THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON
THE YOUNG CITIZEN'S OWN BOOK

BY

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"Boys' Book of Battles," etc.

ILLUSTRATED

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PREFACE

"Let reverence for the law be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in the schools, in seminaries, in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books and almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And in short let it become the political religion of the nation."

When Abraham Lincoln gave expression to the above precepts, more than a half-century ago, he realized that if there was any one element that could make America safe and comfortable for her people, it was reverence for the law. He knew that no matter how good America's laws might be, they would amount to naught if her citizens held them in contempt. He knew that respect for the law meant a united, happy, prosperous race; that disrespect meant selfishness, corruption, sin, and ultimate calamity. Furthermore, he knew that if men and women were to be law-abiding, they must learn this beautiful lesson while they were still boys and girls.
Citizenship can be practised by the youngest, as well as by the oldest. Though it may end gloriously in the White House itself, it must start in the home and be chummed with when one is little. Only by cheerfully obeying the laws of mother and father, school and God while growing up, will our future law-makers fall into line with the laws of our town, our State, and our Nation.

And the Young Citizens themselves are realizing more and more the importance of the job just ahead of them. Through Junior Republics—one of which is described in a succeeding chapter—through school and college clubs—through the Boy Scout movement, and the like—they are learning, first of all, how to govern themselves, and, second, how the machinery of government all about them is run.

"The Young Citizen’s Own Book" is offered to all such boys and girls as a friendly guide. It is a little text-book on National, State, City and County affairs, in which we have tried to tell as directly as possible both the how and the why of things. At the end a series of charts will be found which may serve to bring out the plan and structure of our Government in a more graphic way.
A VISIT TO THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

Suppose you slip into your best clothes some fine morning, shine your shoes, put a little spending money in your pocket, and take that long-cherished trip to the city of Washington, the home of the President of the United States, the seat of the federal Government, in fact the National capital itself! Could you possibly conceive of a more wonderful sight-seeing trip than this? Indeed not! You are in luck, great luck. For you are going to visit the most interesting and patriotically-inspiring city in America; and what is more, you are going to come back the proudest chap in all the universe to think that you are really a citizen of the country which Washington governs.

While in the National capital you are going to find out many, many things about your own land that you never knew before—every man does,
every woman does, every boy does, every girl
does; and you are never going to cease talking
about the splendid impression it all made on you.
You are going to find out that Washington is
hospitality itself to her visitors. You will find
the doors to her treasure-houses wide open, with
guides waiting to admit you and show you the
secrets of the wizards who make the laws for
this big country of ours, who coin the money
and print the bank-notes we all handle; who
bring us, with the speed of the wind, the letters
we receive from friends far away; who register
the many strange and remarkable inventions
which soon will be changing our customs once
more; and whose necromancy seems to grow
more complex and thrilling as we continue our
rounds.

You will find that the District of Columbia is
the smallest political division of the United
States of America, and that the city of Wash¬
ington occupies about one-seventh part of it. All
the people of the District, whether living within
the city limits or not, are in the habit of con¬
sidering themselves as residents of Washington.

In all the country there is no city quite so
American. This is because its population is
made up of people from every State, the great
majority of whom are Government employees.
And yet it is not American at all in another way:
its people absolutely can not vote in the District, nor elsewhere unless they are bonafide residents of these other localities and go there at polling time. It is also the most cosmopolitan of American cities, because representatives of all other nations dwell in it, although it has no distinctive foreign quarter, all nationalities of a kind being well interspersed among the others.

Washington's greatest industry is government, and its greatest product is politics, but the issues are all National. It is the only city in America where there are no political parties in the ordinary sense of the term; and it is also the only city in the civilized world which can not choose any of its local officers by vote. The President appoints the executive and judicial officers. Congress, sitting as a City Council, "exercises exclusive legislation." This is really an autocratic form of government in control of a democratic community—a unique situation,—but the opinion of the public rules nevertheless, they are content and happy, and have no complaint to make.

The present executive government of the District is intrusted to three commissioners. One of these must be an officer of at least the rank of major in the Engineer Corps of the Army, or a captain who has served at least fifteen years in the Army. The commissioners administer the details of government, prepare the budget, trans-
mit it to the Secretary of the Treasury, who, with such changes as he sees fit to make, forwards it to Congress. Then the commissioners advocate it along with other District legislation before the District committees. Since the commissioners and Congress are not directly responsible to the people of the community, a system of expressing public opinion has gradually developed in Washington which is very unique. Under its operation the government, while extremely sensitive to the expressions of the populace, is unafraid of being ousted at elections.

Search wherever you might in the United States you would have a hard time to find a city as beautiful as Washington. And what more fitting than this? Should not our most important city, the seat of our National Government, be located in the finest surroundings we can find for it? Persons are generally judged by strangers by the kind of clothes they wear, surely, then, other nations will judge our taste and characteristics by the kind of city in which we anchor our Government.

So beautiful is Washington that it is claimed by many travelers to have no peer in the whole world. It is true that Paris has more magnificent vistas, but there are parts of the French metropolis which are positively ugly—and one cannot say this of Washington once he has visited it.
In our Capital City there are more shade trees, with prettier bowers, than anywhere else. Just imagine for yourself line upon line of magnificent maples and elms, canopying the sidewalks, and some places most of the pavements, till you counted ninety-two thousand of them! Wouldn't that be a sight worth while? Of itself it is worth a trip to Washington, using your last dollar.

As a backer to its fine shade trees along its wide, clean streets, Washington shows its visitors—if they stay long enough—almost three hundred little parks. These are all less than one acre in extent, but oh! such emerald jewels are these set in the mammoth city mounting of plainer things! There are also ten larger parks in the central portion of the town, the largest being the Mall, reaching from the Botanical Gardens, at the foot of Capitol Hill, to the Washington Monument, a distance of three-fourths of a mile. But the crowning glory of Washington's park system are Rock Creek Park and Zoological Park, which are practically one. These combine almost two thousand acres, and Rock Creek Park is said to have an unexcelled beauty as a driving park.

In her institutions of learning, Washington leads all other cities. Not only does she have the largest number, but also the widest variety. We
find there universities; training schools for teachers, nurses, