.

United States Courts. There were no national courts under the Articles of Confederation. There was general agreement among framers of the Constitution that our government must have courts but no one was sure what they should be like. For this reason the Constitution mentions only the "Supreme Court" and such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time "ordain and establish." It also makes the term of federal judges "during good behavior" which usually means for life and provides that they shall receive a salary which cannot be diminished during their continuance in office. (Article III, page 266.) These important provisions place our federal courts in a very strong position. Judges do not need to consider politics as members of the legislative and executive branches must. They do not depend upon election to office but are appointed by the President with consent of the Senate.

They can be removed only by impeachment with which the President has nothing to do. They render their decisions in accordance with the Constitution, federal laws and treaties. If a majority of voters do not like their decisions, they can in due time change the law or amend the Constitution, but all fault-finding directed toward United States courts can have no effect upon the term, salary or duties of the judges themselves.

1. *The Supreme Court.* The Supreme Court consisted at first of only six justices. It seemed to have little to do, though quarrels about state boundaries soon furnished an abundance of business. During the long term of John Marshall as Chief Justice the power of the court was greatly strengthened. There are now nine justices and the court is kept fully occupied in spite of the fact that other courts have relieved it of many kinds of cases. Nearly all the work of the Supreme Court consists of cases appealed from the lower courts. It reviews evidence but does not hear witnesses; its judges sometimes read thousands of pages of law and evidence to make possible a decision. Its thoroughness, dignity and reputation for being fair makes a position as Supreme Court Justice very highly regarded. Lawyers whose private practice earns many times as much, are glad to give this up and serve their country on the supreme bench at the salary of \$14,500.00 now paid. (\$15,000.00 for chief justice.)

2. *Circuit Court of Appeals.* There are nine of these courts of the nine districts into which the country is divided. To each is allotted one of the justices of the Supreme Court who may act as its judge. In practice, however, these find little time, being fully occupied with work of the Supreme Court itself. A judge of the federal district court may preside. Each court has three judges of its own and a United States Marshal who carries out its orders and cares for its property.



UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT IN SESSION

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These courts were created to relieve the Supreme Court of some of its burdens.

3. *Federal District Courts.* Of these there are eighty, each state having at least one, some having three or four. Each has a district judge who resides in the district, though a few of the judges conduct two district courts. To each district court is assigned a United States attorney who is appointed by the President and represents the Attorney-General directly, and each has a United States Marshal.

4. *Other Federal Courts.* The Court of Claims hears and passes upon claims against the United States which, without its own consent, cannot be sued in a regular court. The Court of Customs Appeal deals with cases growing out of collection of duties upon imports. There is a court for the District of Columbia for which Congress according to the Constitution must provide a government.

Jurisdiction of Courts. Jurisdiction means the right and duty to decide. The umpire of a ball game may be said to have jurisdiction over the game but he cannot prescribe how players spell their names. Federal District Courts have original jurisdiction; they are the first United States Courts to which most cases are brought. In some classes of cases, they also have final jurisdiction, that is their decision settles the case. In other cases, either party, if dissatisfied with the decision may make appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals which is thus said to have *appellate* jurisdiction. Nearly all of the Supreme Court's work comes through appeal and of course its jurisdiction is final.

Powers of Federal Courts. United States Courts can decide only in cases which are affected by the Constitution, laws passed by Congress and treaties. The Constitution mentions "cases in law or equity in which the federal constitution, fed-

eral statutes or treaties are involved and cases of 'admiralty and maritime jurisdiction.' "

If ambassadors, ministers or consuls are parties to a suit or if the United States is a party, United States Courts must decide. If two or more states are in a dispute, only federal courts could be expected to render an impartial decision. None of the classes of cases so far named furnishes the courts with much business, though states formerly had many disagreements about their boundaries.

"Citizens of different states parties to a suit" is the provision which includes most work of federal courts. A question long unsettled was whether corporations which of course are not persons were to be considered "citizens." In general these are now held to be "artificial persons" and for business and court purposes, citizens of the state in which they are organized. Cases arising between citizens of a state and aliens naturally are for the consideration of United States Courts.,

State Courts. Most law-interpreting is done by state courts. They decide in all cases in which there is no question of violation of federal constitution or laws. They have original and usually final jurisdiction in the large number of cases affecting rights of persons, and property and in criminal cases. Most states have a Supreme Court which like the Supreme Court of the United States decides upon law questions or determines whether state laws themselves are in harmony with the state constitution, but do not examine witnesses and take evidence as to facts. State and local courts base their decisions upon statutory laws passed by the legislature and upon precedents from other states.

Most states have district or circuit courts which have final jurisdiction in cases involving property of less than a given value. In some states a county court does the work, while in

others it is given to the district courts. County courts in most states try all cases arising within the county and all which are appealed from the justice's court. At the bottom of the state judicial system are justice's courts in charge of the justice of the peace. He may decide in cases of misdemeanors and controversies in which the value in question is small.

Judges in state and local courts are usually elected by the people, though in some states judges of higher courts are appointed by the governor, the appointment being confirmed by one or both houses of the legislature. While they do not have the standing of permanently appointed federal judges, a judge who makes a good record is often re-elected many times. Lawyers like judges who are fair-minded and businesslike, and use their influence to have such men elected.

Legislative and Executive Power of Courts. 1. *Law Making by Precedent.* Courts do not confine their efforts to law-interpreting as has been noted. They interpret such laws as have been made but there are always cases in which no law applies. Court decisions in this very numerous class of cases are precedents with all the authority of laws until the law-making body expressly makes a law which covers the case.

2. *Declaring Laws Unconstitutional.* Both federal and state supreme courts exert a negative influence upon legislatures by declaring that laws passed conflict with the Constitution. Not many such decisions are rendered for these courts endeavor wherever possible to interpret laws so that there is no conflict with the Constitution. The fact that courts have this great power should make law-making bodies very careful about the laws they pass.

3. *Granting Injunctions.* Courts exercise great power by granting injunctions. An injunction is a temporary restraining order. It may command persons or corporations not to

perform certain acts or not to cease performing them. If the injunction is not obeyed, the one who fails to heed the order is declared in "contempt of court" and may be fined or imprisoned. Injunctions are used until by due trial a disputed case may be settled. It may take months or even years to reach a legal settlement; meanwhile the injunction has all the force of law.

Problems of Our Courts. While our courts, especially those of the Federal government have remained out of politics and have interpreted laws honestly and impartially, the public has found a great deal of fault with them, especially in recent years.

The "law's delay" is complained of. Court procedure is slow; "weary lawyers with endless tongues" find technicalities by which the guilty escape or justice is long delayed. It is often said that while justice ought to be free, it is not because only the rich can afford the best lawyers, and the poor cannot afford to wait for delays. When people lose confidence in their courts they sometimes take the law into their own hands and the result is usually violence—going back to a savage way of determining what is right. America is the only civilized country in the world in which mobs lynch wrongdoers; this may be due in part to loss of confidence in the courts. It is said justice is much swifter and more certain in England and our courts are being urged to reform their procedure.

Sometimes after a long, tedious and expensive trial further delay is caused by appeal to a higher court. The rich can afford such appeals; the poor cannot. All believe that fullest opportunity should be given to secure final justice by appeal, but appeals made with no likelihood of changing the decision but only securing delay in carrying out the court's decision should not be allowed.

The increased use of injunctions in recent years has caused

much fault to be found with the courts. The injunction is only another form of delay and it is possible that any change which will result in increasing the promptness of courts in rendering decisions will decrease use of the injunction.

Suggested Activities.

1. Organize your class or your room into a county or circuit court. You will need a judge of the court, a sheriff, a clerk of the court, a grand jury, a petit or trial jury, also attorneys to conduct each side of the case. While the attorneys are not a part of the legal organization, they are always present in court. In order to understand how a trial is conducted, you will need to know the duty of each of the above officers as well as the jurors.

2. Find out what is meant by Justice Court, Police Court, County or Circuit Court, Court of Appeals, State Court of Appeals, State Supreme Court. What is meant by conviction, by acquittal, a new trial, by "taking an appeal."

3. Organize the Supreme Court of the United States and find out the kind of cases it is called upon to decide.

4. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that right is might rather than might is right.

(b) Resolved, that international courts will be as successful in dealing with controversies between nations as our courts have been in settling differences between individuals.

(c) Resolved, that a pupil who sees another willfully breaking a school house window should report the wrong to the teacher.

(d) Resolved, that citizens who do not report law violations to the proper officers have no right to complain about lax law enforcement.

(e) Resolved, that judges of state courts should hold office during good behavior as federal judges do.

Study Questions.

1. Compare the rules of playground games with the laws in your community. What is your definition of "being a good sport?" What is a "square deal?"

2. Some pupils are continually "telling the teacher" when they think they are not getting a square deal on the playground; you perhaps know pupils who never go to the teacher with such complaints. Some persons seem much afraid that somebody will "run over them" and nearly always have a case in court; others have never been in court except to see how it is conducted. How do you account for such differences?

3. A man "went to law" with his neighbor over a very small sum—so small that it would not half pay his lawyers. He said: "I do not care for the money, but it is the principle of the thing." Argue for or against going to law in such cases.

4. Make a list of your schoolroom rights and of your schoolroom duties.

5. "Laws are a dead letter without courts to expound and define their true meaning and operation." (Alexander Hamilton.) Explain.

6. Contrast the following descriptions, one of the United States Supreme Court, the other of an important city court:

(a) "Etiquette of the Supreme Court is formal; justices wear long black silk robes, and everything is done according to a set and established order."

(b) "An ill-omened looking man, flashily dressed and rude in demeanor, was sitting behind a table, two men in front were addressing him, the rest of the room was given up to disorder. Had one not been told that he was a judge of the highest court of the city, one might have taken him for a criminal." Bryce (AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH, p. 637.) What reason can you give for preserving seriousness and good order in a court session? Describe the order in a court session which you have visited.

7. By means of an illustration explain the meaning of deciding by precedent.

8. In Turkish courts the judge decides according to law, if one has been made which covers the case. If not, he uses his own "clear light of reason," ignoring all precedents. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this plan?

9. What does trial by impartial jury mean? (Constitution, Amendment VI, page 270.)

10. How do the Seventh and Eighth Amendments strengthen the right to trial by jury?

11. Make clear the difference between petit jury and grand jury.

12. In selecting a jury, blood relatives of the accused are excluded. What passage in the Constitution justifies their exclusion?

13. "This Constitution ——— and ——— shall be the supreme law of the land." Select from Article V, Clause 2, the important words omitted from the foregoing.

14. Arrange these in the order of supremacy in case of conflicting authority:

Laws passed by State Legislature.

Laws passed by Congress.

Constitution of the United States.

State Constitution.

Ordinance passed by City Council or Board of Aldermen.

Treaties made by the United States.

15. In each of these cases the proposed law is unconstitutional. Cite the provisions of the Constitution which would help you to decide if you were a judge.

(a) A law is passed forbidding women to vote.

(b) A law is passed providing that train robbers may be tortured until they reveal the names of all the members of their gang.

(c) A tax is imposed on wheat brought into one state from another.

16. By means of an illustration, make clear the difference between criminal and civil cases. What is a plaintiff? A defendant?

17. How are judges of United States courts appointed? What is the term or office? How may they be removed?

18. What is meant by appealing to a higher court? Explain original jurisdiction, appellate jurisdiction, final jurisdiction.

19. Of the eight kinds of cases over which the United States courts have power (Constitution Article III, Section 2) which requires most of the time of the federal courts?

20. What are the duties of the Court of Claims? Of the Court of Customs Appeal?

21. In what courts would each of the following cases be tried?

(a) Dispute between North Carolina and South Carolina over a boundary line.

(b) A burglar is caught breaking into a grocery store in your community.

(c) A burglar breaks into the post office.

- (d) A man makes and circulates a counterfeit dollar.
- (e) Theft occurs on an ocean liner.
- (f) A dispute arises between a merchant of your community over a large bill of goods purchased from a corporation in another state.
- (g) A cow escapes from a pasture and destroys part of a garden. The owner of the garden tries to collect five dollars for damages.

22. Read Amendments I-IV. List all the rights guaranteed to the people in these brief paragraphs. Which justifies the statement that every man's house is his castle?

23. Review the causes of the Revolutionary War in your history. Which of the rights mentioned in Amendments I-IV had England violated in dealing with the colonies? Which of these violated rights are mentioned in the Declaration of Independence?

24. Show how the courts are able to affect the actual effect of law making without making laws themselves.

25. A large majority of the people in the United States favored an income tax. Congress passed a law providing for such a tax, but the Supreme Court by a five to four vote decided that the law was unconstitutional. Much fault was found with the court. Some were in favor of reducing its power; they said that five men kept the people from governing themselves. To what extent was this true? How was the income tax matter finally settled? (Amendment XVI, page 273.)

CHAPTER XII

RECENT POLITICAL EXPERIMENTS .

Do You Know These Terms?

franchise, 155.
civil service, 156.
competitor, 154.
city manager, 153.
patronage, 156.
referendum, 153.
short ballot, 154.

Workingman's Compensation
Law, 160.

commission government, 159.

initiative, 161.

recall, 154.

spoils system, 157.

civil service commission, 156.

merit system, 157.

direct primary, 158.

impeachment, 160.

direct legislation, 161.

public service utilities, 162.

boards and commissions, 162.

Political Experiments. Sometimes new conditions arise suddenly. Old methods of doing things fail to get results. Government plans break down or evil practices develop and changes must be made to remedy conditions. Reformers usually have some political remedy for all the ills of government. Some of these have been tried in former times, others are entirely new, but all are political experiments and few would have any chance for a trial if new problems, incapable of solution by old methods, did not arise. Our government has safely made many political experiments. If one of the forty-eight states tries a new plan and it proves a failure, no other state need try it. If it appears to be a success, other states will adopt it.

Among the political experiments that have been made recently in the United States are civil service, commission form of city government, city manager, the initiative, the referen-

dum, the recall and the short ballot. The reason for these political experiments is to be found in rapidly changing conditions which rendered old political customs inadequate. If we are to understand such experiments, some of which have been successful and promise to become standard practices, we must know something of the condition which caused their introduction.

New Methods in Business. In the period immediately following the Civil War there were great changes in the business world. Before the war, rivers and canals had been the principal routes of transportation. By the middle of the century railroads had passed through the experimental stage and become a serious competitor of the steamboat. The railroad had more than justified itself during the Civil War. As soon as peace was restored, business men turned their attention to railroad building. Great companies were formed, government aid was secured and thousands of miles of new railroad were built annually. Four lines across the continent were completed before 1885 and the railroad had become a necessity. Communication kept pace with transportation. Improvements were made in the telegraph. The Atlantic cable was laid in 1866. The telephone was invented a few years later. Great corporations were formed in all lines of business. Making use of new methods of transportation and communication, these corporations extended their business until the most successful, like Standard Oil and Steel, reached every part of the country and every civilized people in the world. As these methods proved successful huge business undertakings were combined under one management. The application of electricity to lighting, heating, transportation, and power made possible a rapid and almost unlimited growth of the cities

which became the seat of great business activities. Franchises came to be valued immensely. City, state and national officials, especially in the law-making departments of government found themselves in possession of power of great money value.

An Era of Bribery and Corruption. The strain upon the honor and character of some men who were in official positions was greater than they could stand. Fraudulent bonds were legalized by county courts, commissioners and city councils. Long term franchises were granted without proper remuneration and safeguards for the community. Stock in business enterprises was sometimes offered to members of law-making bodies when laws granting public land, franchises, or special favors of some kind were desired. The "Credit Mobilier," a company organized to build the Union Pacific railroad, offered to bribe members of Congress with its stock. In 1875 a Whiskey Ring was discovered which had been defrauding the government. Even members of the President's cabinet were brought under such strong suspicion that resignation became necessary.

Bribing officials whom the people had elected was bad enough, but selecting candidates and securing their election for dishonest purposes was worse. Even judges were elected in this way who by interpreting laws unjustly established precedents favorable to the special interests they served.

In some cases gangs of capable thieves got control of city government. A politician named Tweed organized a group known as the "Tweed Ring" which was in control of New York City from 1868 to 1871 and was probably the most notable example of "boss control" of city government. It had a systematic method by which it robbed the city of about

\$100,000,000. The same sort of thing was done on a smaller scale in many cities.

The political "boss" became a very valuable person to the dishonest business corporation which became more and more anxious to accommodate any person. The railroad corporations, because of the nature of their business were probably the most noted for questionable practices of this kind. Members of party committees and delegates to political conventions were given free transportation. Big business in various ways succeeded in being serviceable to many persons who held positions of influence. Much of this service was without the least suspicion of graft, yet it caused the one receiving it to feel somewhat under obligation.

The alliance between big business and the political "boss" was most evident, and most dangerous to popular government. Bosses like Tweed intimidated voters, stole elections, changed election returns. Patriotic citizens became alarmed for the safety of our government. They began to foresee a monarchy with a boss as ruler. By means of the Spoils System the boss with a vast pay roll at his disposal was able to reward his political friends. Patriotic citizens attacked the Spoils System as the great stronghold of corrupt government.

Civil Service Reform. The demand for reform became strong and in 1871 Congress passed a law providing for a civil service commission. President Grant made an earnest effort to put the law into operation but the politicians in Congress whose patronage was threatened refused to vote an appropriation. President Hayes did all in his power to establish the system but again the politicians refused appropriations. It took the assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed office seeker to make Congress realize the necessity of reform;

a strong, elastic Civil Service reform act was passed. A Civil Service Commission was created and given power to make rules for carrying on the work, but the change from the spoils to the merit system had to be made gradually. Theodore Roosevelt, chairman of the commission in 1889, did more than anyone else to extend the merit system.

Civil Service Commission holds examinations. Those desiring appointments take these and are rated according to their ability. When a vacancy occurs, the person having the power to appoint, calls upon the Commission for qualified applicants. He is given the names of the three highest on the list in that branch of the service and he must appoint one of the three. This experiment has been so successful that every president has extended the service; more than three-fifths of the civil officials of the United States are now under its regulations. A number of states and large cities have adopted the merit system. While it has not cured all the evils found in the government, it is a vast improvement over the spoils system. The character of the service has been much improved by keeping experienced people as long as they are efficient. The president and other responsible officers have been relieved of the difficult task of making several hundred thousand appointments every four years, and the political "boss" has lost some of his influence; he cannot dictate civil service appointments under the merit system.

Many faults have been found with the Merit System by the spoils politicians, but the only valid objection is the fact that an old and faithful employee may retain his position even when no longer able to render effective service. As a remedy for this, it has been proposed to retire officials upon a pension when they have reached a certain age just as is done in the army.

The Direct Primary. The merit system could not reach elective officials. The direct primary was one of the plans proposed to remedy the evils connected with our elections. Log-rolling, bribery, and corruption had become associated with the convention system of nominations. If weak, dishonest, or corrupt men are nominated by both parties, strong and honest officials cannot be elected. The reformer said "let the people select the *candidates* for office at an election called for that purpose." This method known as the direct primary has been adopted generally for the nomination of local and state officials and for congressmen. The names of all candidates of a party are printed on one ballot, and the voter is usually required to choose his party; he is given that party ballot, takes it to a booth, marks it, and deposits it in the ballot box as at a regular election. Most of the safeguards of regular elections are also provided for the direct primary.

The direct primary has spread over the country; but this has been because of the dissatisfaction with the convention system rather than success of the primary in securing strong candidates. It made progress rapidly but is still in the experimental stage. Critics of the direct primary claim that it does not arouse sufficient interest to get out the vote; that it has not eliminated slate-making; that it has not secured stronger or better candidates for office, and that it is so expensive for the candidates that poor men can have no chance of being nominated. Those who favor the primary say that at least it gives the people a chance and if they do not go to the polls and select good men it is their own fault. The direct primary requires a high degree of intelligence on the part of the voter.

The Short Ballot. When there is a large number of elective positions to be filled, it is impossible for the average person to know enough of the candidates to vote intelligently. To meet

this difficulty the short ballot has been proposed. We have used it in our national government from the beginning. At ordinary elections the voter can help in choosing only four United States officers—President, Vice-President, Senator and member of the House of Representatives. Occasionally it becomes necessary to vote for two Senators instead of one or for a Congressman at large.

The application of the short ballot to our state, city and county governments is a political experiment. The plan proposes to shorten the ballot by making all offices appointive except a few who direct the policies of the government and can be held responsible for its success or failure. Under this plan each voter would get ballots for governor, lieutenant governor, state senator and one representative. Under the present plan in most of our states heads of executive departments, such as treasurer and auditor are elected by the people; each feels that he is responsible to those who elected him and not to the governor. If these officials were appointed by the governor, they would have to co-operate with him and the governor could be held responsible for their action. A single policy directing all parts of the state government would then be a possibility.

Cities which have adopted the commission form of government have the short ballot, as the voters select the city commissioners and these in turn appoint other officials. Advocates of the short ballot claim that it would concentrate government powers in the hands of a few people who could be more intelligently chosen and after being elected could be held responsible for results.

The Recall. A plan known as the "recall" has been proposed for dealing with officials who are dishonest or incapable. By this plan any group of citizens, by securing a certain per-

cent of the voters (usually about 25% is required) can compel the calling of a special election to vote on the question of recalling the official named in the petition. The recall laws have been passed in a number of states, but they have seldom been used. Since the beginning of our government the process of impeachment has been the means provided for getting rid of unworthy officials, but likewise has seldom been used. The recall is a powerful weapon; it might do great harm to the cause of good government if used by unscrupulous politicians against their enemies. The greatest value of the recall is not in its use but in the possibility that it might be used. Those who favor the short ballot usually propose the recall as a remedy for possible abuse of the greater powers which the short ballot would confer on elected officials.

The Referendum. Referendum is a term applied to the process of referring a law to the people for their approval before it can go into effect. It has been used in making and amending constitutions, but its use in making law is a custom of recent origin among the American people and is confined to state laws and city ordinances proposed as a remedy for "boss" control and legislative corruption.

To refer an act of the legislature, petitions with signatures of a certain per cent (usually from five to ten) of the voters from at least a majority of the counties or congressional districts must be filed. The filing of the petition suspends the operation of the law until it is voted upon.

There has been much discussion of the value of the referendum; it has been used to delay and in some cases prevent the passage of reform legislation. For example, in one state lawyers who make a specialty of damage claims have delayed for four years the operation of a Workingman's Compensation Law.

The Initiative. There are two types of initiative. In one a measure is proposed by petition but must be considered by the legislature, which may pass, reject or amend it. If rejected or amended the measure must be voted upon by the people. In the other type the law is proposed by petition and must be placed on the ballot and voted on at the next election. In this case the measure is never considered by the legislature.

Direct Legislation. The initiative and referendum used together give the people an entirely new process of making laws, often called direct legislation. Whether this new process will be used more for the good of the public or by the "machine" boss to prevent legislation for public betterment is still a question. The general discussion of proposed measures among the voters is of great educational value; but the number and character of proposed laws make it impossible for a busy people to vote intelligently.

The use of the initiative and referendum takes from legislatures some of their power; people can no longer hold a law-making body fully responsible for all the laws which are passed.

Commission Form of Government for Cities. One political experiment that seems to be very successful is the commission form of government for cities. Under this plan a small commission, usually five, is elected by the people and has full responsibility for managing the business of the city. In most cases, this commission exercises both legislative and executive powers. Each commissioner is head of one department of city government or administration. The commission may employ a city manager who has complete power over all departments. The commission form of government was introduced to relieve cities of boss control and inefficient administration.

Consolidation of Boards and Commissions. Modern conditions throw much work upon state governments. For example, many state institutions are necessary and have to be managed. Public service utilities such as telephones, electric lights, and street railways must be regulated. So many state boards and commissions have been created that it is hard to fix responsibility. Consolidation of such boards increases efficiency of the service and reduces expenses.

Problems Not Yet Solved. As long as Americans continue to be an active and forward-looking people we shall have great problems in the solution of which all must share. Some wish to make changes very slowly. These may be called "conservatives." "Progressives" wish to move more rapidly. Those who desire sudden changes sometimes even by violent means are often termed "radicals" while those who believe in "the good old days" and that the future can never be better than the present are sometimes made fun of as "old fogies" or "moss backs." Most of the constructive work of the world is done by those who are not extremists—conservatives and progressives. When new plans of government are proposed it is usually not best to be too radical and certainly not wise to insist that nothing new is safe. "Be not first by whom the new is tried nor yet the last to lay the old aside."

Suggested Activities.

1. Write to your county, city or township election officials asking for samples of local ballots. Discuss in class how they are to be marked. Appoint four members of your class to write to election officials in four other cities asking for their local ballots. Compare these that you have just received with those of your own community. Discuss the advantages of each in class.

2. Through your Postmaster secure notices of Civil Service Examinations. Ask him where the examinations are held, how often, who conducts them, how long they are, where and by whom the papers are graded—and how the results of the examinations are made known. Find out what officers in your community are under Civil Service legislation.

4. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that the merit system should be used in making all appointments in national, state and city governments.

(b) Resolved, that the United States government should provide for an old age pension for its Civil Service employees.

(c) Resolved, that the short ballot should be adopted for state, county and city governments.

(d) Resolved, that the commission form of government should be adopted for all cities and counties.

Study Questions.

1. How did the "spoils system" tend to the development of bribery and corruption in government?

2. What prevented President Grant and President Hayes from developing civil service reform? What caused its first real progress?

3. What are the duties of the civil service commission?

4. What evidence that the merit system has proved successful?

5. What weakness is there in the merit system? What has been proposed as a remedy?

6. What is the attitude of the political "boss" toward the merit system? Explain.

7. In the study of political platforms it is "the man behind the words that counts." Explain this quotation. Compare nomination by convention and by the direct primary as a means of securing good officers.

8. The direct primary spread rapidly. State the principal reasons for its adoption; the argument for and against the plan.

9. In a recent election seven ballots were placed in the hands of each voter. On each ticket were printed the names of forty candidates. Most of the voters were not familiar with even the names of any except two or three at the head of the ticket. According to the short ballot plan, votes would have been cast only for these well known candidates and those elected would have been made responsible for selecting the rest of the long list. List the arguments for and against the short ballot.

10. Explain the use of the referendum.

11. Sea captains, railroad engineers and school teachers are not selected because of membership in a political party. Compare civil service examinations with the test of party membership as a means of securing capable officers.

PART THREE

THE PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT AND HOW WE ARE MEETING THEM

CHAPTER XIII

OUR GOVERNMENT AND MONEY

Do You Know These Terms?

budget, 167.	wildcat banking, 173.
clearing house, 171.	corporation tax, 183.
state bank, 169.	federal reserve bank, 169.
feudalism, 174.	national bank, 169.
fees, 177.	taxes, 174.
toll, 176.	customs duties, 182.
excise, 182.	direct tax, 182.
income tax, 182.	inheritance tax, 182.
	poll tax, 183.

Successful business demands the correct use of words. Study these terms relating to money until you can use them correctly.

How Money Came into Use. The use of money as a medium of exchange was common among ancient peoples. At first all exchange of goods was accomplished by barter or trade. Soon some well known, desirable article became a standard of value. The cow was frequently used among early peoples as such a standard. The amount of grain, the number of sheep or manufactured articles of value equal to a cow became common knowledge in the community. In time the value of some metal which was comparatively scarce became established. The cow could not be carried around and

traded for other articles, but a lump of the metal equal in value to the cow could be substituted. Metal had large value in small bulk and could be easily divided into lumps one-half or one-fourth the value of a cow without loss. It was thus convenient to use in making exchange of goods. Rings and bars equal in value to a cow became common. Weighing the metal to make sure that the pieces were full size became necessary; traders carried scales to weigh metal used in making exchange for goods. The next step was stamping the lump of metal by some one in whom the people had confidence, usually the king.

A people who lived in Asia Minor known as Lydians are thought to have been the first to coin money. The practice of coining money spread to the Greeks and Romans and has continued since. Many times standard money has been scarce and something else has been used instead. The use of tobacco in Virginia is one instance.

Good Money. Good money must be valuable itself, readily divided and reunited without loss, easily carried from one place to another, not too hard to recognize and distinguish from other substances, and must hold the same value for long periods of time. No substance meets all these requirements perfectly, but gold more nearly does it than anything else yet discovered.

The Uses of Money. 1. Money is used as a medium of exchange. We are all familiar with this use. If we have money we can exchange it for clothing, food, books, a trip to Europe, or almost anything we desire.

2. Money is used as a standard of deferred payments. A man without money needs a suit of clothes and agrees to pay a certain amount of money for it in six months. In this way

he is using money not as a medium of exchange, but as a standard of deferred payment. All saving and borrowing, as well as our entire banking system depend upon this use of money.

3. Money is used as a standard of comparison. Suppose a boy wants a bicycle and a baseball. He learns the price of each, compares the two desires in terms of dollars and makes his decision. A man receives a salary of \$100.00 a month. If he spends wisely, he compares things he may secure for himself and family in terms of dollars. He can rent one house for \$15.00 or a better one for \$25.00. The costs of clothing, fuel, groceries and other articles are compared and a list of items for which he will spend the \$100.00 is made out. He has used money as a standard of comparison. The list he has made out showing his income and the items he has decided to buy is sometimes called a budget.

Standard Money. Gold and silver each have many of the qualities of good money. Gold has much greater value in the same weight, but both metals have been extensively used. Their market value changes with supply and demand. In 1792 our government made both silver and gold standard money and fixed a ratio of value between them by law. There was just fifteen times as much silver as gold in a dollar. This was called a legal ratio of 15 to 1. The value of one grain of gold was a little more than the value of fifteen grains of silver; for this reason people did not have gold coined and there was little in circulation. In 1834 Congress changed the ratio from 15 to 1, to 16 to 1. But sixteen grains of silver was worth more on the market than one grain of gold, and silver was sold as bullion instead of being coined. Gold then came into circulation and there was little or no silver money. The

United States government had since Washington's time coined both silver and gold at its mints making only sufficient charge to pay the expense of the work. Anyone could take all the silver or gold he had to the mint and have it made into money. In 1873 Congress prohibited the coinage of silver on these terms but gold was coined as before. That act had the effect



NATIONAL TREASURY BUILDING

of making gold the only standard money. Finally in 1900 a law was passed making gold the standard money in the United States. Gold standard has been adopted in all the great countries of the world. The use of the same metal as standard money in all the countries simplifies the problems of trade very much.

Kinds of Money. There are eleven kinds of money in circulation in the United States. The government keeps all of them on an equality (or at par value) by giving gold in exchange for any of the other kinds of money at any time. The

different kinds of money are as follows: gold coins, standard silver dollars, minor coins, gold certificates, silver certificates, treasury notes, United States notes (commonly called greenbacks), national bank notes and federal reserve bank notes.

Credit. The use of money as a standard of deferred payment gives rise to credit. The merchant sells goods and charges the purchase price on his customer's account. A farmer sells his farm and accepts a promissory note for a part of the purchase price. A trader buys a farmer's hogs and writes a check to pay for them. A banker writes a draft for his customer who desires to pay for goods bought in a distant city. A merchant buys a bill of exchange to pay an account in a foreign country. All of these transactions make use of credit, and the forms used are called instruments. Accounts, notes, checks and drafts are used in credit business. The use of credit multiplies the work money is able to do at least fourfold.

Our Banking System. Banks are institutions organized under the law and deal in money and credit. There are three kinds of banks in the United States:

1. State banks which are organized under state law and receive deposits and lend money.
2. National banks which are organized under United States law and in addition to receiving and lending money are permitted to issue national bank notes which circulate as money.
3. Federal Reserve banks issue paper money and do a banking business with other banks.

The Use of Bank Credit as Money. To understand the use of bank credit as money it is necessary to study banking transactions. Suppose a number of persons decide to enter the banking business. They organize under the laws of the state

or the United States as they choose and each puts a certain amount of his own money into the business. This forms the "capital" of the bank. They receive "deposits" and make "loans." People deposit their money in the bank; are given a check book; and can draw checks against their bank account at any time. If you deposit \$1,000.00, the banker takes your money and gives you credit for \$1,000.00. A few days later you make a purchase from Mr. Smith and give him a check for \$500.00. Smith takes the check to the bank but instead of taking the money he takes credit. The banker simply subtracts \$500.00 from your account and adds the same amount to Smith's account. Smith buys a suit of clothes for \$50.00, pays a hardware bill of \$100.00 and a doctor bill of \$100.00. The merchants and the doctor have accounts at the bank. They deposit Smith's checks and the banker "credits" their accounts and "debits" Smith's account, still keeping the money. Smith decides to buy a farm. He needs more money than he has in the bank. He makes the bank a note for \$2,000.00, but instead of taking the money he has the \$2,000.00 added to his account. He buys the farm from Jones and writes a check for \$5,000.00. Jones has an account at the bank and deposits the check. The bank "credits" Jones' account with \$5,000, "debits" Smith's account and keeps the money. All these purchases are made and debts paid by the use of credit. No money changes hands and Smith is paying the bank interest on \$2,000.00. Bank records show that about \$90.00 of each \$100.00 checked out is redeposited. Bankers have learned that they can lend three-fourths of all the money deposited with them and have sufficient money on hand to meet all demands for cash. This means that a banker who has deposits amounting to \$400,000 can safely put \$300,000 out on interest providing he is sure

that those who borrow will be able to repay the money. The extent to which credit is used instead of money in transacting the business of the country may be seen by comparing the bank deposits with the actual money in circulation. The total bank deposits in the United States in 1919 was \$25,385,784,000 but there was only \$1,424,994,347 in circulation, of which \$1,112,353,324 was gold. As all money except gold represents government credit, there is on the average nearly \$23.00 of credit based upon every dollar of real money.

The Clearing House. Bankers cash the checks on other banks as checks on their own, but instead of keeping a separate account with every other bank, each has an account with a clearing house. This is an institution which keeps accounts with banks in much the same way that banks keep accounts with individuals. At closing time every day each bank sends to the clearing house all checks received on other banks. The clearing house balances all accounts and the balances only are paid in cash. The total amount of the checks passing through the clearing houses of the United States in 1920 was \$463,-020,260,000.

State Banks. In our early history a great part of the banking business of the country was done by state banks. These were allowed to issue paper money under such regulations as the state law provided. In some of the states the banking laws were strict and the banks were compelled to have sufficient capital to redeem the money issued, but in many states and territories the laws allowed the issue of money by banks without proper safeguards and many issued more money than they could redeem. If they failed, people who held their paper money were the losers. There were so many of these state banks issuing paper money that no one could know with

any certainty the value of the money in circulation. During the Civil War Congress placed a tax upon all money issued by state banks and they ceased to issue it. Their business is receiving deposits and lending money. In 1919 the deposits in the state banks amounted to \$9,460,919,000.

Banking Under United States Law. The first bank established under national law was the United States bank proposed by Hamilton in 1791. Its charter was for twenty years. In 1811 Congress failed to renew the charter and the bank ceased to exist. In 1816 a second United States bank was established and did a successful banking business for twenty years but President Jackson vetoed the bill renewing its charter. From 1836 until 1862 there were no banks under national law. In 1862 the national bank law was passed and national banks were organized in all parts of the United States. This law required the bank to deposit within the United States treasury sufficient government bonds to redeem all currency issued by the bank. This makes national bank notes as good as gold. The national banks are today doing the greater part of the banking business of the country. In 1919 their deposits amounted to \$10,924,865,000.

Federal Reserve Banks. The latest development in our banking system is the federal reserve banks. The United States is divided into twelve districts and there is one federal reserve bank in each district. The federal reserve banks do not do banking business with individuals. They receive deposits and make loans to the member banks only.

Power of Congress to Control Money. The Constitution of the United States (see page 262) gives Congress full power over money and credit. Under the authority conferred under these clauses all the laws have been passed which have given

us the wonderful system we now enjoy. Our sound financial system has much to do with our general prosperity and is one of the most important ways in which our government has been able to serve the people. Most of those now living in the United States cannot remember the time when there was any difference in the purchasing power of gold and paper money, and fewer still have any recollection of the days of "wildcat banking" before the Civil War. We accept the benefits of a sound currency much as we do the air we breathe without realizing how important it is to our happiness and well being. All private and public business and expenditure depend directly upon our financial system.

Growth of Public Expenditure. Public expenditure has grown very rapidly especially since the Civil War. Population has increased rapidly, wealth more rapidly than population and public expenditure more rapidly than wealth. The last grows because every unit of our government (national, state and local) is constantly undertaking new work on an ever-increasing scale. Lighting our cities with electricity is an example of a new work of government which requires large expenditure; expansion of public education furnishes one of the best examples of our government doing an old work on a constantly increasing scale. The figures indicating increase in public expenditures are so large that they become alarming when stated in round sums; and the political party out of power frequently uses these without giving detailed facts to make people believe that officials are extravagant or corrupt. A little thought will show that it is not the amount but the wisdom of an expenditure that determines whether it is good or bad. A small amount expended upon a highway may have to be repeated with every recurring rain and would, therefore,

be foolish while use of a larger sum to make the improvement permanent would be wise spending of the people's money. The wisdom of an expenditure should be determined first and only sufficient money raised to produce the greatest public good for the money expended. The practice of levying taxes first and determining expenditures by the amount of money raised is very foolish public finance and leads to waste.

Public Expenditure. During the Middle Ages the people of Europe had a peculiar kind of government called feudalism. Government officials had possession of the land and from its proceeds met both government and private expenses. Feudalism was succeeded by monarchy. There was no separation between the private expenses of the monarch and the public expenses of the government, although much of the revenue was to be raised by taxation. Constitutional government had its beginnings in the efforts which people made to limit the expenditure of the king; it advanced in proportion to its success in getting control of the public purse. Soon there came the separation of the public money from the private money of the ruler. With the final establishment of representative government there came a new standard for judging public expenditure. Formerly spending public money was justified when it satisfied the whim of a ruler; now it must be for the good of the people as a whole. Private expenditure depends upon the amount of money the individual is able to raise as well as upon the wisdom of the expenditure; but public expenditure in all ordinary cases depends entirely upon the wisdom of the expenditure, because the state raises its money by taxation and can always raise as much money as the people believe it is spending wisely and no more.

Public expenditures may be divided into two classes :

1. Those which confer a common benefit on all citizens.

2. Those which confer a special benefit upon a person or class of people as well as a common benefit to all.

Public expenditure increases per capita with the increase of population. Large cities spend more per person than small cities, and small cities spend more per person than rural districts. This is because more densely populated centers have greater opportunity to spend wisely for the good of all than thinly populated districts. Democracies have constantly increased their governmental activities and the growth of these is naturally accompanied by an increase of public expenditure. The great problem is not to lower taxes but to secure honest, efficient expenditure of every dollar raised by taxation in some worth-while work that we cannot do better through private effort.

Expenditure for the Common Good. Our government incurs much expense for what is considered the common good. There is no specific charge made upon any person for service. This class of expenditure may be better understood by indicating some of its divisions.

1. *Administrative Expenditure.* The salary and official expenses of the president, members of Congress and hundreds of thousands of officials engaged in the work of the United States government as well as similar expenses in all the state and local governments may be classed as administrative expenditure.

2. *Legislative Expenses.* This expense of Congress including salaries of members, money expended for clerks, postage, printing and incidental expenses of state legislature may be classed as legislative expenses.

3. *Public Buildings.* Buildings are necessary for the use of our government officials. The construction and maintenance of these requires a large expenditure of public money.

Some public buildings have been erected where they were not needed and there have been many stories of graft and corruption in connection with the construction of others which were needed, but these practices are abuses which an intelligent democracy will prevent. Public buildings must be always a necessary and rather large item of expenditure for the common good.

4. *Defense.* The cost of defense forms the largest item of national expenditures. This includes the charges which are the result of past wars and provisions for possible future wars. The Great War left the country with a very large debt. The appropriation made by Congress in 1920 was apportioned as follows:

- (a) Three per cent for general governmental expenses;
- (b) Three per cent for public work;
- (c) One per cent for research, education and development;
- (d) Ninety-three per cent for obligations arising from war and preparation for future wars. This large proportion of expenditure for war purposes will doubtless be made less but it can hardly be less than seventy-five per cent for many years unless means can be found to reduce the expense of preparation for future wars; debts already incurred must be paid.

5. *Roads.* The expenditure for roads was at one time considered a special benefit; those who used them were required to pay for their construction and maintenance by tolls. But at the present time good roads are considered a common benefit and are constructed and maintained by our government. In recent years national, state and local governments all contribute for this purpose. There is probably no money spent which brings a greater or quicker return in producing better living conditions than that which is used for roads. The motor

car and good roads are rapidly bringing the advantages of city life to rural districts.

6. Education. Expenditure for education is of first importance. The very existence of the nation depends upon the intelligence of its citizens. For that reason education is a common benefit and should be paid for from public funds. Education furnishes one of the best examples of rapid expansion of public expenditure. Fifty years ago the state furnished elementary education only and that to but a portion of the people. Higher education was considered a special benefit to be paid for by the individual. Today people generally believe that every boy and girl should have the opportunity of obtaining a four-year high school education at public expense; even college and university education is largely paid for with public funds.

Expenditure for the Common Good Which Benefits Certain Individuals. There are certain kinds of public expenditure necessary for the public good but of special benefit to certain persons or classes. Such expenditure includes money spent for pensions, workingmen's compensation, care of the insane, the deaf and dumb, criminal classes and the maintenance of hospitals and homes for the poor. In all such cases the individual receives direct advantage but the common benefit is considered sufficient to justify public expense. To illustrate, it is dangerous to community welfare to allow the insane their liberty. Therefore, they are cared for in public institutions.

There is another class of expenditures in which the government shares, fees being paid by the person receiving direct benefit. The courts and the post office department are two prominent cases in which the cost of service is divided between the government and the person benefited.

National, State and Local Expenses. The total of public expenditure including all national, state and local governments is so large that we can hardly understand the meaning of the figures. Expenditure for defense and wars falls almost entirely upon the national government; for education upon the state and local (city and county) governments and other expenditures such as administrative, legislative and building costs are common to all divisions. If the costs of defense and war are excluded, it is possible to compare the ordinary expenditure of the four divisions of our government. In 1913 the expenditures of these various divisions were approximately as follows:

The National (excluding war costs).....	\$500,000,000
The States.....	382,000,000
The Counties.....	385,000,000
Cities, Villages and Towns.....	1,245,000,000

These figures show that our cities and towns are spending almost as much money as the other three units of government combined. All governmental expenses have been increased since 1918 and the huge cost of the Great War has caused a burden of debt in the form of United States bonds or promises to pay.

The enormous expenditure of money necessary in carrying on government activities creates great possibilities for waste. The present practice in determining the nature and amount of public expenditure is not as scientific and systematic as it should be. We have placed control of the public purse in the hands of the law-making branch of the government and given the lower house special responsibility in raising and apportioning public funds. Unfortunately there has developed

among the membership of legislative bodies the idea that it is the duty of representatives to secure expenditure of some of the public funds at home. Too often a legislator is estimated among the people he represents by his ability to secure the appropriation of public money to be spent in the district. Thus his larger responsibility as a law maker for state or nation as a whole becomes a secondary consideration. This has resulted in many appropriation bills sometimes called "pork barrels." Pork barrel legislation is passed by a method known as "log rolling." The name is taken from the practice of people in pioneer communities who helped one another roll logs together in clearing the land for cultivation. As the name indicates, members help one another to get appropriations for their local enterprises. The bill is not introduced until it carries appropriations which will interest enough members to insure its passage. The evils of log rolling and pork barrel methods are found in many fields of public expenditure; the question becomes not how much money is needed for the public good, but how much can be secured in the legislator's district.

Law makers have been severely condemned for these practices but they cannot rise very far above the ideals of the people whom they represent. The remedy is not to be found in condemning individual legislators but in education of the citizenship of the country until a better system of public expenditure is demanded.

The Budget System. The abuse of log-rolling and pork barrel expenditure reached its highest mark some years ago in city governments. Reform of city business became a necessity. Students of public finance proposed a plan known as the budget system. The essentials of the budget plan are:

1. Some person or persons who have authority to investi-

gate the needs of all departments, institutions, commissions, or boards which spend public money, make an itemized list of these needs; and combine the totals into one large sum which will include all expenditures of the government for which the budget is made.

2. A complete itemized statement of the receipts and expenditures for the preceding period is made.

3. Recommendations are made for changes in expenditure and revenue including the taxes that should be levied.

The rapidly increasing expenditure in national, state and city government has caused strong demand for the introduction of the budget system. As the greatest abuses in spending public money developed in city government, so the first progress in reform came in cities. Better methods of accounting and provisions for budgets are contained in charters adopted in recent years and most cities which have the manager or commission form of government have a budget system. More than half of the states have adopted plans for more efficient estimating and recording of expenses. Much progress has recently been made by the national government in the direction of budget legislation.

The Goal in Public Expenditure. Every dollar collected from the people by taxation should be spent for a definite object that has been determined to be essential to the public good. As nearly as possible the exact amount of money required for meeting necessary expenses of government most efficiently should be determined. Equitable taxes sufficient to raise the needed amount of money and no more should be levied. Finally, when the money is collected it should be expended for the purpose which it was collected. Not until every dollar is spent for the worth-while public purpose for which it was collected can the goal of public expenditure be reached.

How Our Government Raises Money. Our government may obtain money through sale of property, gifts, by fines and penalties, by borrowing, or by taxation. At one time the sale of public land brought large sums of money into the United States treasury, but at the present sales are not an important source of revenue. Gifts are usually made for a specific purpose and the government is simply the agent to provide for proper expenditure. Fines and penalties amount to considerable sums but cannot be counted on as a constant source of revenue. Borrowing by means of bond issues is the quickest way to obtain money. But this plan can be justified only in case of an emergency such as war or public work or improvements which will benefit a future generation who may be expected to pay the debt. Borrowing cannot be resorted to as an ordinary source of revenue. It may thus be seen that taxation must be the chief means of securing money to pay government expenses.

1. *Fees.* Some government work is paid for in part by fees, that is, compulsory payment for an official act. Recording deeds, issuing marriage licenses, and administering the estate of deceased persons are illustrations. Pavements and sewers are usually paid for by special assessments levied upon the property benefited.

2. *Rates.* Postal and parcel post rates are charged in proportion to the service rendered. Fees and rates and other charges do not produce a sufficient amount of money to pay the expenses of any unit of our government; all must depend upon taxes for support.

3. *Taxes.* Taxes are compulsory contributions levied to pay the expenses of government. They are justified by the fact that the government protects life and property and confers benefit upon all.

The Problem of Taxation. All taxes may be classed as direct or indirect. The property tax, income tax and inheritance taxes are direct. Customs duties and excises are indirect taxes. The amount of that tax is added to the price of the goods.

1. *The General Property Tax* is used in nearly all states for local and state purposes. Levying and collecting the general property tax is an expensive process. An assessor makes a tax list for each taxpayer. This list should be a complete statement of all his property together with its estimated value. Dissatisfied taxpayers who believe their property is assessed at too high a value may appeal to a board of equalization. The city, township, school district, county and state determine the rate necessary to carry on the work of these units of government. These valuations are rates used in calculating the amount of tax each person must pay. In case too much tax has been assessed upon a county, its officials may appeal to a state board of equalization.

2. *Income Tax* is a contribution of a per cent of a person's net money receipts during a specified period of time, usually a year. It is considered one of the most equitable taxes because it falls upon those best able to pay. It is used by the United States government and in recent years has been adopted by many state governments.

3. *An Inheritance Tax* is levied upon property at the death of the owner and paid by the heirs receiving the estate. It is usually heavier upon large estates and property willed to distant relatives. Inheritance taxes are growing in favor in the United States, and seem likely to become one of the important sources of revenue. They are easily paid because inheritances are like a gift. The justification for the tax rests upon the theory that all property naturally reverts to the state upon

the death of the individual and inheritance is a privilege granted by the state to encourage thrift, which may be limited for the common good at any time.

4. *Corporation Taxes.* Corporations which enjoy special privileges conferred by the state are required to pay a reasonable equivalent in taxes.

5. *Poll Tax.* A tax which is equal in amount and levied upon each citizen of a community is called a poll tax. It is one of the simplest forms of taxation and was formerly very common. It is an unjust tax in any society except where property is equally distributed.

Taxation by the United States. The United States government has usually depended upon indirect taxes. Alexander Hamilton in organizing the finances of the government proposed import duties and excise taxes for raising revenue. These two types of taxes have been the main dependence of the government but recently the income tax has been important. Import duties have been used almost continuously since the days of Hamilton. They have produced revenues, and have also been used to protect the various industries of the country. For many years the question of whether the tariff should be used for revenue only or should be so levied that it would protect the industries of the country as well as raise a revenue, has been an issue between the two great political parties.

Excise taxes or internal revenue are also used by the general government. Such taxes upon alcoholic liquors and tobacco have been a large source of income since the Civil War. The Eighteenth Amendment has greatly reduced the amount of revenue derived from this source. The decline of imports due to the war reduced the revenue from the tariff, but the deficiencies were mostly made up by the income tax.

War Increases the National Debt. When the United States entered the war our national debt amounted to about \$1,208,000,000 or \$11.33 per capita. More than half of it bore interest at the low rate of two per cent, and the bonds sold at a premium. The annual revenue collected for the last fiscal year before we entered the war ending June 30, 1916, was \$779,664,552. The United States entered the war April 6, 1917. New taxes were enacted. The income tax was increased, corporation taxes were levied, excise taxes were placed upon many articles, a new tax known as a war profit or excess profit tax was provided for with the hope of compelling the war profiteer to contribute heavily to the government's needs. The total revenue collected between April 6, 1917, and October 31, 1919, reached the enormous sum of \$11,280,000,000. The total war expenditure during that period was \$35,413,000,000 and the national debt on the latter date was \$26,210,000,000 or about \$249 per capita.

A Tax System. The great tax problem in America is the development of a just system for local and state taxation. The general property tax has been objected to, and when used alone it is not always just. The income tax seems to be a fair way of raising money for the government provided other sources of revenue are used at the same time. Inheritance and corporation taxes are in general use. Paying taxes is a patriotic duty which is more willingly performed when each knows that he is paying a just share toward the support of our government.

Suggested Activities.

1. Through a talk with someone at your local bank learn:
 - (a) Whether this bank is a state, a national, or a federal reserve bank.
 - (b) Three different plans which the bank finds most successful in helping people to save money.
2. Consult the secretary or treasurer or a member of the Board of Education of your school district. Find out:
 - (1) The approximate annual income of the district.
 - (2) The various sources from which this income is derived.

Plan a Budget based upon the income which is secured, making provision for the various items of expense and keeping within the income.
3. Is the amount of income which your district has sufficient to meet the expenses required in conducting your school. If not, how could a larger amount of money be raised? Are there improvements which your school should make? If so, how could the money be raised?
4. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:
 - (a) Resolved, that everyone who has an income should help support our government by paying an income tax.
 - (b) Resolved, that it is better to tax articles that are desirable but not necessary than those which all must have.

Study Questions.

1. A ten-year-old boy offered at a depot window what would be worth in our money five dollars in payment for a five-dollar ticket. The ticket seller said, "I am sorry but your paper money is worth only four dollars today and I cannot give you the ticket." Trouble with paper money is very common in most European countries; perhaps we do not fully realize how fortunate we are in having a government which keeps all money worth one hundred cents on the dollar everywhere. What keeps our paper money as good as gold?
2. "This note is receivable by all NATIONAL AND MEMBER BANKS and FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS and for all TAXES, CUSTOMS and other public dues. It is redeemable in gold ON DEMAND at the treasury department of the United States in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, or in gold or lawful money at any federal reserve bank." (From a twenty dollar bill—federal reserve note.) Explain the words or expressions in capitals.
3. What qualities should good money have? What substance most nearly has all these qualities?

4. In the presidential campaign of 1896, the platform of one of the great political parties declared in favor of the "free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1." Explain what this meant.

5. A national bank has deposits amounting to \$400,000. Of this the bank has loaned \$300,000 leaving \$100,000 in its vaults and exchange banks. Suppose all the depositors should want their money at the same time. Ask a banker how the bank could meet this sudden demand.

6. What should be determined first, the amount of money to be expended or the tax levy? What determines whether public expenditure is wise or unwise?

7. Cities spend more money per person than rural communities. What do they spend it for?

8. What per cent of the 1920 national appropriation was expended for war including past wars and preparation for war?

9. Give examples of public service in which the expense is divided between the state and the individual. Who pays fees?

10. How may our government obtain money? When is borrowing justified?

11. List the following as direct or indirect taxes:

- (a) Tax on real estate.
- (b) Tax upon imports.
- (c) Tax upon tobacco.
- (d) Stamp tax.
- (e) Inheritance tax.

12. "You do not earn your salt" is now used as a joke. Long ago when salt was very scarce kings raised money by very high salt taxes. Earning one's salt was a serious matter. What objection is there to high taxes upon the necessities of life?

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION

Do You Know These Terms?

universal education, 187.
political freedom, 188.
popular education, 188.
best sellers, 189.
dialects, 189.
public opinion, 190.
law enforcement, 190.
suppression, 190.
despotic powers, 190.
national government, 191.
vocational courses, 191.
statistical information, 192.

illiteracy, 192.
compulsory education, 192.
compulsory attendance, 192.
escheats, 193.
freedom of the press, 196.
treasonable doctrines, 196.
fraudulent undertaking, 196.
radical doctrines, 196.
visionary, 196.
tolerant, 196.
agitator, 196.
independent thinking, 197.

In studying this chapter the expressions listed here need to be understood. Explain each.

Going to School Is Working for the United States. Several times as many persons attend school in America as were ever assembled in the world's largest army; yet this great army of peace causes small excitement for we have grown accustomed to universal education. Perhaps when you started to school this year, you took school privileges for granted as if they had always been; yet they are really of recent origin, and the arguments which have brought such privileges are so important that no intelligent citizen can afford not to think of them. They show that going to school is closely related to the government we are studying.

When you buy a newspaper, you are hardly likely to think that it may have an important relationship to the United States. Yet when you read one of these, a magazine or a book,

you are doing what comparatively few could have done a hundred years ago and our government has had much to do with making these things possible. And even when a letter is mailed you may not have considered many of the reasons why our country carries letters so cheaply. Educated citizens who read newspapers and books and write letters are the best citizens. Political freedom and ignorance have never gone hand in hand.



"AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARE OUR PRIDE"

Free Education and Communication Necessary. American public schools are our pride; in no other country are so many newspapers read or so many letters mailed. In addition to being proud of these we may well realize that America could not be without them. Because they could not comprehend the power of popular education, cheap reading material, and opportunities for travel, the wisest men who framed our Constitution could not picture a united country so large and varied in its industries. Common, that is communicated, ideas

hold us together ; without education and general reading, these would not be strong enough to unite us. As it is even though climate and occupations differ, all are able to read the same news, sing the same songs, read the same best sellers and think the same thoughts. Where reading and travel are less general, even in small countries, there are many dialects so different that there can be little common understanding. People



AMERICANIZATION SCHOOLS FOR ADULT FOREIGNERS ARE
CONDUCTED IN OUR GREAT CITIES

who cannot speak the same language are not likely to get along well together nor to understand and obey the same laws.

Americanization. A great educational problem is that of giving our millions of foreign immigrants an understanding of America. They may become legally naturalized citizens after five years of residence, provided they have made proper declaration, passed examination, and sworn loyalty to the United States. Sometimes thousands of them settle together

and fail to become naturalized. The act of naturalization itself is important; by it an alien becomes a citizen. But real acquaintance with the government and customs of their adopted country counts for more. Americanization schools for adult foreigners are conducted in our great cities. While parents may attend these, their children are studying our government and becoming Americans in the public schools.

Public Opinion. Another reason for the necessity of intelligent, reading citizens is that all government of the people is controlled by public opinion. What all or most of the people want will come to pass. In the modern sense there could be no free government until there was an educated public, allowed the fullest freedom in choice of its reading. Public opinion in the United States makes and unmakes laws and law makers; it brings about or prevents law enforcement. It is a more real force than armies and navies for it brings these into being and makes them move.

Government Attitude Toward Public Opinion. Government attitudes toward the information and opinions of their citizens or subjects may be classed as suppression, control and guidance, or freedom and encouragement.

1. Despotic powers have limited education and effective opinion to a small controlling class which could itself be controlled. Such suppression was common in all the world until printing was invented.

2. With the advent of printing it was no longer possible to suppress education; books and papers could be produced for all with little expense. Governments now sought to prescribe what might or might not be read, and were especially afraid for the larger reading public to know too much about the government itself. Long after the Revolutionary War, the English government was still so afraid of too much free pub-

lic opinion that it was doing nothing for popular education, taxed newspapers heavily, and by vigorous measures endeavored to dictate what should be printed about the rulers themselves.

Attitude of the United States. Almost from the first, America adopted an attitude of encouragement to public education and freedom of public opinion. No other country has sung with so much truth politically "*Sweet land of liberty.*" Universal free, public education has been the ideal. Freedom of the press and of speech are guaranteed by the Constitution. Liberal postal laws have favored extensive circulation of magazines and newspapers. Political discussion has always been unrestricted; a people's government has not been afraid to let the "common people" know too much. The march of civilization has been steadily in the direction of universal education and freedom of discussion; the United States has taken a leading place in this advance.

Public Education in the United States. Of the three kinds of governments which Americans conduct for themselves, national, state, and local, the last two are concerned with what is called public education. The United States trains military and naval officers; controls schools in Alaska, the Philippines and other territories; educates the Indians; assists the states in supporting agricultural colleges, and co-operates with states and local communities in maintaining vocational courses in high schools.

In addition, the national government supports the great library of Congress and many bureaus or offices whose business it is to furnish free information of value in nearly every business or occupation. People who do not write for such information when it is needed are depriving their own government of opportunities to help them.

The Bureau of Education is one of these. It has no legal authority over our schools but through the collection of statistical information and publication of educational bulletins, it performs a very useful service. The importance of education has led to a movement to create a national department of education with a secretary in the President's cabinet and to set apart large sums of money to aid the states in support of schools, especially in reducing illiteracy. It has also been urged since the time of Washington's administration that a national university should be established at Washington.

The States in Education. Though there are no national laws relating to education and no United States system of schools, there is much uniformity among the individual states in the provisions for public education.

1. All states require local communities to maintain schools for all. This may be called compulsory education. Every state has also found it necessary to pass compulsory attendance laws since a few parents are so short-sighted as to keep their children out of school at work or to send them so irregularly that they make little progress and drop out of school at the earliest opportunity. Most states also have laws forbidding employment of children during school hours. All such laws are more likely to be enforced in cities than in small communities and rural districts.

2. For many years state regulation and control of education has been increasing, and local authority decreasing. Once local trustees, directors, or committeemen determined the length of school term, adopted textbooks, and examined teachers. Most of these powers are now exercised in part or altogether by the states. The result has been increased economy and higher standards. The principal school officer, usually called the superintendent or commissioner, has in many states

a group of specialists who supervise the schools and encourage the best work.

3. State support of education has likewise been increasing. State school funds consist of proceeds of the sale of lands, sections sixteen and thirty-six being devoted to education except in the older states. Fines, escheats, and other minor sources of revenue are frequently added to school funds. In addition to school funds, the interest only of which is used, several states have a general tax for school support. The advantage of state over local support is found in the fact that very poor communities which might be brought to higher standards may thus be aided, and special types of vocational education may be developed.

Aside from such regulation and support as have been mentioned most states maintain a state university or provide scholarships in universities already established. They usually provide normal schools or teachers' colleges for the training of teachers; they co-operate with the national government in support and control of vocational courses in high schools. Special schools for deaf, blind, and incorrigible are also conducted by the state.

Local Government in Relation to Education. Most of the money required to support the school you attend probably came from county, city, or district taxation. Local trustees, directors, or committeemen employ teachers, and provide buildings and supplies for operation of the schools. This board is in nearly all cases elected by the voters; in this way the people determine how their schools are to be supported and conducted. There is a tendency to reduce the number of small country districts by consolidation and by the county unit, a plan by which a single board manages all the schools of a county instead of having a separate board for each little school.

Your Opportunity and Obligation. The cost of public education in America is very great, requiring usually from one-third to one-half of all money raised by local taxation. Common schools are free to all in most European countries, but nowhere outside of the United States is the attempt made to furnish free high school and college education. "It costs too much" or "We should have too many educated people" these countries seem to say. We think such notions wrong,

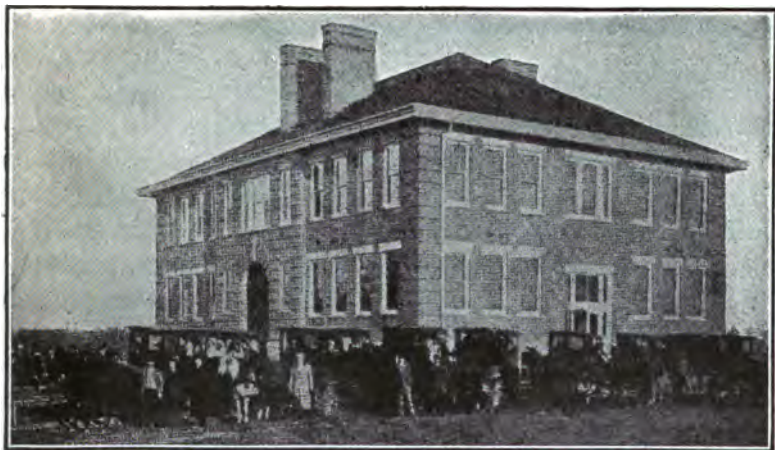


MANY CHILDREN FORMERLY ATTENDED SCHOOLS OF THIS TYPE

but our real success depends upon the energy, zeal, and honest effort which boys and girls put into their school work. The worst enemies of our schools are not those who find fault but the ones who fail to profit by them. If pupils who have been offered educational opportunities are quitters, leaving school before they become most worth while to themselves and their country, they are arguing against public support of higher education. If pupils who have spent many years in school are not on the average worth more to the country than those who

have had meagre opportunities, why should we insist that all shall attend?

The Postal System. Without our postal system communication of ideas and the transaction of business in this great country would be impossible. A letter is carried quickly by rail, aeroplane, or stage to any postoffice in the country. In most parts of the United States rural free delivery has been



THE SAME CHILDREN NOW ATTEND A CONSOLIDATED
GRADED SCHOOL OVER PAVED ROADS

established so that the isolated farm home may have its daily newspaper.

Common ideas and public opinion could not exercise their force in keeping us a united and progressive nation if postage were not cheap. For the first half century of our national period comparatively few papers and magazines were circulated more than one hundred miles from their place of publication because postage rates were prohibitive. Postage was

charged in proportion to distance and the charge for sending a single copy from New York to San Francisco would have been more than the cost of a year's subscription.

Problems of Communication. The Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and of the press, but it does not permit any one to communicate treasonable doctrines nor to utter slander or libels. Laws prevent the use of indecent language in letters and it is unlawful to advertise fraudulent undertakings or illegal schemes like lotteries.

The people of this country have been very tolerant of radical doctrines of all kinds. Perhaps it has been thought that if foolish or visionary measures were advocated and allowed the fullest discussion, the good sense of a free people will be sufficient to prevent harmful effects. Knowing that, even though a slow process, it is within the voters' power to bring about all political changes, the average voter plays the game according to rule, provided he is intelligent. The surest guarantee that our free institutions will last is general education and free discussion. Class struggles cannot go far in an educated citizenry; the radical agitator is not dangerous until he finds followers who do not think. Educated radicals do not lead other educated citizens; they find their following among illiterates and near-illiterates.

In a similar way "propaganda" is often carried which may teach dangerous or un-American doctrines. The only sure protection against wrong notions which reading of radical literature might produce, is widespread, independent thinking, possible only when public schools are effective. Mere ability to read is not enough; knowing how much and what to believe are equally necessary.

A great problem for those who read newspapers and magazines is to determine whose opinions are really being expressed.

And old newspaper had these verses on its title page:

“We do not belong to our patrons
Our paper is wholly our own;
Whoever may like it, may take it;
Who don't, may just leave it alone.”

This would still be a good policy but for advertising. When the advertiser buys space the paper is no longer “wholly our own.” If you look through the advertising columns of most periodicals, you may discover statements which are untrue or much exaggerated. To a certain degree the advertiser has a right to the space for which he pays but the public has also the right to know that he is paying the periodical to print his opinions or statements. It is for this reason that laws in many states require the publication of a statement like “paid advertising” or “This advertisement is paid for by——” in connection with articles for or against political candidates or public measures.

More than half of the income of most large publications is from advertising. Very few could be published upon subscription only. In some of the larger magazines a one-page advertisement may cost thousands of dollars. It is not always easy for a paper to express independent opinion when income from advertising is necessary to keep it going from week to week. An educated public is not likely to be misled by wrong propaganda in paid advertising. Ignorant people, barely intelligent enough to read, are frequently deceived in this way; they are led to spend their money unwisely and to hold views which those who pay for advertising wish them to have.

It is not difficult to see that from the standpoint of good government, going to school, learning to read, learning what to read, and how much to believe are very important. A strong, popular government is possible only among citizens

who read and think. Illiterate voters are political risks of which we cannot afford to carry many.

Suggested Activities.

1. If there is someone in your community who you know is a naturalized citizen, ask him to tell you how he "took out his papers." Ask him to explain these four steps to you:

1. Declaration of intention (First Papers).
2. Petition for naturalization.
3. Oath of allegiance.
4. Certificate of naturalization.

Secure this same information through the proper naturalization officers, the Justice of the Peace, the County Judge or the Clerk of the Court, providing you cannot get in touch with a naturalized citizen. Secure the suitable naturalization blanks, bring them to class and fill them out under your teacher's direction.

2. Do you think it would be wise to have your school building and playground open after school hours? Discuss in class the various reasons for your opinion. If you should like to see it open, try to secure an accurate estimate of the additional cost of upkeep. Organize this information and ask your teacher to arrange for a committee of three to present your plans to one of the members of the Board of Education.

3. Find out the cost of a college course in one of your state colleges or universities as to tuition, living expenses, opportunity to secure profitable employment and its compensation.

4. Secure a newspaper directory from a newspaper office and find out the circulation of the papers and magazines you read. Of all the periodicals you know, which has the largest circulation? Which papers published in your state or city have the greatest circulation? Become acquainted with these—and discuss in class why you think the circulation is so large.

5. The boys and girls of a small junior high school were asked to name the newspapers and magazines which they read more or less regularly. The average number was five and seventy-four different publications were represented among the ninety pupils. Make a similar study of your room or grade. Do you read as much as your classmates?

6. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

- (a) Resolved, that all newspapers in the United States should be printed in English.

(b) Resolved, that citizens who are unable to read should not be allowed to vote.

(c) Resolved, that the United States should help the states to support public education.

Study Questions.

1. In what way is going to school related to our government?
2. What is naturalization? How may the foreigner legally become a citizen? What is Americanization?
3. What educational activities are carried on by our national government?
4. Read an encyclopedia article upon the Military Academy at West Point or the Naval Academy at Annapolis. How does the national government conduct these?
5. What are the main provisions of the compulsory attendance and child labor laws in your state. Account for the fact that such laws are usually better enforced in the city than in country districts.
6. Make clear the difference between a state school fund and a state school tax.
7. What is the county unit in education?
8. When was printing invented? What important changes has the invention brought?
9. The total daily circulation of all newspapers in England when the stamp act passed was about one to each five hundred population. Many copies for each person are printed now. What changes in government probably accompanied this great increase of readers?
10. "If ever there was a period for rejoicing this is the moment—every heart ought to beat high with exaltation that the name of Washington from this day ceases to give a currency to political iniquity and to legalized corruption." This appeared in a newspaper at the close of Washington's administration. It shows that newspapers have always been free to criticise very severely even our best leaders. What would be the effect of passing laws against publication of such articles?
11. Compare American freedom of speech and press with conditions in countries where the substance of laws was—
 - (a) Five dollars fine for borrowing a newspaper.
 - (b) Nothing unfavorable to the king may be published.
12. Most early newspapers were called "newsletters" or "gazettes" and contained only briefest items like "On Thursday night last Samson Waters a young man went well to bed and was found dead next

morning," a bit of news found in the Boston Newsletter (1704). What more than such bare facts are usually demanded in newspapers?

13. An intelligent estimate of the contents of a large city paper during three months showed—

2295 articles which would have had bad influence.

1684 articles bad rather than good.

2100 worthless articles.

3900 worth while selections.

Why are so many bad or worthless articles written? Would they be published if no one cared to read them? Examine a daily newspaper to see how much of it you consider worth while.

14. Which would you be more ready to believe, material found in the advertising space or in the editorial column of a newspaper? Why?

15. What relation do you discover between education and advertisements like the following?

(a) Offering a high school education for two years of correspondence work and a small fee.

(b) Offering mining or oil stock with the assurance that all who purchase will become rich.

(c) Promising a position at a large salary to all who attend some school for a few months.

16. Give an example of a law which is enforced because public opinion favors the law; an example of a law which is not observed because a majority of citizens are indifferent.

17. Explain "the average voter plays the game according to rule, provided he is intelligent."

18. What are the advantages of uniform postal rates as compared with making a charge in proportion to distance?

19. Letter postage is two cents an ounce, postage on newspapers and magazines is one cent a pound. Account for the difference.

CHAPTER XV

HEALTH AND RECREATION

Do You Know These Terms?

epidemic, 201.

public hygiene, 202.

sanitary, 201.

medical attention, 205.

contagious disease, 202.

sewage, 203.

quarantine, 202.

Causes of Disease. Sunshine, air, food and water are essential to life. In ancient times when people became ill they thought some evil spirit was the cause of their trouble. The cure consisted of charms which were supposed to drive the evil spirit away. Not a great many years ago people believed sickness to be a visitation of providence and some ignorant people today hold to that belief. All intelligent persons now know that most illness is caused directly or indirectly by impure food, wrong living conditions or impure water. Impure milk is the source of many epidemics, especially among children. Diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, tonsilitis and tuberculosis are frequently traced to an impure milk supply. Other foods, if handled carelessly or kept too long, carry disease. Filthy living conditions are the sources of much illness of which the cause is never suspected. A servant living in a dirty hovel may carry disease to the kitchen of the cleanest and most sanitary home. Authorities on health tell us that pollution of wells and sources of public water supply is the cause of many thousands of deaths annually in the United States.

Contagious Diseases. When smallpox, measles, scarlet fever, or any other contagious disease is discovered, the doctor

must report the case at once to the local health officer. The health officer puts a sign on the house warning everyone of the presence of the disease. No one is allowed to enter or leave except the doctor and nurse. The house is said to be quarantined. If quarantine rules are kept faithfully, a contagious disease can usually be stamped out. If someone fails to keep the rules, he may carry the disease to other people. Laws provide penalties for those who break quarantine rules. In the case of some contagious diseases it has been discovered that vaccination prevents contagion. Sometimes the health authorities compel all persons in a community to be vaccinated. Failure to get rid of ordinary contagions means that someone has failed to obey or enforce public health measures which is one of the tests of a good citizen.

Prevention of Diseases. 1. *Personal and Public Hygiene.*

Since the causes of most diseases are now known, prevention is in most cases possible and is far better than allowing disease to get a start and then attempting its cure. The prevention of disease depends upon hygiene—personal and public. Personal hygiene cannot be successfully practiced by any good citizen or a community in which public hygiene is neglected, and the best public hygiene is fully successful only when every member of the community faithfully practices personal hygiene. If one person in the neighborhood has filthy habits, he is likely to have disease which may spread. No community can be clean and healthful unless it has sanitation rules obeyed by all. Public and personal hygiene faithfully practiced prevents losses in happiness, energy and money, which always accompany disease.

2. *Destroying Flies and Mosquitoes.* Flies and mosquitoes are carriers of disease. The fight against mosquitoes is conducted by draining swamps and pools of stagnant water and

oiling water surfaces, where draining is not possible. Neglected rain barrels are breeding places for mosquitoes. Our government has done a great deal to make the world a better place in which to live by its fight on the mosquito. The construction of the Panama Canal was made possible by sanitary measures, especially destruction of the mosquito.

Flies spread typhoid fever and infantile paralysis. The struggle against the fly is a community fight against filth and dirt. Starving the fly by destroying its breeding places is better than "swatting the fly."

3. *Removal of Waste.* Disposal of waste presents a serious problem in many cities. Piping which is sufficient to carry the sewage of a small city proves too small with growth in population; streets must be broken up and new mains laid. Garbage dumps endanger health. If waste is drained or dumped into a conveniently situated river or lake, it may pollute the water supply of another community. Strict laws and utmost watchfulness of health authorities are needed to safeguard community health from disease caused by defiled water supply. Rural sanitation is of importance to the whole country because it affects many of our people directly and the others indirectly. The problem is one for the entire nation to solve. The United States Public Health Service has made several health surveys in representative rural sections of the country. In these, each home in the county was visited. It was found that in more than half of the homes flies were not screened from the kitchen and dining room and that water used for drinking and cooking was exposed to danger from impurities. These health surveys caused a marked improvement in the sanitary conditions. The results of this extensive investigation in rural sanitation showed that rural sanitation was possible, that it was badly needed, and that its cost was very much less than the cost

of the illness it prevented. Rural sanitation depends upon education and will pay for the money and effort it costs.

Public Health Organizations. Our government has created special organizations for dealing with health work. City, county, state and nation co-operate in the work of public hygiene, enforcement of quarantines, and other public regulations.

1. *United States Public Health Service.* The Public Health Service has been of untold value in discovering the causes of disease and methods of prevention. It has charge of quarantine regulations between the states and at seaports. Ships coming to the United States are required to wait in quarantine while the health officers make a careful inspection. This service prevents immigrants from bringing contagions into the country. Since the close of the war the service in co-operation with the state and local boards of health has extended to child hygiene. The publication of health bulletins for general distribution has been an important branch of the Public Health Service. In this way much has been done to promote health education. Three bureaus of the United States government, the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Education and the Bureau of Public Health, have engaged in public health work.

2. *State, City and County Boards of Health.* Every state has a state board of health. Many of these were established in the period immediately following the Civil War. Most state boards at first showed little activity. Appropriations were small and only the most urgent work could be done. As appropriations were increased, state-wide campaigns for the prevention of tuberculosis became frequent. Most states now have departments for sanitary engineering which deal with questions of water supply and sewage. A record of births

and deaths is kept; and child welfare has received increased attention.

County boards have power to enforce health regulations in rural communities. City boards have more difficult problems because of crowded living conditions. Contagions spread more readily. For this reason city authorities must have great powers and exercise them to protect the lives of the people.

Child Welfare. The Children's Bureau at Washington, D. C., was established in 1912. One of the important tasks of this Bureau is to decrease the high death rate of babies. The reasons for this needless loss of human life are being carefully considered and one remedy after another is being developed. Efforts to insure a clean, pure supply of milk are being continually made; visiting nurses go into the homes; medical attention, medicine and instruction are available through free medical dispensaries; booklets on the care of infants are printed—in several languages—and are widely distributed.

Nor does the government stop in the Child Welfare work with "saving the babies." Much attention is given to providing schools that are well lighted and well ventilated, often with roomy gymnasiums—and playgrounds open after school hours. Health laws have required the use of the drinking fountain, rather than the tin cup. School doctors and nurses to care for the physical welfare of the pupils are provided in many communities. The serving of milk to the pupils each morning as a means of combating the problem of "under-feeding" is advocated; a hot wholesome lunch served at a minimum cost is still another means of attacking this same problem. Pupils spend so large a portion of their time in school that no community can afford any but sanitary school surroundings.

As a protection to the pupil when he leaves the school room

we have the Child Labor Laws regulating his hours of work and other laws insuring proper working conditions, while the sanitary and healthful living conditions are being secured for the home through housing regulations.



INTERIOR OF A BARN ON A FARM WHICH SUPPLIES
CERTIFIED MILK

Pure Food Laws. If the farmer sells stale eggs direct to the consumer, the purchaser may make complaint. If the consumer and producer are thousands of miles apart, or if the food has gone through many processes of preparation, the first seller and the last buyer can have no personal dealings. Cheap adulterated foods might be placed on the market

at prices lower than pure food can be produced. Poisonous coloring matter might be used, or foods likely to decay might be preserved by using unhealthful drugs. To make sure that only pure food and drugs are sold, the United States and most of the states have pure food laws.

These laws prohibit the manufacture and sale of injurious foods and require the correct labeling of other foods. Honest weights and measures are required by most pure food laws and should be demanded by all citizens.

Provision is also made for the federal inspection of meats throughout all the large packing plants. The carcasses which have been found in wholesome condition, free from disease, are stamped with a small government stamp—a guarantee of their purity.

The Work of Voluntary Health Organizations. Our government is able to do only a small part of what scientific investigation has shown may be done to prevent disease. Public spirited people have organized voluntary health associations of various kinds, not less than fifty being at work. Prominent among these are the Red Cross, tuberculosis societies, and child welfare organizations. A national health council has been organized to secure co-operation among these societies. Leaders in the fight against disease see the whole world as one community; the United States cannot be safe with contagious disease anywhere in the world. The Rockefeller Foundation is doing a great deal in this world-wide fight against disease. George E. Vincent in the 1919 report says: "The war against disease is a world war. Commerce carries dangerous infections, as well as goods and ideas. The health problems of the remotest lands concern all peoples. More and more, nations are coming to recognize their interdependence in health as in industry, government, science, and culture."

Recreation. In large cities so many people are brought together within small space that special provision must be made to insure playgrounds for children. Some cities have preserved parks for recreation; others have found it neces-



CHILDREN ENJOYING A PUBLIC PARK

sary to buy playgrounds and parks after all the ground has been built in. .

The parks are rich in natural beauty with winding walks and drives, beautiful flowers, trees and shrubbery. Band concerts in the park on warm summer evenings add much to the pleasure of the city dweller, while in the winter the lagoons are crowded with skaters. In many of the "field houses" branches of the Public Library bring the pleasures of the reading room to the people of the community; gymnasium

classes for both boys and girls are conducted after school hours.

During the summer the smaller children find the sand piles, the wading pools, the see-saws and swings a great delight; the older children enjoy the well equipped out-door gymnasium, the swimming pools, the tennis courts, the baseball field—with athletic contests planned for their pleasure. Here is really a “playground” for all—and its great need can only be appreciated by one who knows intimately the conditions of crowded city life.

Though parks and playgrounds cost a great deal, play and recreation in the open air is so necessary to health that money thus invested is well spent. Aside from providing parks, playgrounds and reading rooms, most American cities confine their responsibility for community recreation to the regulation of amusement enterprises conducted by private individuals.

Suggested Activities.

1. Visit a dairy, a grocery store, a butcher shop, a bakery—any place where food is prepared or sold and learn:

(a) The ways in which the food is protected by government agencies.

(b) Conditions which need to be remedied.

2. Study your school building and score it on the following points, allowing twenty as a perfect score on each point:

(1) Lighting.

(2) Heating.

(3) Ventilation.

(4) Water Supply.

(5) Playground Possibilities.

3. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that a sanitary survey of all the rural homes in the United States would be of greater value than a battle ship which would cost as much.

(b) Resolved, that the country is a more healthful place to live than the city.

Study Questions.

1. A family that takes pride in a clean, sanitary home has typhoid fever. The origin of the disease is traced to a servant. Should the head of the household discharge the servant or clean up the section of the town from which the servant comes? If he should decide on the latter course, how would he probably proceed? How does this case show the relation between personal hygiene and public hygiene?

2. Why should health and hygiene work be directed by our government? What organizations has our government created for this purpose?

3. In what way is the United States Health Service proving of benefit to the people?

4. Why do city boards of health ordinarily have and exercise much greater power than county boards of health?

5. "The war against disease is a world war." Explain this quotation.

6. How do health authorities fight yellow fever, smallpox, typhoid and scarlet fever?

7. "Cheerful compliance with all public health measures is one of the best tests of a good citizen." Prove the truth of this statement.

8. In the thirty years from 1880 to 1910 the death rate from tuberculosis decreased about one-half. How can this be explained?

9. Malaria is a preventable disease. There were, for the ten-year period before the war, about 9,000,000 cases annually in the United States. If the doctor bill averaged five dollars and the loss of earning power ten dollars for each case, what was the annual cost of malaria to the people of the United States?

CHAPTER XVI

LAWLESSNESS AND CRIME

Do You Know These Terms?

criminal, 211.

misdemeanor, 211.

violation of law, 211.

poverty, 213.

environment, 214.

heredity, 214.

parole, 214.

juvenile court, 214.

From a dictionary or the explanatory list on pages 267-287 learn the meanings of these expressions.

How Great Is America? America has so many advantages that a truthful enumeration of them sounds like bragging. People from less favored countries accuse us of saying with regard to almost anything American, "It is the greatest in the world." With this in mind, someone has said, "America is the greatest and richest country in the world. It has the tallest buildings and the most fires. Its trains run the fastest, go off the track oftenest and kill the most people. It has the most freedom and the greatest per cent of law-breakers; it has the most intelligent people and the most who do not know how to behave themselves."

Unfortunately some of these uncomplimentary statements are true. Especially do we have a great many law-breakers. Those whose law-breaking results in serious wrongdoing are called criminals; in a sense every violation of law is a crime, though the term *misdemeanor* is given to less serious wrongs like dumping ashes in a forbidden street or disturbing church service by noisy conduct. So many failures in co-operation as are represented by our lawlessness must be reckoned with in answering the question, "How Great Is America?"

How Much Crime Costs Us. Much of our energy still has to be expended in dealing with crime. We spend about as much for this as we do for all kinds of education. Jails and prisons are made necessary because of crime. A large share of our expensive courts' time must be devoted to criminal cases. Anything which causes so much misery and so great a burden of expense should surely receive most thoughtful attention. Whether America has more crime than other great countries is not as important a question as the challenge of what each of us can do to lessen serious law violation. In dealing with crime every community has to consider protection of itself against criminals and prevention or reduction of conditions which develop criminals.

Protection Against Crime. Forcible protection against the injury which criminals might do was once the only great measure used in relation to crime; nothing but fear of consequences avails against the worst law-breakers. To make ourselves safe against those who might kill, steal, burn houses, forge checks, counterfeit money or rob trains, some would-be wrong-doers have to be kept afraid. We must have strong, vigilant, courageous policemen and sheriffs, ready to use force in carrying out stern laws. Mere knowledge that such officers are ever ready to make arrests prevents crime. Fear of a just court which may impose a heavy fine, a term in prison or the death penalty restrains some. Even well-lighted streets make crime less frequent because of greater fear of being caught. We have jails and penitentiaries to confine those who are too dangerous to have their liberty.

Prevention of Criminals. But all the forcible measures we may adopt for mere protection do not of necessity make less the numbers of those who would be criminals if they were bold enough, nor permanently reduce crime. Every wrong-

doer kept in prison is a dead-weight upon his community when he should be carrying his part of the load as a useful citizen. Prevention of conditions which may lead to crime is the great problem which the world is now trying to solve. No argument is needed to prove that prevention is more economical than protection alone and that it is more just. To go about the solution intelligently we must ask, "What are the causes and what can be done?"

Causes of Crime. 1. *Carelessness Causes Crime.* We are not usually inclined to hold persons responsible for carelessness, but it is possible to be "criminally careless." Piling burning ashes against woodwork causes many fires for which careless persons are criminally responsible. Ignoring "safety first" directions may be criminal; even though the accident may befall the careless person, others suffer. The excuse, "I didn't mean to," is weak and insufficient. It takes watchful good intentions to avoid what the law calls criminal negligence.

2. *Idleness.* "An idle brain is the devil's workshop." "Idle hands find mischief still." It has been found that a very large per cent of criminals have never learned how to do any useful work. They have not the satisfaction which comes with an honestly earned living. Sometimes they are "hobos" who have acquired the love of wandering and despise steady employment. Even some who would willingly work fall into poverty because they have learned no trade for which there is demand. Such poverty frequently leads to crime.

3. *Ignorance.* A large proportion of law-breaking would not occur if all were intelligent enough to know the consequences of violating laws. Criminals as a class have little education; most of them dropped out of school very early. Education has always been recognized as one of the most effective ways of reducing crime.

4. *Criminal Environment.* In the story of "Oliver Twist" an environment is described in which little boys were taught skilful stealing. It was not thought of as wrong though it was considered "awful to be caught." Children whose parents steal and lie are not likely to regard stealing and lying as bad. Neglected children are sometimes nearly as unfortunate as those who come from vicious homes.

5. *Heredity.* You have doubtless heard, "It is strange he turned out so well; his parents are so bad," or "He ought to be better; his parents are good people." Everyone recognizes that good ancestry counts but it seldom makes sure that anyone will be good or bad. It is easier for some to do right than for others. Those who inherit weak or nervous constitutions are at a great disadvantage. A few are "born criminals;" for these the only treatment fair to the community is confinement where they can do no harm. Fortunately nearly all can be kept from a criminal life by the right environment.

New Methods of Treatment. Instead of treating all law-breakers alike, the attempt is now made to deal with each according to his individual needs. If the cause of crime is carelessness, idleness, ignorance or criminal environment, these can be changed. Juvenile Courts take time to inquire into all the circumstances; they sometimes take young offenders away from their evil companions and keep them in school or at work. If possible they are paroled or put upon their honor instead of being sent to a reformatory. In other words, they are given a chance, and teachers, classmates and friends are given an opportunity to help them make good.

First offenders among grown-up criminals are no longer treated like hardened cases who have prison habits; they are paroled if possible, sent to special prisons or at least kept separate from habitual criminals whose example could only

make them worse. Stern discipline has to be maintained in prisons but the occasional criminal imprisoned for a short time is given opportunity to learn a trade. If the cause of his crime were carelessness, idleness or ignorance he may leave prison a much better person than he entered it. Last of all, when a criminal has served his sentence or is pardoned and set at liberty, he finds more persons than formerly who regard him as an unfortunate rather than a wicked person. He is not at first trusted but he is not despised and called a "jail bird." He may be given a chance to "come back," and if he succeeds, his prison record will not be constantly held up as a disgrace.

Boys and Girls May Help. Boys and girls can help to make America's record for lawlessness better. They can make sure that they obey the laws themselves. This seems very easy when one thinks of the great laws of the state which seem so far away, for they give us little trouble. It may be the little rules of school, playground and home which need our attention. Stealing a street car ride, a few apples through the fence or a sum of money may not seem equally serious, but all are stealing. Cheating in examinations or in basket ball is as lawless as dishonesty in a business deal.

Those who study our government will soon be making laws which govern us. If they are intelligent law makers, they will pass laws which are clear in meaning and which can be enforced. In another chapter it has been shown that some of our laws are not wise. We have no right to make this excuse for lawlessness, since we make our own laws. Unwise laws should be unmade but not disobeyed.

Suggested Activities.

1. Find out through your local court officials the duties of the sheriff or constable, the Justice of the Peace. Ask your local Justice

of the Peace for information as to just how a civil case is brought into the Justice Court—how it is tried. What character of criminal cases he tries and what the extent of punishment he or a jury in his court can assign. Find out from him the difference between the character of cases which he, the Justice of the Peace, tries and the same cases tried by the County or Circuit Judge.

2. Through an interview with the court officials learn the five crimes and five misdemeanors most common in your community. Try to learn through this interview why these particular crimes are most common—and what are their direct causes. With these facts in hand, present them to your class with suggestions for decreasing lawlessness.

3. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that cheating in examinations is a form of stealing.

(b) Resolved, that those who make light of law violations help to increase lawlessness.

Study Questions.

1. Crime is increasing in the United States. All the possible causes listed here have been suggested to account for the increase. Which of them do you think important?

picture shows

spoiled children

too much education

too little education

too much money

parents too busy

lax courts

bad books

cigarettes

loafing at night

no place to play

not attending church

poverty

2. "Most tramps are college graduates," said an ignorant old man who was urging a lad to quit school and work for him. The man did not know that all colleges keep a record of their graduates and that it is therefore very easy to prove that his statement is nonsense. What do you know of the amount of education possessed by those most often arrested in your community?

3. What is meant by **CRIMINAL CARELESSNESS**? Under what circumstances is reckless auto driving criminal?

4. In addition to the causes of crime discussed in this chapter, rank the accompanying according to the part you think they play in causing crime:

strikes

drunkenness

quarrels

gambling

bad companions

betting

Which are most likely to be combined as causes?

5. "It serves him right; he did wrong and he got in jail." Of the reasons given below which are the most to be considered in sending a law-breaker to jail?

- (a) To get even with him.
- (b) To reform him.
- (c) To make an example for others.
- (d) To keep him from doing more harm.

6. In speaking of a children's court judge one juvenile delinquent said, "I like the judge because he treats us all alike." Another said, "I like him because he gives each one a square deal." Which remark paid the judge the higher compliment as a useful officer?

CHAPTER XVII

TRANSPORTATION

Do You Know These Terms?

Interstate Commerce Commission, 227. interstate rates, 227.
permanent roads, 223. competing lines, 230.
government ownership, 231.

These expressions are often seen in newspapers and magazines. You should ascertain their meanings before reading the chapter.

Methods of Transportation. Transportation has always held an important place in the development of states and nations. In America animal paths and Indian trails marked the best routes for overland transportation when the white man appeared. But these could be used only by travelers on foot or at best by horsemen and pack trains. When the need became sufficiently pressing, roads were cut through the forest, streams were bridged and commerce was carried in wagons of various types drawn by oxen or horses. Waterways were important as routes of travel from the beginning. Many canals were built and the canal boat, barge, flatboat, keelboat and canoe carried much of the internal commerce of America one hundred years ago. The steamboat largely supplanted other boats and carried a greatly increased tonnage. Railroads were a great improvement over inland water transportation because they could be built where most needed. But the steamboat and the freight car had to be filled with goods hauled in wagons. Thus the wagon has always been an important factor in transportation. The automobile truck is rapidly taking the

place of wagons for transporting freight, especially in the cities. All of these methods of transportation have been important in our national development.

The lives of our people, especially in the large cities, and the very existence of our nation depends upon transportation. The better the facilities for transportation the greater are the possibilities for the prosperity and happiness of our people. Modern transportation, without which civilization is impossible, depends upon good roads, good railroads and good waterways.

Early Roads. As the pioneer pushed westward across the continent he built his trading post along the streams because his produce could be sent down stream to market. His roads were openings cut through the forest, the road builders exercising due care to cut the stumps low. With ox teams the early settler could make three or four miles and return with loaded wagon in one day. The use of horses doubled the trade radius and the farmer could haul his grain six or eight miles to market, or by using two days, he might drive fifteen or twenty miles and return.

Our fathers were so accustomed to driving six or eight miles to market that a trade radius of that type became so strongly fixed in the minds of the American people that it determined the location of stations along the railroads.

The roads were in charge of a local overseer, who frequently took but little interest in the six miles of road the farmers of his community had to use. When the roads were to be worked all the able bodied men of the community were "warned" to appear for road work; they assembled at a designated place on the date fixed. Each brought an ax, hoe, shovel or mattock, or one or two a team and plow. The procession formed at one

end of the section of the road to be "worked" and marched slowly over the road, occasionally stopping to fill a ditch, remove a stump or cut a drain. Usually the next heavy rain left the road in as bad, or probably worse condition than it was before being "worked."

Permanent Roads Before the Civil War. While the above described neighborhood road was the rule there were a few cases of permanent improvement of state and national highways. By the act of Congress in 1820 a national highway known as the Cumberland Road was established from Cumberland, Maryland, to St. Louis, Missouri. Construction was begun in 1806 and it was practically completed about 1840 at a cost of \$6,824,919.33 to the national government. Permanent state highways constructed by incorporated companies that were permitted to collect tolls, were built in many of the states.

During the era of railroad building state aid to permanent state highways was no longer considered. The public highways were under local control and were badly neglected.

The Inefficiency of County Control. The greater part of the public roads of the county were little better in 1910 than they were in 1865 at the close of the Civil War. State aid had been granted in several states, but the location, construction and maintenance of the public highways was under the sole direction of the county or local officials. There was no organized effort to secure a general connected system of approved highways. The official records of a certain eastern state show strikingly the failure of the system of local control. During the twelve years from 1901 to 1913 this state granted state aid to local communities to assist in building improved roads, but the work was supervised as to location and kind of road by

the county commissioners. During this period nine hundred forty-four miles of improved roads were built, the cost varying from \$160 to \$11,463 per mile. The most remarkable feature about the nine hundred and forty-four miles is that they were built in four thousand two hundred and two separate and disconnected sections. The sections were short, averaging one-fifth of a mile in length. A state map showing the location of these improved sections shows at a glance where the local officials and politicians lived, for most of them had a section of state road by their home.

This instance gives added force to the warning of the state highway engineer of Wisconsin who after fourteen years of efficient service said, "The situation facing the state highway organizations is serious, but the situation in the county highway organizations is infinitely worse. The money paid the county highway commissioner does not attract the type of man who should fill these important positions. Despite all that the State Commission has preached and sought to teach, the last few years have seen but little improvement in the average county organization, while the expenditures have 'mounted apace.' "

The difficulty in securing the best results through county control is emphasized by the statement made by the Federal Director of Public Roads before a special committee of the Missouri Legislature, April 9, 1921. He said, "We are trying now to get away from having any dealings with counties on federal aid; desiring to deal only with the state highway commission. Dealing with counties has been very unsatisfactory. If Missouri attempts to give the counties jurisdiction over road construction, or distribute the money by counties or districts, federal road aid cannot be given. The money obtained must

be expended on permanent road work under the direct supervision of the state highway department."

It is now realized more than ever before that any highway administration, whether it be state or county, must have the service of the best business brains and the best engineering talent the market affords. It must be able to deal with the best and cope with the worst contractors, and get for the people good construction at a fair price. The people must have able representatives in this struggle, or the losses in poor roads and unjustified prices will be appalling. Such an organization is impossible in every county for the men are not available. There are plenty of men in every county whose honesty is above reproach, but honesty alone cannot take the place of engineering skill and administrative ability.

Federal Aid and State Control in Road Building. The inefficient and wasteful system of county control has been largely supplanted since 1916 by a system of state control under federal supervision. This important change was brought about by the Federal Aid Road Law, July 11, 1916. The purposes of this act are set forth to be: "To promote agriculture, afford better facilities for rural transportation and marketing of farm products, and encourage the development of a general system of highways." This law provides that "the Secretary of Agriculture and the State Highway Department of each state shall agree upon the roads to be constructed therein and the character and method of construction."

The results of this provision are of more far-reaching importance than the financial aid allowed in the first appropriation of \$75,000,000 annually for a period of five years. The establishment of a State Highway Department in each state is essential to receiving federal aid, and every state has complied with this provision. The location and construction of

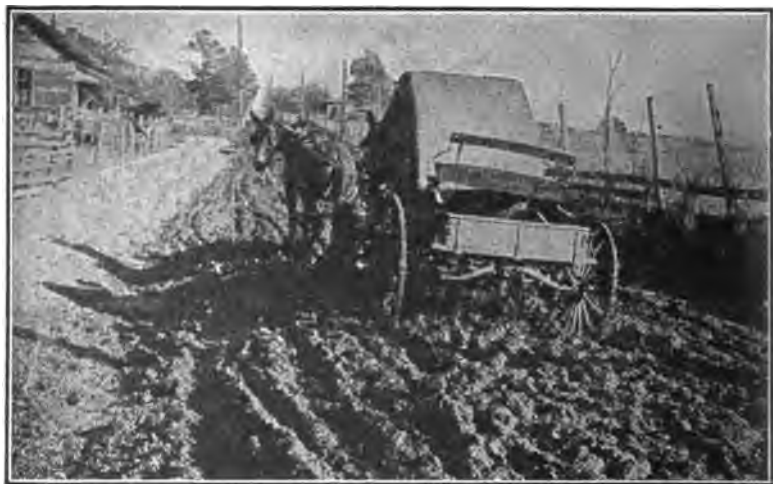
every highway participating in federal aid must be under the control of expert engineers of the state highway department, subject to the supervision of experts of the Federal Bureau of Public Roads. Under such a system of checks by highway experts, a connected system of permanent state highways is



**THE MOTOR TRUCK IS NOW EFFECTIVELY USED
IN TRANSPORTATION**

being built and on state and national highways people are no longer wasting their money upon roads which need to be made over every year. The making of good roads takes time. It is usually wiser to construct a few miles of permanent road each year than to distribute attempts at improvement over all roads of a county.

A serious responsibility now confronts every highway department. The construction of permanent roads is a slow process. Years will be required to build a general system of improved highways throughout the country. We owe to coming generations, as well as to ourselves, a general highway system of the highest degree of permanency possible.



PAYING THE "MUD TAX"

Good Roads and the Automobile. Good roads, the automobile, and the motor truck have produced a radical change in our transportation system. Until recently the radius of trade territory for "rural transportation and marketing farm products" was about six miles. By taking two days this was extended to fifteen or twenty miles. Today the auto, motor truck and good roads have increased the radius for "marketing farm products" sixfold, and instead of from six to twenty miles we have from forty to one hundred twenty miles.

Marketing Farm Products. In the official report of the Postmaster General submitted to Congress the following facts are given. Throughout a period of sixty-six days forty-eight parcel post shipments of staple food products were made, using motor trucks of from one to three tons capacity, between Washington, D. C., and eight surrounding towns within a range of from fifty to one hundred twenty-five miles.



THE SAME ROAD—AFTER IMPROVEMENT

These shipments were delivered to the consumer at a total cost for the commodities of \$15,188.32. The same articles on the same dates bought in the open market at the lowest retail price would have cost the consumer \$21,854.32. There was a saving to the consumer of \$6,666.00 or a little over thirty per cent, while the actual cost of transportation to the gov-

ernment was only \$37.78 more than the postal receipts. Trucking associations, where good roads insure continuous service, are in operation in many parts of the country, and farmers are enabled to deliver their products to market in less time and in better condition. The motor truck gives the farmer such an advantage in marketing that dairy herds are increasing at a rapid rate. Pure milk is considered necessary in every home, and the demand in large cities is rapidly increasing. The motor truck and good roads mean purer milk for the children of our cities, the saving of many lives, as well as increased profits to the farmers.

Importance of Good Roads. Good roads mean better markets for the farmer and better products for his customers. They mean better rural schools and more acquaintance with daily world events. They increase the size of the farmer's neighborhood; they bring to the rural community the advantages of the city without its noise and confusion.

The solution of the rural school problem depends largely upon good roads. Much progress has already been made in giving country boys and girls better schools in communities which have good roads. Consolidated schools are increasing at a rapid rate in those sections that are making progress in road building.

Railroad Transportation. The great arteries of commerce in the United States are the railroads. Our great cities were made possible by railroad transportation and if for any reason this transportation were to cease, starvation in these great cities would be certain. The motor truck, the canal or the inland rivers cannot under present conditions take the place of the railroads as the great trunk lines of commerce of this country. Their great powers over the welfare of our

people cannot be trusted to private control. Our government has, therefore, asserted the right to regulate railroads so far as is necessary for the public good. The government has, by act of Congress, sustained by supreme court decisions, asserted the right to fix rates which the railroads can charge and the wages which they shall pay.

During the World War the Director-General, acting for the President, operated the roads as one system. The advantages of unified control and operation proved to be very great. The railroads rendered splendid service and contributed their full share in helping to win the war.

The Interstate Commerce Commission. Congress under the Constitution has power to regulate interstate commerce. (See Art. 1, Section 8.) After the Supreme Court decided that this section of the Constitution gave Congress the power to fix railroad rates, Congress created a body known as the Interstate Commerce Commission to act as the agent of Congress in performing this duty. This commission consists of eleven members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Not only rate making but general powers of inspection and supervision which Congress deems necessary for the government to exercise over railroads in the interests of the people are conferred upon the Interstate Commerce Commission.

State Public Service Commissions. While the Supreme Court has decided that the United States government has the power to fix interstate rates it has also decided that the various state governments have the right to fix rates between two points within a state. Most of the state governments have created commissions usually called public service commissions and made them agents of the states in all dealings with public

service corporations. One of the important duties of these public service commissions is to fix intrastate railroad rates.

Increased Rates and Wages. At the time the government took control of the railroads, January 7, 1918, the wages of railroad employees had not been increased since before the beginning of the European War. Soon the Director-General announced an increase in wages. A few days later rates were raised. Other increases both in wages and rates were necessary, but during government control receipts did not equal operating expenses. The deficit was met by appropriations made by Congress. The actual loss to the United States in operation of the railroads had by August 7, 1921, amounted to \$1,452,-605,245 and in addition to that the government has loaned the roads \$655,913,487. After the war the expenses of operation continued to increase. The sentiment of the country favored the return of the roads to their owners. But the principle of government regulation of both rates and wages had been established before the war. The life of the nation depended upon railroad transportation. It was clearly the duty of Congress to solve the problem in such a way as to insure good transportation service for the people and a fair return to the owners of the roads.

The Transportation Act of 1920. This was one of the most difficult problems our government has ever been called upon to solve. After a long discussion a transportation act known as the Esch-Cummins law was passed. This law increased the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and made it the agent of the government in dealing with the railroads. The law requires the commission to determine rates and says, "it shall give consideration to the transportation needs of the country" and to "enlarging such facilities in order to provide

the people of the United States with adequate transportation." The law makes it the duty of the commission to fix a rate that will produce a net income of five and one-half per cent upon a fair valuation of the railroad property and if in the judgment of the commission it is best they may fix the rate high enough to bring a net income of six per cent and require the extra one-half per cent to be used to improve the railroads. The difficult problem of the commission is to find a fair value.

The Railroad Labor Board. One of the greatest industrial problems of our age is the adjustment of the differences between capital and labor employed in railroad transportation. The Transportation Act of 1920 provides for a board of nine to be known as the Railroad Labor Board. The members of this board are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, but the President must appoint three from men nominated by the railroad employees and three from men nominated by the railroad companies. He is free to choose any one he thinks will best represent the interests of the public for the other three members. The board was organized April 16, 1920. It has been successful in adjusting a number of very difficult disputes that have developed between laborers and the companies.

Improvement in Railroads. The railroad management has been greatly improved in recent years. In the period before the Great War the big men in railroad management were men of great wealth who had secured their positions by owning or controlling a large part of the property. Now the typical railroad president is a practical railroad man who has had long experience in railroading. Great improvement and more efficient service have resulted from this change in type of man-

agement. These men do all they can to co-operate with our government in solving great transportation problems of the country.

Railroad Problems. 1. *What Should Railroads Earn?* The problem of how much money railroads should be allowed to earn is very difficult of solution. It is hard to determine what railroad property itself has cost or what it is worth. The Interstate Commerce Commission has studied the problem, but until the value of railroad property has been found out, it will not be possible to agree as to what would be fair earnings.

2. *Labor and the Railroads.* Labor problems are likewise hard to settle. How many hours a day shall railroad employees work? How much shall they receive per hour? If a run is long so that an engineer or conductor must be on duty more than a fair working day, what arrangements should be made? Such problems as these are constantly calling for solution.

3. *Freight and Passenger Rates.* Should freight and passenger rates be charged in proportion to distance alone? How much should be added for transferring from one road to another? Should railroads be permitted lower rates between cities connected by waterways than between points equally distant connected by railway only?

4. *Railroad Schedules.* Should railroads make their train schedules for the accommodation of the public or to keep business away from competing lines?

5. *Government Control.* All of the longer railroads cross a number of states. Which problems of such roads should be regulated by the United States and which by the states?

These are some of the problems of American railroads.

Because of the difficulty of finding solutions, some have suggested government ownership and control; others insist that "politics" in the bad sense of the word would enter into operation by the government. Whether roads are owned by private companies or by the nation, government regulation is needed in solving the problems.

Modern Water Transportation. The United States has about twenty-six thousand miles of navigable rivers. These are not being used for commerce to any great extent. The possibilities of cheap water transportation for heavy freight on our rivers seem to be almost unlimited. As the prosperity of our country depends upon its commerce our government has the problem of providing for the greatest possible use of our waterways to promote the general welfare of our people. It has built forty new steel barges, each of two thousand tons capacity, and six steam tow-boats of eighteen hundred horsepower for use on the Mississippi River. One of the tow-boats, the Natchez, has carried 6,000 tons of freight from New Orleans to St. Louis in twelve days, and she has carried 12,000 tons of freight from St. Louis to New Orleans in six days. Our government is operating the barge line on the Mississippi to demonstrate the practicability of river transportation under modern conditions. The barge line is allowed to charge only eighty per cent of the low competing rates charged by railroads which parallel the river. The rate of the barge line is about fifty per cent of the average railroad rate of the country. Yet the barge line is making a good net profit. The success of this demonstration of river transportation by our government indicates that wise use of our waterways may greatly increase our prosperity.

Co-ordination of Motor, Waterway and Railroad Transportation. From what has been said about highways, railroads, and water transportation it is evident that our government is interested in promoting all three types of transportation. Railroads have always been promoted by all divisions of our government; Congress has given many millions of acres of the public lands to railroad companies, and states, cities, counties and townships have voted untold millions in bonds to promote railroad construction.

The appropriation bills of every Congress for many years have carried heavy appropriations for the improvements of rivers and harbors. The United States government built the steel barge line now operating on the Mississippi at a cost of nearly \$6,000,000. Congress in the Esch-Cummins bill declared it to be the policy of Congress "to promote, encourage and develop water transportation, service and facilities, in connection with the commerce of the United States and to foster and preserve in full vigor both rail and water transportation." Undoubtedly the future prosperity of the country depends upon the fullest development of all three methods of transportation and their co-ordination rather than in their destructive competition. The motor trucks may take most of the short haul freight business from the railroads, but they will serve more and more as feeders for the railroads. Water lines of transportation may take the carrying of freight such as coal, cotton and building materials from the railroads where water transportation is available, but the water lines, too, will become feeders of the railroads. As commerce grows, the perishable freight and high priced merchandise for which speed is important and rates high will continue to go upon the railroads.

Experience in Europe has shown that when waterways are

developed the operation of rail lines which parallel the rivers becomes very profitable because of the high class of freight carried. The wealth of our nation, our ability to defend ourselves in time of war, and the happiness and well-being of our people demand that we make the fullest use of motor, rail and water transportation. Every citizen should realize the importance of good roads, the great saving in the wise use of our waterways, and the vital necessity for efficient railroads.

Suggested Activities.

1. Clip pictures and make a poster showing the various methods of transportation.

2. Write a paragraph on "Good Roads for the Farmer."

3. Find out from the railroad agent in your town—or the town near which you live, the freight on one hundred pounds of apples from San Francisco to Boston, from San Francisco to Kansas City; the rate on canned salmon from Seattle to Boston, from Seattle to Kansas City; the rate on one hundred pounds of farm machinery from Boston to Seattle, from Boston to Cincinnati; how do these various rates compare with the distance the goods is hauled? How do you account for the difference in rates when compared with the distance?

4. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that all money for road building should be spent for the construction and maintenance of permanent highways under the direction of state highway departments with the approval and supervision of the Federal Road Bureau.

(b) Resolved, that the waterways of the nation should be improved and made an important part of our transportation system.

Study Questions.

1. Make a list of farm products bought or sold in your community which are being shipped in motor trucks.

2. Explain how motor transportation and good roads have improved schools.

3. How much greater load can a team haul over a hard surface road than it can over the ordinary dirt road?

4. Show why railroad transportation is necessary for the existence of any great city in the United States.

5. The tow boat Natchez hauled 12,000 tons of freight from St. Louis to New Orleans on one trip. If the average load of freight cars is twenty-five tons, how many trains of fifty cars each would be required to haul the same freight? The Natchez hauls 6,000 tons up the river on one trip. How many freight trains would be required to haul the same freight from New Orleans to St. Louis?

6. What is meant by saying that good roads and use of the automobile increase the size of the farmer's neighborhood?

7. Explain the statement that railroads, telephones and telegraphs bring the average citizen nearer to the state capital than he was to his county seat before these means of travel and communication came into use.

8. List five railroad problems which are difficult of solution.

9. In most European countries railroad rates and accommodations are of several classes. For example, a first class ticket may cost three or four times as much as a third class. In this way each pays for the kind of accommodation he uses. What are the advantages of such a plan?

CHAPTER XVIII

CO-OPERATION IN GOVERNMENT

Do You Know These Terms?

primitive peoples, 235.
environment, 235.
corporation, 237.

conservation, 240.
individual liberty, 239.
philanthropic, 238.

You must understand these words as you read this chapter. Look up each.

Working Together. The work of our government is accomplished through co-operation—working together. Each for all and all for each is what renders great achievement possible in all things. The lone cave man could have only a crude shelter; it requires co-operation to build a modern house. Because savage tribes are not able to unite large groups in common efforts, their members must take things for the most part as they find them; civilized man through co-operation makes his environment according to his ambitions, soon overcoming obstacles which block the progress of primitive peoples.

Leaders and Followers. Co-operation requires wise leadership and loyal followers. This is another way of saying that civilization depends upon specialization. Most of us may reasonably think of ourselves as specialists in one occupation though we may know very little about others. The skillful carpenter is his own leader in work which requires no one else to direct him; the same workman may be a follower when he makes a railroad journey. His leaders may then be the conductor or the man who answers questions at the information office.

Progress is made because of wise or inventive leaders but no less on account of followers wise enough to select the right

leaders to imitate. The fact that a strong or brilliant person finds an improved way of doing something useful has little value unless his fellows wisely choose his leadership; the strongest or wisest accomplish little alone. As an example of co-operation in relation to progress the art of writing is very interesting. Picture-writing came first; then someone found that a much simpler mark than any picture could stand for an idea just as well. Then marks which we call letters were used to indicate sounds and almost all the world followed this improvement; and it seems to be only a question of time until the same letters will be used everywhere. Only the co-operation of leader and follower brings about progress.

Co-operation requires obedience to those who have the right to lead. In a mountain climbing excursion only a very foolish person would refuse to follow the guide. We elect officers and give them the right to command or direct us; the good citizen recognizes their leadership. Co-operation often requires us to do as others of the group are doing even though no one commands. If it is the custom to stand while singing or to remove the hat while the flag is passing, only rudeness or ignorance causes one of a group not to "conform" or do as his fellows. This is very different from saying that all should follow in doing a wrong action. The good citizen is willing to co-operate.

Strangers to Each Other May Be Working Together. Co-operation includes groups who may not know other groups with whom they are working. The farmer grows grain, the railroads carry it to a city mill; the miller makes it into food products which may be further changed by the baker; in its refined form the grain is good for the factory worker who makes farm machinery, which is in turn carried by the railroads to the farmer who produces the grain. The news-

paper you read depends for its news items upon reporters who never see their readers, who may not even see the editors, compositors and typesetters who assemble the paper. If you should write the names or occupations of all the unseen and unknown persons who made your breakfast or lunch possible, the list would be very long. Truly no one lives unto himself and our government guides and protects us all.

Co-operation in Business. People have worked together in a general way by means of trade and commerce since the days of the cave men; with all well developed civilizations men have organized in special groups for the purpose of co-operating in business. The greater part of our trade and commerce, as well as our great industrial plants are conducted by these organized groups; some of them are composed of a few men, partners in the business—each owning a fractional share, but each of whom is responsible for the debts of the firm; others may be composed of any number of persons; each puts into the business a definite sum of money and is not responsible for the debts of the group beyond a certain amount. This type of an organized business group is called a corporation and people who put money into the business are known as stockholders. Usually the stockholder is not responsible for the debts of the corporation beyond the amount of the stock which he holds. Manufacturing, transportation, commerce, mining, insurance, in fact practically all business which requires a large investment of capital is carried on by corporations. Many of these business corporations have thousands of stockholders; their stock may be transferred from one person to another and can be bought on the stock market. Anyone who has money enough to buy one share may become a stockholder. Corporations may issue bonds—that is give interest bearing notes of the corporation, and sell them to anyone who wants to buy. The

persons who buy these bonds are known as bondholders of the corporation; the bonds of a large corporation may be held by many thousand different persons. The stockholders and bondholders of a corporation each has a personal interest in the success of the business.

Co-operation for Play and Work. A baseball, basketball or football team is a voluntary organization for co-operation in play and recreation. Any member of a football team understands the advantage of working together to win the game. The advantage of co-operation in work is fully as great.

There is frequently much work in a community or among a group of people in the same work which concerns everyone in the community or group but for which no one in particular is responsible. Such work is done by a voluntary organization of people in the community or group. The Red Cross, Bankers Associations, Medical Associations, Farmers' Organizations—like the Farm Bureau and the Grange, health and welfare associations such as the Anti-Tuberculosis Society are examples of co-operation in groups.

These organizations represent a wide variety of activity ranging from the purely philanthropic, like the Red Cross, to those whose avowed purpose is the welfare and protection of the members of a certain group—such as Labor Unions. Many of them are working for both the welfare of society as a whole and the advancement of their own group. For example, the Medical Associations have stimulated research work and spread medical knowledge which has made possible the control of disease and an increase in the average length of human life. This, of course, is of great value to all people; at the same time medical associations have done much for the betterment of the medical profession. Many of these

volunteer organizations study the problems with which they are confronted and propose and push laws in both Congress and the state legislatures which have to do with the work they are doing. Much of our legislation is developed in this way. For example, many of our state laws that provide for the organization of our elementary and high schools and the establishment of our normal schools and teachers' colleges have originated in Teachers' Associations. Frequently some voluntary organization undertakes work that is of value to the entire community. After a time a majority of the community becomes convinced that the work is worthwhile and through its representatives provides for doing the work through some unit of government. Much of the work the government does originated in this way.

Work We Do Through Our Government. Our government is the greatest co-operative undertaking which a free people has ever carried on. The makers of the Constitution and the leaders in the thirteen original colonies could not dream of the many things a government now does for those who support it. Many of these leaders believed that the less the government did for us the better, so long as it guaranteed individual liberty. When Patrick Henry said, "Give me liberty or give me death," he was not in favor of giving our government a great deal of power, nor as it now seems to us of expecting much from it, except protection from foreign powers and maintaining good order at home. Throughout our history parties have differed as to how many services the people should expect their governments to render; now we look to the government to do everything which we cannot do at all, or which we think it can do better than individuals can. Many of our political discussions still have to do with what we should undertake by means of our government.

Co-operation for Protection. 1. *Protection Against Foreign Powers.* Savage tribes spent a large part of their energy in defense against other tribes; protection against another nation or people still calls forth the supreme degree of co-operation. It was a common foe which united the thirteen colonies, and nothing drives people into co-operation so unitedly as threatened invasion. The national government leads us in union for defense.

2. *Protection Within the United States.* In cave man days and sometimes in frontier settlements, everyone protects himself against everyone else. The United States, the states, counties and cities all have a share in keeping the peace. We have also meat, milk and other kinds of food inspection and public provisions for safeguarding health. Fire protection, factory inspection are for the preservation of human life and safety.

Co-operation in Useful Service. Good roads, schools, libraries, playgrounds, parks and bathing beaches and all public institutions for caring for the unfortunates are examples of co-operation in useful service. It has been shown that the building of permanent roads requires the co-operation of nation, state and local authorities. Our schools derive their income from state and local sources. Libraries, playgrounds and parks are maintained in our cities through the expenditure of government funds and the care of those who are not able to take care of themselves has been recognized as a government problem and is usually carried on through state institutions, except in the case of homes for the poor in which the whole county co-operates to provide a suitable home.

Co-operation In Conservation. When America was being settled it abounded in great forests. The woods and prairies were full of game. The streams and lakes everywhere supplied

fish in great abundance. In many parts of the country trees were a hindrance to making a living. They were felled, piled together and burned to make farming possible. Everyone killed game without restriction. We were very late in realizing that only the energetic action of our government could save a share of these resources for those who will live even in the near future. The United States has set aside forest reserves and established ranger's stations to save the enormous amount of destruction of timber by fire, which was once looked upon without the slightest alarm. National and state laws protect game. In such cases of conservation our co-operation saves ourselves from ourselves individually.

Co-operation in Research and Progress. Our national government through such departments as that of agriculture is constantly experimenting to find new and better means of doing our work and increasing protection. When a new plant is developed or a new means of combating an insect pest discovered, progressive farmers first and others very soon, reap the benefit.

Problems of Co-operation in Government Activities. Can government work be as efficiently carried on as work done by individuals or groups working directly for themselves? Can all be made to realize that government money is just as hard to raise as is the money of others, and that it is as dishonest to beat the government as to cheat your best friend? Shall we willingly follow the leadership of those we elect to guide us? These are questions the answers of which will determine the extent to which we may profitably expect our government to work for us. They are the real tests of everyday patriotism.

"What kind of country would this country be
If every countryman were just like me!"

Suggested Activities.

1. Interview the officers of some co-operative organization of your community—as a building and loan, marketing, or fruit growers' association. Appoint two or three members of the class as a committee to learn through a personal interview with one of the officers, the history of the organization—including the reason for its formation, what particular service it performs for the community, what its problems are—and why it has proved to be an effective aid to the community.

2. Investigate through a visit—or through communicating with the officials in charge—your local county or city home for the poor. Find out if possible whether the home is well kept, the number of inmates and what conditions about the place may need improvement.

3. Make a list of welfare or co-operative organizations about which you know. Appoint committees to find out their history, the reasons for their formation, the work which they are now doing. Find out how they are supported. Study especially those that are operating in your local community.

4. Look up the stock market in a recent newspaper and make a list of large corporations whose stock is quoted on the market.

5. Appoint a member of your class to write to the "Forestry Service," United States Department of Agriculture for bulletins on forest preservation. Discuss in class what the Forest Service is doing for the preservation of our forests.

6. Choose sides and debate one or more of the following questions:

(a) Resolved, that a star football player who does not co-operate with his team is a disadvantage to his team.

(b) Resolved, that money spent for taxes honestly used in worthwhile co-operative work by our government is the best investment that can be made.

Study Questions.

1. Before civilized people came to America, a region which now has a population of from three to five millions, usually supported from ten to fifty thousand savages. Show some of the ways in which co-operation makes it possible for many people to live in a region which could support but a few savages.

2. Show that co-operation depends upon having wise leaders in each of the following groups: A school, a shoe factory, a baseball team, an army.

3. Explain how the man working in a city factory making shoes co-operates with the farmer raising wheat.

4. Make a list of proposed laws advocated by volunteer organizations of your state.

5. Make a list of things the government does for us through its various units. How do we pay for our share in this work? Do you think the money spent in this way is well invested?

6. Find out how the laws of your state restrict killing game and catching fish. How do these laws benefit society?

CHAPTER XIX

THE HERITAGE OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

Our Inheritance of Citizenship. We all know persons who have received property by inheritance. Many of us may not expect an inheritance of property, but there is another kind of inheritance for each of us of greater value than we can know or estimate. That is the inheritance of American citizenship.

Through our study of this book we have learned what it means to be an American citizen and that the privileges of American citizenship are the outgrowth of centuries of struggle. We have seen how representative government originated and have learned that through our national and state constitutions the fundamental elements of liberty and representative government are secured to the people.

Our government is a co-operative enterprise and if it is to be conducted in the interests of all the people, each individual must bear his part in an intelligent, honest and efficient manner. To do our part, to have and to enjoy the protection and privileges made secure by this government, is our inheritance as American citizens.

Our Intellectual Inheritance. Chief among the treasures of our inheritance is the wisdom of all the ages. The learning of the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, the records of the monk in his monastery; the stories, poems, plays and historical records by the wisest men of all times are here available.

Knowledge is acquired through trial and experience. Once acquired it may be transmitted from one person to another and from one generation to the next. In very early times the only

way men could transmit knowledge was by the spoken word or by signs. The only way one generation could give knowledge to the next was to give it to the children who remembered it and in turn passed it on to the next generation. But after a long time, a system of writing was developed and knowledge could then be recorded and passed on. This was long, long ago and many generations of people have lived, discovered many things and recorded their experiences in writing. The Greeks studied and learned much. They wrote many poems, plays, histories and works on philosophy. The Romans through nearly a thousand years had a great government; they made and wrote many laws. Much of this written knowledge was kept in libraries and monasteries. For a thousand years after the great Roman state ceased to exist the scholars of Europe were keeping records and writing books. A short time before Columbus discovered America the printing press was invented. Books became cheaper and many more people could have them. For the past four hundred years the experiences of the human race have been written into books—and our government through its development of schools and libraries, and its guarantee of freedom of the press has placed this accumulation of the world's knowledge within the reach of every American. While we may choose only a part of this great wealth of learning, it is here for us to have and to enjoy if we will.

Our Religious Inheritance. Religion has been important in the development of civilization. Many kinds of religion have been developed by the human race. The countries from which our ancestors came once had state churches established by the government; all were required to belong to the same state church. Many came to America so they could worship God as they pleased. In the Constitution of the United States

we find the guarantee of religious freedom. Thus America has become the refuge of those persecuted because of religious beliefs and her citizens have access to all the leading churches.

The Bible with its teachings and our churches with their beautiful forms of worship may be called our religious inheritance. The American idea that all should be allowed to worship as they choose is now found in every civilized country. America led in bringing about religious freedom. This is one of the most valuable parts of the heritage of an American citizen.

Our Material Inheritance. We have the great natural resources of the American continent. Its rich soil, its great forests, its immense beds of coal, its precious metals, its useful minerals, its wells of oil, its waterways and its abundant supply of building materials give the people of America the greatest opportunity ever offered in the world's history to build great cities, to establish large industries, to make attractive homes—to become a contented, happy people.

The development of these resources has made possible great industries giving employment to millions. In no other country can so great a proportion of the people find work at reasonable wages, nowhere else in the world can so nearly all live in comfortable homes and have such an abundance of food.

Our Political Inheritance. Government in America has preserved and developed the best in civilization. You hold the key that unlocks the door to its enjoyment—American Citizenship. The Declaration of Independence made possible the heritage of the American citizen; the Constitution of the United States has long safeguarded this treasure and stands as a guarantee of its security. To keep this inheritance even more safe, the Constitutional Amendments and our state constitutions bar the way to its violation.

Representative government developed through centuries of struggle, plainly written into our constitutional law, made familiar by more than a hundred years of use, stands as a valuable gift from our fathers and gives to the American citizen a priceless heritage. Liberty under law, guarded by our Constitution, upheld by our courts, respected by our officials, and enjoyed by all is the American's political birthright.

The Inheritance of National Kinship. The principles for which Washington, Franklin, Jefferson and Lincoln stood have become a vital part of our national spirit. Courage in the face of difficulties, loyalty to truth, sympathy, honor, generosity, these interwoven with a love of country and a spirit of service are most precious, having been protected again and again by the achievement of the American soldier.

Clean and wholesome are the American ideals, free from superstition and oppression. The memory of national heroes, of great events of national history, together with the living, throbbing personalities of our great leaders reach into the most remote corners of our nation and are an inspiration to Americans everywhere.

Looking Forward. These inheritances are not to be hoarded; rather open wide the door that those less fortunate may share. They will gain a richer meaning if we pour their wealth into the hands of coming generations. Development of our waterways, extension of our railroads, the education of our people, the conservation of our natural resources and human life can have only one result—a richer, happier land.

As unselfish service throughout the ages has created these treasures and kept them secure for us, so must we, through a life of active, unselfish service to our community and to our nation, keep these treasures safe—for the America that is yet to be.

Suggested Activities.

1. (a) Study the following quotations and express in writing what each one means to you. (b) Memorize the one you like best.

"Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Respect for the authority of this government, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty."

—George Washington.

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the 'patriots of seventy-six' did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his liberty and his sacred honor."

—Abraham Lincoln.

"We Americans can only do our allotted task well if we face it steadily and bravely, seeing but not fearing the dangers. Above all we must stand shoulder to shoulder, not asking as to the ancestry or creed of our comrades, but only demanding that they be in truth Americans, and that we all work together, heart, hand and head, for the honor and the greatness of our common country."

—Theodore Roosevelt.

2. The following rules showing proper respect for the flag are taken from the Boy Scout Manual:

I. It should not be hoisted before sunrise or allowed to remain up after sunset.

II. At "retreat" sunset, civilian spectators should stand at attention and on the last four strains of the music uncover, holding the head-dress top outward, in the right hand, opposite the left shoulder, right forearm against the breast.

III. When the national colors are passing on parade, or review, the spectators should, if walking, halt, and if sitting, rise and stand at attention and uncover.

IV. When the flag is flown at half staff as a sign of mourning it should be hoisted to full staff at the conclusion of the funeral. In placing the flag at half mast, it should first be hoisted to the top of

the staff, and then lowered to position, and preliminary to lowering from half staff it should first be raised to the top.

V. On Memorial Day, May 30th, the flag should fly at half mast from sunrise until noon, and full staff from noon to sunset.

Which rules will apply under the following circumstances?

(a) The flag passes by carried in a parade.

(b) At "retreat."

3. Learn the "Flag Salute"—"I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the republic for which it stands, one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

4. Since the Great War it has been suggested by many that each community of three hundred or more inhabitants have a regular daily exercise of respect for the flag, such as "retreat." Plan how this might be done.

THE FLAG*

History of the Flag. The American Flag is the third oldest of the National Standards of the world; older than the Union Jack of Britain or the Tricolor of France.

The Flag was first authorized by Congress, June 14, 1777. This date is now observed as Flag Day throughout America.

The Flag was first flown from Fort Stanwix, on the site of the present city of Rome, New York, on August 3, 1777. It was first under fire three days later in the battle of Oriskany, August 6, 1777.

It was first decreed that there should be a star and a stripe for each state, making thirteen of both; for the states at that time had just been erected from the original thirteen colonies.

In 1794, Vermont and Kentucky were admitted to the Union and the number of stars and of stripes was raised to fifteen in correspondence. As other states came into the Union it became evident there would be too many stripes. So in 1818 Congress enacted that the number of stripes be reduced and restricted henceforth to thirteen, representing the thirteen original states; while a star should be added for each succeeding State. That law is the law of today.

The Flag was first carried in battle at the Brandywine, September 11, 1777. It first flew over foreign territory January 28, 1778, at Nassau, Bahama Islands; Fort Nassau having been captured by the Americans in the course of the war for independence. The first foreign salute to the Flag was rendered by the French Admiral, La Motte Piquet, off Quiberon Bay, February 13, 1778.

The Flag first rose over thirteen states along the Atlantic seaboard, with a population of some three million people. Today it flies over forty-eight states extending across the continent, and over great islands of the two oceans; and one hundred thirty millions owe it allegiance. It has been brought to this proud position by love and sacrifice. Citizens have advanced it and heroes have died for it. It is the sign made

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visible of the strong spirit that has brought liberty and prosperity to the people of America. It is the Flag of all of us alike. Let us accord it honor and loyalty.

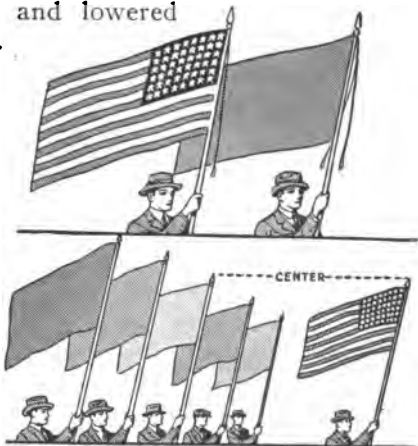
On Flag Day, June 14, 1922, representatives of over 68 organizations met in Washington for a conference, called by and conducted under the auspices of The National Americanism Commission of The American Legion, to draft an authentic code of flag etiquette. The code drafted by that conference is printed on the following pages.

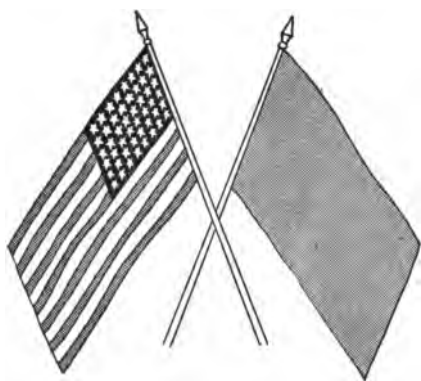
How to Display the Flag. There are certain fundamental rules of heraldry which, if understood generally, would indicate the proper method of displaying the Flag. The matter becomes a very simple one if it is kept in mind that the National Flag represents the living country and is itself considered as a living thing. The union of the Flag is the honor point; the right arm is the sword arm, and therefore the point of danger and hence the place of honor.

1. The Flag should be displayed only from sunrise to sunset, or between such hours as may be designated by proper authority. It should be displayed on national and state holidays and on historic and special occasions. The Flag should always be hoisted briskly and lowered slowly and ceremoniously.

2. When carried in a procession with another flag or flags, the Flag of the United States should be either on the marching right, i. e., the Flag's own right, or when there is a line of other flags the Flag of the United States may be in front of the center of that line.

3. When displayed with another flag against a wall

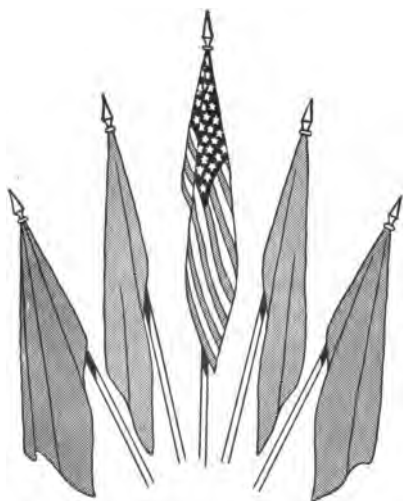




from crossed staffs, the Flag of the United States should be on the right, the Flag's own right, and its staff should be in front of the staff of the other flag.

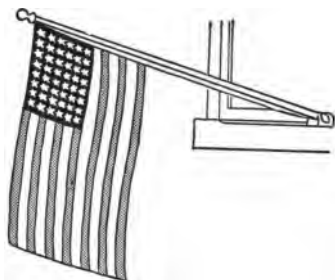
4. When a number of flags are grouped and displayed from staffs, the Flag of the United States should be in the center or at the highest point of the group.

5. When flags of states or cities or pennants of societies are flown on the same halyard with the Flag of the United States, the National Flag should always be at the peak. When flown from adjacent staffs the Flag of the United States should be hoisted first. No flag or pennant should be placed above or to the right of the Flag of the United States.

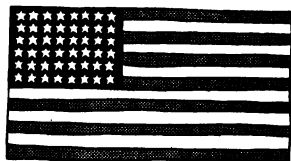


6. When flags of two or more nations are displayed they should be flown from separate staffs of the same height and the flags should be of approximately equal size. (International usage forbids the display of the flag of one nation above that of another nation in time of peace.)

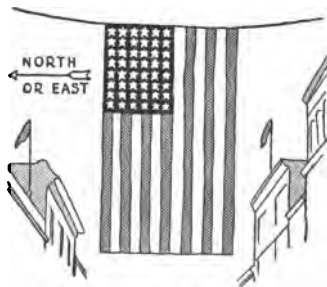
7. When the Flag is displayed from a staff projecting horizontally or at an angle from the window sill, balcony, or front of building, the union of the Flag should go clear to the head of the staff unless the Flag is at half mast.



8. When the Flag of the United States is displayed in a manner other than by being flown from a staff it should be displayed flat, whether indoors or out. When displayed either horizontally or vertically against a wall, the union should be uppermost and to the Flag's own right, i. e., to the observer's left. When displayed in a window it should be displayed the same way, that is, with the union or blue field to the left of the observer in the street. When festoons, rosettes, or drapings of blue, white and red are desired, bunting should be used, but never the flag.



9. When displayed over the middle of the street, as between buildings, the Flag of the United States should be suspended vertically with the union to the north in an east-and-west street or to the east in a north-and-south street.



10. When used on a speaker's platform, the Flag should be displayed above and behind the

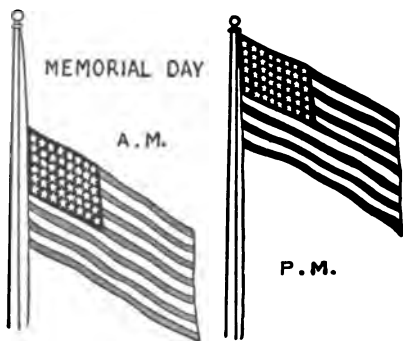


speaker. It should never be used to cover the speaker's desk nor to drape over the front of the platform. If flown from a staff it should be on the speaker's right.

11. When used in unveiling a statue or monument, the Flag should not be allowed to fall to the ground but should be carried aloft to wave out, forming a distinctive feature during the remainder of the ceremony.



12. When flown at half mast, the Flag is first hoisted to the peak and then lowered to the half staff position, but before lowering the Flag for the day it is raised again to the peak. On Memorial Day, May 30th, the Flag is displayed at half staff from sunrise until noon and at full staff from noon until sunset, for the Nation lives and the Flag is the symbol of the living Nation.



13. When used to cover a casket the Flag should be placed so that the union is at the head and over

the left shoulder. The Flag should not be lowered into the grave nor allowed to touch the ground. The casket should be carried foot first.

14. When the Flag is displayed in church it should be from a staff placed on the congregation's right as they face the clergyman. The service flag, the state flag, or other flag should be at the left of the congregation. If in the chancel, the Flag of the United States should be placed on the clergyman's right as he faces the congregation and other flags on his left.

15. When the Flag is in such a condition that it is no longer a fitting emblem for display it should not be cast aside or used in any way that might be viewed as disrespectful to the national colors, but should be destroyed as a whole, privately, preferably by burning or by some other method in harmony with the reverence and respect we owe to the emblem representing our country.

How to Respect the Flag. 1. Do not permit disrespect to be shown to the Flag of the United States.

2. Do not dip the Flag of the United States to any person or any thing. The regimental color, state flag, organization or institutional flag will render this honor.

3. Do not display the Flag of the United States with the union down except as a signal of distress.

4. Do not place any other flag or pennant above or to the right of the Flag of the United States.

5. Do not let the Flag of the United States touch the ground or trail in the water.

6. Do not place any object or emblem of any kind on or above the Flag of the United States.

7. Do not use the Flag as drapery in any form whatever. Use bunting of blue, white and red.

8. Do not fasten the flag in such manner as will permit it to be easily torn.

9. Do not drape the Flag, over the hood, top, sides or back of a vehicle, or of a railroad train or boat. When the

Flag is displayed on a motor car, the staff should be affixed firmly to the chassis or clamped to the radiator cap.

10. Do not display the Flag on a float in a parade except from a staff.

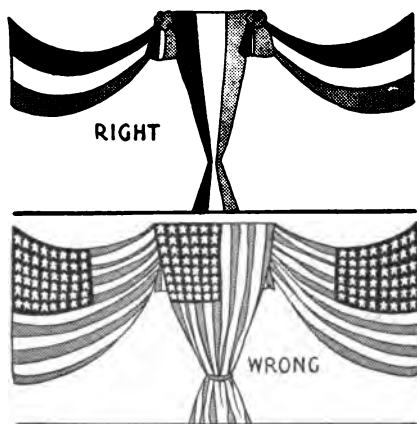
11. Do not use the Flag as a covering for a ceiling.

12. Do not use the Flag as a portion of a costume or of an athletic uniform.

13. Do not put lettering of any kind upon the Flag.

14. Do not use the Flag in any form of advertising nor fasten an advertising sign to a pole from which the Flag of the United States is flying.

15. Do not display, use or store the Flag in such a manner as will permit it to be easily soiled or damaged.



Proper Use of Bunting.

Bunting of the national colors should be used for covering a speaker's desk, draping over the front of a platform and for decoration in general. Bunting should be arranged with the blue above, the white in the middle and the red below.

How to Salute the Flag.

During the ceremony of hoisting or lowering the Flag or when the Flag is passing in a review, all persons present should face the Flag, stand at attention and salute. Those present in uniform should render the right-hand salute. When not in uniform, men should remove the head-dress with the right hand and hold it at the left shoulder, the hand being over the heart. Women should salute by placing the right hand over the heart. The salute to the Flag in the moving column is rendered at the moment the Flag passes.

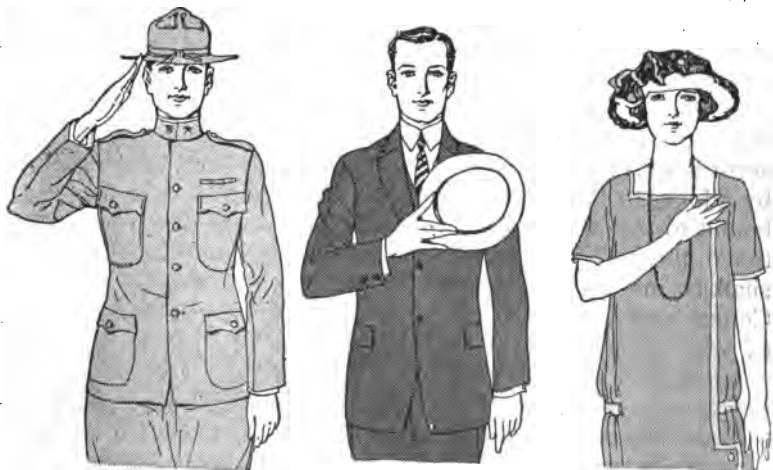
Salute When Giving the Pledge to the Flag. In pledging allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, the approved practice in schools, which is suitable also for civilian adults, is as follows:

"I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, indivisible, with Liberty and Justice for all."

At the words "to the Flag," the right hand is extended, palm upward, towards the Flag and this position is held until the end of the affirmation when the hand drops to the side.

However, civilian adults will always show full respect to the Flag, when the pledge is being given, by merely standing at attention, men removing the headdress. Persons in uniform should render the right hand salute.

Salute to the National Anthem. When the National Anthem is played and no Flag is displayed, all present should stand and face towards the music. Those in uniform should salute at the first note of the Anthem. All others should stand at attention, men removing the headdress. When the Flag is displayed, the regular "Salute to the Flag," should be given.



CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

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

SECTION 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 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. 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.

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.

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 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 respec-

tive 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 adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

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 defense and general welfare of the United States: but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

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

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

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

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

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

7. To establish post offices and post roads:

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

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court:

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

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

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

13. To provide and maintain a navy:

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

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

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

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

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 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 anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of 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.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 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 the 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 enters 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 offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are

not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

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

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

SECTION 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.

SECTION 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.

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 this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight

shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the confederation.

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

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

ARTICLE VII

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

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE 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 offense 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 reëxamined 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 ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of 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. 1. 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 conditions 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 requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the legislature

of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment 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.

ART. XVIII. Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

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

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

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

Admiralty and Maritime Jurisdiction.—Authority over naval and marine cases, that is, cases which arise on the high seas.

Administrative.—Executive. Administrative departments are those which carry on the actual work of the government.

Agitator.—One who excites, stirs up, discusses and urges changes in government.

Aliens.—Residents of a country who have not become citizens; foreigners not yet naturalized.

Allegiance.—The tie of obligation or devotion to one's government. Citizenship by birth carries the obligation without the formality of an oath, but all foreigners are required to express this obligation by taking an oath of allegiance before becoming a citizen.

Alternate.—A substitute who serves in case the regular delegate cannot be present.

Anarchist.—One who believes that laws are unnecessary. Some anarchists believe that people would all be good if there were no laws to break.

Appeal.—Carrying a case from one court to a higher court because of dissatisfaction with the decision in the lower court.

Articles of Confederation.—The document drawn up and adopted by the second Continental Congress and later ratified by the legislatures of the thirteen colonies, 1781, which created a weak central government of the United States of America. These articles were superseded after eight years by our present Constitution.

Assessed.—Levied or counted upon. Taxes are levied upon property at its assessed valuation. Property which has been rated or counted at two thousand dollars must pay twice as much tax as property counted at one thousand dollars.

Australian Ballot.—A ballot provided by the authorities according to law. Secrecy is assured to the voter. This reduces intimidation and bribery since no one can be sure he has influenced the voter.

Authority.—Rightful or legal power; the right to command and to demand obedience. A parent has authority over his own child. The United States government has authority over its citizens.

Best Sellers.—The books that have the greatest sale within a certain given time.

Bill of Rights.—(1) A "charter of English liberty" which William the Third agreed to when he became King in 1689.

(2) A summary of the rights and privileges guaranteed to the people of the Constitution. Such a summary is usually an integral part of the state Constitution. In the United States Constitution it is found in the first ten amendments and in a few sections of Article 1.

Blood-Tie.—Family relationships. In early tribes every member was considered a blood relative.

Boards and Commissions.—Groups of persons appointed or elected to deal with specific problems or activities of government. (See Commissions.)

Breach of the Peace.—Any crime less than a felony which disturbs public order. A street fight is a breach of the peace.

Budget.—Estimated receipts and expenditures made before money has been received or spent. Public money can be spent most wisely and economically only under a budget plan.

Bureau.—Originally meant a desk or writing table with drawers—also an office where writing is done. As used in our government it means a department of public business requiring a force of clerks. The executive departments represented in the President's cabinet are each subdivided into bureaus.

By-Products.—Something which may be made in the course of manufacturing in addition to the principal output. In a smelter, the soot which must be scraped from the smoke stack may contain a mineral by-product of great value. The hair used in plastering is a by-product of meat packing works.

Central Government.—The Constitution of the United States recognizes two governments. The government of the United States and state governments. The government of the United States is sometimes called the Central government.

Charter.—A document which gives certain rights and privileges to a people, city or colony. Some of the American colonies were given charters by the King. King John was compelled to give his barons a charter which guaranteed the people certain rights. (See Magna Charta.)

City Hall Ring.—A name applied to a group of city officers who are supposed to control city affairs in their own interests. Such rings may be accused of dishonesty, inefficiency, neglect of duty or merely of finding jobs for their friends.

City Manager.—An officer entrusted with city business. Instead of having city affairs administered by successful political candidates, the city manager plan would place all control in the hands of an expert selected because of his business ability.

Civil Case.—A trial resulting from a dispute as to property rights. The decision does not involve "guilt" or "innocence" but obligation. Decision is for or against the plaintiff or the defendant.

Civil Service.—(1) In a general sense, any service other than military or naval service rendered to and paid for by the government. (2) In a special sense, the system of selecting government employees and appointive officials upon a basis of qualification for the position to be filled instead of regard for political service.

Civil Service Commission.—A commission of three, not all of the same party, appointed by the President to aid him in making regulations for the Civil Service and to conduct competitive examinations and recommend candidates.

Clannishness.—The tendency of relatives to stick together in business or social life. Sometimes groups of foreigners settle together, trade at the same store, attend the same church, visit only among themselves, and have little to do with people not of their race or nation. Such groups are called "clannish."

Class Distinction.—Difference in the esteem in which one is held because of birth, wealth or occupation. Formerly, lords, dukes, and barons were a distinct class in most European countries. Rich and poor sometimes associate together as classes. People doing certain kinds of work may be looked down upon. The American ideal is to respect each one for what he is—regardless of his ancestry, his money or his trade. As some one has said, "Every tub must stand on its own bottom."

Clearing House.—The establishment where accounts between banks are settled by the exchange of checks, bills and other forms of credit.

Code.—A body of laws, compiled and arranged to form a system of laws.

Commissions.—Groups of experts organized to study or control specific activities of government. The Civil Service Commission has charge of Civil Service examinations. Some commissions are composed of paid officers; others are made up of voluntary workmen. There were many of these voluntary commissions during the Great War.

- Commission Government.**—Usually a city government carried on by a small board of commissioners, elected or appointed, who employ all necessary city officers.
- Commonwealth.**—A people united under free and popular form of government. The word commonwealth is used synonymously with the word state, as the states or commonwealths of the American Union.
- Common Law.**—The body of decisions and precedents handed down from the courts. Common law is used in arriving at a decision when no statutory law covers the case.
- Compensation.**—Something given in return for service or goods. Officers are paid salaries as compensation for the service they render.
- Competing Lines.**—Railways, steamship lines, or other means of transportation or communication, which without agreement among themselves as to charges, are rendering the same services to the same community.
- Competitor.**—One who contends or strives for the same thing—generally used in referring to those in the same business striving to secure customers.
- Compulsory Attendance.**—In most states laws require parents to send their children to school until they reach a certain age or grade. Such attendance at school is called compulsory attendance.
- Compulsory Education.**—Educational opportunity which people may be forced by law to provide for their children.
- Congressman.**—A member of Congress. The name is usually applied only to members of the House of Representatives of the United States.
- Conservation.**—To keep from loss, to protect, applied to national government protection of our natural resources.
- Constitution.**—The foundation or fundamental laws of a government. The United States and each of the states has a constitution in the form of a document providing for the different branches of government and their operation.
- Constitutional Convention.**—An assembly composed of delegates elected for the purpose of writing or revising a constitution. The most important one in our history met in 1787 and drafted the original Constitution of the United States.
- Constitutional Officer.**—One whose position is created and whose powers are defined in a constitution. A state legislature may

create or abolish offices by law but it can neither create nor abolish constitutional offices. These owe their position to a vote of the people who may adopt or amend the Constitution.

Contagious Disease.—Any disease which may be transmitted from one person to another by contact, either direct or indirect.

Contiguous Territory.—Areas not separated. Territories that touch each other at some point. The states of Colorado and New Mexico are contiguous.

Co-operative Activities.—Work done by combined efforts of two or more persons. Two men may lift a stone or a log which is too heavy for one. A thousand people may unite in supporting a water system which one could not afford. A hundred million Americans support and are benefited by the United States government. These are examples of co-operation or co-operative activities.

Corporation.—A group of persons organized in an association and endowed by law with the rights, privileges and liabilities of an individual.

Corporation Tax.—A tax levied upon the capital stock of a corporation.

Criminal.—One who commits a serious offense against the law, as a thief or murderer. In another sense, any violator of law.

Criminal Case.—A trial resulting from violation of laws for safety of life and property. The state is the prosecutor in a criminal case; the one on trial is declared "guilty" or "innocent." One who is guilty is punished by fine or imprisonment. (See civil case.)

Crusades.—A series of wars waged during the first half of the Middle Ages by the Christian peoples of Europe against the Turks. The object was to gain possession of the Tomb of Christ. Many English Knights took part in these wars.

Customs Duties.—Taxes collected upon imports when they are brought into the country. Custom comes from a word meaning keeper or guard. The keeper used to stand at the city gate and collect taxes from all who brought goods into the city. Some European cities still collect "gate taxes."

Decision.—The settlement of a case by a judge or court. The Supreme Court decisions require agreement of not less than five of the nine justices.

Delegates at Large.—A delegate to a political or other convention who represents a state instead of a district within a state. Dele-

gates to presidential conventions are elected in two ways. Some are elected by congressional districts; others are elected by the entire state and are called "delegates at large."

Deliberative Body.—An assembly which considers measures before passing them. Congress is composed of the two houses, both of which are deliberative bodies.

Despotic Power.—Authority exercised without consent of the governed.

Dialects.—A slightly changed mode of speech or way of talking which may make understanding very difficult without seriously changing written language. The difference, for example, between the language used by a London newspaper and a newspaper in Denver is not very great; yet many who read one of these papers could not understand readily the speech of those who read the other. In some European countries dialects are very numerous and very different.

Dictator.—One who is given absolute authority to rule a country. Usually this is for only a limited period during a war or some great crisis or disaster.

Direct Legislation.—Legislation by means of the initiative and referendum. In some states a bill may be drawn, and by petition, filed with the proper officer, be placed upon the ballot at the next election. If a majority of those voting on the proposition vote "yes" the bill becomes a law. This process is called direct legislation.

Direct Primary.—A system of nominating candidates for office by direct vote of the members of a political party instead of by a delegate convention.

Direct Taxes.—Are those which the tax levying authority intend shall be paid by the person owning the property upon which they are levied. A tax on land is a direct tax.

Division of Labor.—Specialization, by which each works at one activity or in the making of only one product. The earliest division of labor was that between man and woman; men were hunters and fighters, and women were housekeepers and gardeners. In a large factory each operator may know how to attend but one kind of machine. In addition others may not attend machines at all but keep books, manage telephones, or do inspection duty. Divisions of labor result in expert workmen and increased production.

- Doubtful States.**—States in which political results are very uncertain. In some states the Republicans almost always win; in others the Democrats; in still others success rests with one party at one election and with another at the next, neither party being safely in the lead at all times.
- Duplication of Work.**—The same work done by two or more departments of government by two or more officers. This usually represents waste. More officers than are needed may be kept in office and their efforts may cause waste because of failure to agree or work together.
- Effective Government.**—An effective government is one which carries out its purposes. To be effective it must enforce its laws, and command respect at home and abroad.
- Electoral College.**—A term applied to the entire body of Presidential electors. This body never meets. The electors of each state meet at the state capitol, cast their vote and the results are sent to Washington where votes are counted and the results announced.
- Environment.**—Surroundings. Conditions in which one lives. Environment includes home, living, and neighborhood conditions, school and church, shop and the street—everything which may affect one after his birth, except such traits or physical features as he may inherit.
- Epidemic.**—A disease that affects many in a community at the same time.
- Escheats.**—To become the property of the state because no legal owners can be found.
- Excise.**—A duty or tax levied upon certain specified articles grown or manufactured in the country and operating as an indirect tax. The best known example in the United States is the tax upon tobacco produced and used within this country.
- Executive.**—“Carrying out.” An executive does things or carries out laws. The President carries on the activities of the government through the executive department.
- Executive Department.**—Law enforcing branch of national or state government. It executes the laws. The President is head of the executive department of the United States. The governor and other administrative officers, like the treasurer and auditor, are the executive department of state governments.
- Ex-Officio.**—“Because of the office.” An ex-officio member of a governing board is one who holds his position because he occu-

pies a related office. Thus the state superintendent of schools is often a member of the state board of education.

Expert Service.—The work of a specialist. Anyone who devotes a great deal of attention to his business or occupation and masters it, may render expert service, but as the words are commonly used we think of the kind of service very few can render, like those of a skilled surgeon.

Exploiting the Soil.—Using the native fertility of the soil without restoring to it anything which will keep it productive. Unless the soil is "kept up" by fertilizers or rotation of crops it ceases to produce full crops. The poorest soils may wear out in a few years; others may go on producing for a very long time but the end is always the same unless the soil is cared for.

Extra-Legal.—Not provided in law. Extra-legal does not mean illegal; it simply indicates that no law expressly requires or forbids or even mentions acts. Many powers of the President are extra-legal. Political parties during most of our history have been extra-legal; the law simply has not mentioned them.

Federal Courts.—United States courts; not state or local courts.

Federal Government.—A government in which the powers are divided between a central government and two or more state governments. In the United States, governmental power is divided between a central government at Washington and the forty-eight state governments located in different sections of the country.

Federal Reserve Bank.—The latest development in our banking system. The banking law of the United States divides the country into twelve districts. One bank is established in each district which does a banking business with the member banks of the district. All national banks must become members, and state banks may be members. Each of these twelve banks is called a Federal Reserve Bank.

Fees.—A compulsory payment which covers the cost or a part of the cost of an official act which benefits the person making the payment. Recording a deed or issuing a license usually calls for a fee.

Felony.—A serious crime, punishable by death or long imprisonment. Manslaughter, arson, theft and forgery are felonies.

Feudalism.—A land and property holding system in the Middle Ages by which the King ruled his people through the nobility. All except the King owed service or rent to the superior next above

him. The superior was expected in each case to protect those who served him.

Filibustering.—"Talking against time," or using some other means of delaying action upon a bill which the filibusterer wishes to defeat. Filibustering was formerly very commonly resorted to in the United States Senate, speeches of fourteen hours being made solely to delay action until time for considering a bill had passed.

Franchise.—An agreement between an individual or corporation and a city by which the person or company agrees to render public service for the city in return for the rights the city gives. A street railway company may agree to provide transportation in return for the right to use the streets for laying tracks. The franchise states the rights and duties of both city and company.

Fraudulent Undertakings.—Any work or project entered into with the intent of deliberately deceiving and thereby gaining an unlawful or unfair advantage.

Freedom of the Press.—The right or privilege of printing any facts, opinions or other matter without fear of interference from government authority.

Free Trade.—Permitting all to buy and sell without legal restriction. In ancient cities foreigners were often made to pay for their rights of trade. By our customs duties some kinds of goods produced in other countries are placed at a disadvantage in competing with the same kind of goods produced in the United States. Freedom to bring anything from anywhere in the world and sell it in our country without payment of import duty would be free trade.

Fundamental Factors.—The most important and necessary elements. Fundamental factors are foundation factors, those upon which others rest. Fundamental industries are those without which a community could not support itself. The fundamental occupation in Kansas or Iowa is agriculture; in some of our coast cities it is commerce.

Grand Jury.—A jury of not less than twelve men nor more than twenty-three whose duty it is to examine charges of crime in secret session and indict those persons against whom there is sufficient evidence. The accused person is then brought to trial.

Guilds.—Organizations of workmen, traders, or merchants during the late Middle Ages. Their purpose was to make sure that only

honest goods were offered for sale, that an over-supply was not placed on the market so as to lower the price, and that workmen should be skillful and well paid. Guilds became very powerful and largely controlled many trading and manufacturing cities.

Government Ownership.—Some people believe that it would be better for the government to own and operate the railroads and other public utilities engaged in interstate commerce. This policy is known as government ownership.

Heredity.—Physical or mental characteristics derived from parents or other ancestors.

Hereditary Lords.—(1) Members of the nobility whose title descends from generation to generation. The eldest son of an earl is an earl under the hereditary system. (2) Members of the House of Lords in the English Parliament who hold office because of birth.

Home Rule for Cities.—In many states the Governor is given considerable power in the government of the larger cities. In some cases he appoints some of the city officials, such as police commissioners and election commissioners. Home rule for cities takes this power from the Governor and gives it to the people of the city.

House of Commons.—The elective house of the English Parliament. It now has much more power than the House of Lords. Since 1911, the House of Lords can delay but cannot prevent passage of any law favored by the voters who elect the House of Commons.

House of Lords.—The upper house of the legislative branch of the English Parliament.

Hundred Moot.—An assembly, in early English history, of representatives from the tuns and manors within a district known as a hundred.

Illiteracy.—Inability to read and write. The amount of illiteracy is usually reckoned in the per cent of persons more than ten years of age not able to read or write.

Impeachment.—The process provided by most constitutions for removing officials from office who have been guilty of a high crime or misdemeanor. In the case of United States officers, the charge is made by the House of Representatives and the case is tried by the Senate.

Inaugural Address.—The address of the incoming official, delivered as a part of the inaugural ceremony.

- Inauguration.**—The act of inducting an official into office in a formal manner. Presidents and Governors are invested with their offices in this way. The ceremonies include an oath which the official takes.
- Income Tax.**—A per cent of one's income legally paid for the support of our government. The United States and many of the states require payment of income taxes.
- Independent Thinking.**—Thinking out problems for one's self. One who belongs to a political party or a church without knowing why is not an independent thinker. One who is influenced only by the interests of his own trade or profession is not independently thinking.
- Individual Liberty.**—The rights guaranteed to the people by our national and state constitutions.
- Industrial Revolution.**—The changes brought about by the use of power-driven machinery in manufacturing. These changes came in England between 1775 and 1825. Large factories took the place of household work or small shops. Cities grew rapidly around the factories. Mass production made goods cheaper.
- Inheritance Tax.**—A special kind of property tax. It is levied upon property at the death of the owner and is paid by the heirs receiving the inheritance.
- Initiative.**—A plan of law making by which the people have the lead. By securing the number of signatures required by law, it is possible for any person or group of persons to propose laws to be voted upon and adopted or defeated at an election.
- Injunction.**—A court decree commanding to do or not to do a certain act or not to cease performing the act. An injunction might keep street cars running or prevent change of carfare required.
- Interstate Commerce Commission.**—A commission of eleven men appointed by the President and having power to regulate interstate commerce. It has been given power to fix railroad, steamship, express, telegraph and telephone rates.
- Interstate Problems.**—Questions which concern two or more states. Problems of the Mississippi River may be interstate since the river is not in any state exclusively. Many railroad problems are interstate since railroads cross state lines.
- Intimidation.**—The practice of making legally qualified voters afraid to go to the polling place and vote as they think best. In some cases ruffians stationed near polling places have slugged voters and made timid people afraid to go to the polls. In other cases

it is alleged that employers have made their workmen afraid of losing their jobs unless their votes are cast as the employer wants them cast.

Invisible Government.—In some cases a man or group of men in a city or other governmental unit secure the election of men whom they can control. They then direct the officials in all important matters. These bosses hold no official position, keep no records and perform their part in directing the government secretly. These practices have been called "invisible government."

Judicial Department.—That part of the government that is created for interpreting the laws and applying them to specific cases. It consists of all courts provided for by a government.

Judicial District.—The region or territory served by a court. If a county has a court, its judicial district is the county. United States district courts often include an entire state in their judicial district.

Jurisdiction.—The legal right of a particular court to hear and determine cases.

Juvenile Court.—A legal tribunal for the trial of children who have violated law.

Law Enforcement.—The act of giving effect to or putting into operation the laws, city, state and national, that are applicable to a community.

Legislative Department.—Law making branch of national or state government. Congress and state legislatures are called legislative departments.

Libel.—A malicious publication in print, writing, picture or effigy tending to expose another to public contempt or ridicule.

Liberal Construction.—Is an interpretation that is not restricted to the literal sense but attempts to apply the real spirit and intent of the law to the case under consideration. The term is used frequently in discussing the interpretation of constitutions. (See strict construction.)

Like-Minded Neighbors.—Persons who think alike upon many things. Those who have the same standards of honesty, thrift, and home life may be considered like-minded. If they read the same newspaper, attend the same church, enjoy the same amusements, and have the same patriotism, they are in a greater degree like-minded.

Lobbyist.—A person employed to visit Congress or a state legislature and work for the passage of laws favorable to those who support the lobbyist. A "lobbyist" is usually thought of as dishonest, one who tries to bribe or buy votes. Many lobbyists are not guilty of such wrongs. They merely explain the need of the measures they favor and urge a favorable vote.

Magna Charta.—Great Charter. This was a famous document which enumerated many of the rights of Englishmen. It was signed by King John at Runnymede in 1215. The King agreed to the Magna Charta very unwillingly, as it took away much of his power. All later "charters of liberty," including the Constitution of the United States, included many provisions of this great charter.

Mass Production.—Making many parts or objects exactly alike by machinery. Long ago books were made by hand, no two being alike; now by mass or machine production millions of copies may be made; the same kinds of shoes or hats may be purchased in thousands of stores because of mass production. Mass production produces cheaper and better goods in many lines. Hand work is still the finest in some products, but it costs a great deal more.

Medical Inspection.—Oversight of health by physician. School medical inspection is carried on in many communities. Factory medical inspection is found in some manufacturing plants.

Merit System.—The plan of appointing officers because of superior qualifications, allowing them to hold office so long as their work is satisfactory, and recognizing unusual excellence of service if promotions are made.

Misdemeanor.—Any crime for which the punishment provided by laws is less than imprisonment in the penitentiary.

Monarchy.—A government in which a single ruler like a King or Emperor exercises authority. Usually a monarch inherits his throne. An absolute monarch is not limited in his power. England has a King and is called a monarchy, though the monarch has less power than we confer on our Presidents.

Mutual Co-operation.—Association of people by common consent for the benefit of all.

Municipal Improvement.—Conveniences carried on by or for a local government, such as village or city sidewalks, paved streets, city water systems, street car systems, and park and municipal improvements.

Municipal Ownership.—Refers to ownership by a city of its own public utilities, such as street railways, light plants, and water works.

National Bank.—A bank organized under the United States national bank law of 1862. Each national bank must deposit government bonds with the United States treasury and may issue currency up to the amount of bonds deposited.

National Government.—The government of the United States, consisting of the President, Congress and the Supreme Court with all subordinate officials and assistants. Sometimes called the central government.

Negotiations.—The act of conducting communications and dealings concerning a treaty, league or convention between nations. The word is sometimes used in reference to business transactions between private parties.

Ordeal.—A severe test which is used to determine guilt or innocence. Any severe test or trial may be called an ordeal.

Ordinance.—A local law enacted by a city council.

Packing Primaries.—Sometimes when a mass meeting primary is called at a certain place at a certain time one faction will gather early and fill the hall until the opposing faction cannot find room. The moment the hour set for the meeting arrives, the leader calls the house to order and rushes through a previously prepared program. This is called packing a primary.

Parliament.—The English representative body, consisting of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The French word for talk is "parler." The Norman-French conquerors of England called the body which "talked over" political matters Parliament.

Parole.—"Word of honor." A prisoner may be paroled, that is, give his word of honor that he will behave properly or according to rules agreed upon. Upon such promise the prisoner is often allowed liberty so long as the promise is kept.

Party Machinery.—(1) The system of permanent party committees and committee chairmen beginning with the committee in the voting precinct and running through the county, city, district, state, and nation. (2) The organization of a political party. It must have leaders and loyal followers. No dishonor is attached to the term "party machine" unless leaders are bad and followers blind to their duty to the country.

Patronage.—The offices, contracts, favors, and honors which a public official has opportunity to bestow. The President's right and duty of appointment gives him a great deal of "patronage."

Permanent Roads.—Roads that are built with great care; the beds reduced to grade and then covered with some kind of hard-surfacing material like cement.

Petit Jury.—A jury of twelve men summoned to try cases at court—so called in distinction from Grand Jury. (See Grand Jury.)

Philanthropic.—With a desire to promote the happiness and welfare of mankind.

Playing Politics.—The use of artful, cunning schemes to control a political party or other group, used in a bad sense when the schemes are unscrupulous.

Political Freedom.—Having free and independent choice in all matters pertaining to government.

Poll Tax.—A uniform tax upon all taxpayers. Collecting five dollars from each person for road improvement would be an example of a poll tax.

Popular Education.—That education, the opportunity for which, at least, is extended to every citizen of the country.

Poverty.—Inability or failure to earn enough to provide proper food, clothing and shelter; living upon a standard too low to make possible efficient work.

Preamble.—The introductory part of a constitution, which states the reasons for adopting it.

Precedent.—A former act or case used as a guide in arriving at a decision. Precedents are used by judges in rendering their decisions. A case is usually decided as a similar case has been at some time in the past.

Precinct.—The smallest political unit. A small district used for voting purposes. It is composed of the territory served by one polling place and is the unit upon which the organization of political parties is based.

Priceless Heritage.—Something received from our ancestors which we could not or would not sell. The right of free government insured by our Constitution has come to us as the result of centuries of struggle. Such liberties we have become accustomed to but they are so priceless that if they were threatened most Americans would say with Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death."

Primitive Peoples.—People belonging to the first ages, earliest people,

Property Qualifications.—Requirements that persons must own a certain amount of property or income before being allowed to vote or hold office. Such requirements were very common in the early history of the United States, but most of them have been removed.

Pro Tempore.—For the time being, usually used in referring to an official who holds a position for a short time during the absence of the regular official. The speaker pro tempore is the person selected to act as speaker in the absence of the speaker.

Province.—A region of country. Sometimes used to denote a region or country dependent upon distant authority; for example, Ontario or any other division of Canada may be called a British province.

Public Hygiene.—Health provisions made by a community. Food inspection, and testing city water supply by a board of health are examples of public hygiene.

Public Opinion.—The desires and opinions of the people as expressed in their newspapers, speeches, letters and books.

Public Service Utilities.—Such undertakings as railroads and street railways, express companies, and water systems whose service the public must have. Proper regulation of public service utilities is one of the greatest problems of modern government.

Quarantine.—Restraint from intercourse with other people to prevent the spread of contagious disease. The term originally meant the space of forty days during which a ship was kept in port if suspected of being infected with contagious disease. Now used to signify restraint to prevent the spread of disease on land as well as sea.

Quorum.—The number of members of any body designated by the rule, law or constitution under which the body is working as sufficient to transact business. The number required is usually a majority.

Radical Doctrines.—Principles and teachings which necessitate striking changes in government or social institutions.

Ratification.—Agreement upon or adoption of. The states ratified the Constitution of the United States in 1789.

Ratified.—The approval given to a constitution or constitutional amendment by the people of a state. This may be done by direct vote or in the case of the United States Constitution by the vote of the state legislature or by the vote of a convention called for that purpose.

Raw Materials.—Products from which manufactured goods may be made. Wheat is raw material; flour is manufactured. Cotton cloth, wool clothing, iron ore, steel rails are examples of raw materials and finished products.

Recall.—Legal provision for removing any officer from his position by popular vote. The action in states and cities where the recall is legal is usually initiated by petition and decided upon by the people at an election held for that purpose.

Referendum.—The right to approve or reject by popular vote a measure passed by a legislative body and, in some states, measures proposed by initiative. Also used to mean the vote itself. (See Initiative.)

Related Industries.—Manufacturing or production in which making of a product is rendered cheaper because of its relation to something else which is being produced. Jelly and vinegar may be produced from under-ripened apples; canneries are likely to develop in fruit producing and shipping communities. Meat packing and soap manufacturing may be related industries.

Repeaters.—Repeater is a term applied to a person who goes from precinct to precinct in a city and casts a vote at each precinct under different names. Or he may cast more than one vote at the same precinct.

Representative.—One who speaks or acts for others. Members of Congress speak and act for those who elect them to office. In this way all take part in law making. Senators and members of the lower house both represent us, but the name representative is applied especially to members of the lower house of the national or of a state government.

Rotation of Crops.—Changing crops on land in regular order to build up the fertility of the soil.

Scientific Farming.—Using the knowledge of best means known in agriculture. At an experiment station small plots were plowed at various depths from three to ten inches, and planted in wheat. The same care was given to each plot. After carrying on the experiment during several years the proper depth for plowing was determined. How far apart to plant corn, how to get rid of insects, what varieties of fruit best withstand frost or drouth, have all been studied in the same way. The farmer who profits by such studies made by himself or at experiment stations is doing "scientific farming."

Senator.—A member of the upper house of Congress, or of a state legislature.

Serf.—One who to a large extent is a slave. Serfs are usually attached to the land on which they live. If the land is sold, they are sold with it. Serfs, also called villeins, were the lowest class of people in early English history.

Sewage.—Waste carried off by a sewer.

Shire.—A district in England used as a unit for local government. Similar to the county in the United States.

Shire Moot.—An assembly, in early English history, of representatives from the tuns and manors within a district known as a shire. (See Tun-moot.)

Short Ballot.—A ballot with but few names upon it. The short ballot is made possible by constitutions and laws which provide for the election of a few officers who have power to appoint all others.

Slander.—A report circulated with malice tending to injure the reputation of another.

Solid South.—Since the reconstruction days of the Civil War most of the states of the south have been controlled by the Democratic party and have given their electoral vote to its candidate for President. Thus the origin of the term solid south, meaning that the South is solidly democratic.

Sovereign People.—People who are independent of and unlimited by any other person or state. A people entitled to and possessing original authority. The people of the United States are sovereign. The people of a state or commonwealth possess original authority in all things not denied to the states or given to the national government by the Constitution of the United States. In this limited sense the people of a state are sovereign.

Specialist.—One who devotes a great deal of time and study to a subject or problem and becomes an expert.

Specialization.—Application to a single occupation, industry, or kind of work. A specialist by giving attention to only one activity may accomplish more and better work than if he tried knowing how to do many things. A long while ago one man might know how to build as good a house as any one cared for. Now the best houses require the skill of many "specialists," carpenter, painter, plumber, electrician, bricklayer, stone mason. Each of these usually knows only his own work. In some parts of the world a sign over a barber shop often reads: "Shaving, hair cutting and tooth pulling." We no longer care to have dental work

done except by a specialist, the dentist. A list of all the occupations represented in making possible your breakfast would show how much we depend upon specialization.

Specific Task.—A single thing to do, or problem to solve.

Spoils System.—The practice of giving government positions to members of the party in power regardless of merit. Civil Service reform has gradually removed many important government posts from the influence of the Spoils System. (See Civil Service.)

Stamp Act.—A taxing measure which Parliament passed in 1765, requiring the colonists to place stamps on all important business papers. The act caused great excitement and was soon repealed. It was a cause of the Revolutionary War.

State Bank.—A bank operating under a charter granted by a state. (See National Bank.)

Statistical Information.—Classified facts respecting conditions of a people which can be stated in numbers or in tabular form.

Statutory Law.—Law which is enacted by a legislative body.

Stockholders.—Those who own shares of stock in a business. If the business is prosperous it pays an income to its stockholder. Six per cent income on stock means six dollars on each one hundred dollar share of stock. If a company is so prosperous that it pays large income, its stock advances in value and is said to be "above par;" if little or no income is being earned, stock may go "below par."

Straight Party Ticket.—The names of all candidates of one political party are printed in the same column in many states and in some states separate ballots for each political party are printed. If the voter uses one of the ballots and does not scratch any names off, he is said to vote a "straight party ticket."

Strict Construction.—The rigid interpretation according to the precise meaning of the wording of law. The term is frequently used in connection with the interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. (See Liberal Construction.)

Stuffing Ballot Boxes.—The practice of placing in the ballot box more tickets than there are voters. A dishonest voter who would place two or more ballots in the box would be stuffing the ballot box.

Sturdy Independence.—Firm or strong self-reliance. The early settlers of all our states had to depend upon themselves very largely since they lived far from neighbors and from cities. They became sturdily independent.

Subsistence.—Means of support, usually including only food and drink. The word is also used to include fuel, clothing and shelter.

Suffrage.—The right to vote.

Suppression.—Prevention of freedom of expression.

Taxes.—Money collected for the support of government.

The Great Council.—The group of advisers of the King of England before there was a Parliament. It was composed of the great nobles and the higher clergy.

Tolerant.—Liberal in attitude. People were once severely punished because they refused to belong to certain churches or religions. In most of the world now, people of differing religious faiths can live side by side in peace so far as religion is concerned. They are more tolerant.

Toll.—A term applied to the charges made for the privilege of using canals, roads, bridges, or other property used by the public. Small mills sometimes take a share of the grain they grind as toll.

Trading Company.—An association founded to carry on commerce. The best known trading companies in early history of the United States were engaged in the fur trade. The London Company which established the Virginia colony was a trading company.

Treasonable Doctrines.—Teachings which endanger our government by encouraging disloyalty.

Trustees.—Those who are entrusted with the care and management of property or institutions. Boards of school directors are trustees.

"Turn Over" of Products.—The amount of time between buying and selling or producing and selling. If a merchant sells half his stock and replaces it within a month, the "turn over" is very quick. Farm production always represents slow turn over. A corn crop may require seven or eight months. Winter wheat requires more time. The production of live stock requires several years.

Tun-moot.—A gathering of the freemen of a tun or small district in Saxon England. Our word town has come from tun, and moot meant meeting. A tun-moot was like a town meeting.

Unconstitutional.—Not in accordance with the Constitution. The term is usually applied to a law passed by the legislative body of a government which the Supreme Court declares not consistent with the Constitution.

Universal Education.—Education of all persons capable of learning.

Urban Center.—(1) A large city or group of cities. There are two great urban regions in the United States; (a) from Washington to Boston; (b) along the Great Lakes. (2) A village, town or city with its trade territory.

Unsanitary.—Not good for health because improperly cared for, or in improper condition.

Unwritten Constitution.—The body of customs which have taken definite form and are fundamental in the organization of our government and yet have not been reduced to formal constitutional law are called the unwritten constitution. The President's cabinet and political parties are examples of such customs.

Usurp Authority.—To take over or assume power not allowed by law. Many people in our early history feared that the President would usurp authority until he became too powerful.

Violation of Law.—The committing of any act that is contrary to the law; breaking the law; or doing anything which is forbidden by law.

Visionary.—That which is fanciful, fantastic and unreal. One who makes plans without considering all sides of the problem to be solved would be called a visionary person.

Vocational Courses.—Courses of study which are intended to give knowledge and skill in some occupation or trade.

Voluntary Aid.—Assistance not required or provided by law. An alms house or poor farm or tax to support the poor is not voluntary aid. A free-will gift to an unfortunate neighbor or a dependent is voluntary.

Voluntary Association.—A group working together because of free choice of its members. An amateur ball team or a picnic party are voluntary associations.

Wild Cat Banking.—A term applied to banks which were permitted to issue paper money in larger quantities than they were able to redeem, in gold or silver. It has come to mean unsound, irresponsible banking. The term is said to have first been used to describe an insolvent bank whose notes had a picture of a panther upon them.

Workingman's Compensation Law.—A law which provides for the payment of compensation to workingmen or their heirs for injury or death by accident while employed. This plan is intended to take the place of settlement by means of damage suits in the courts.

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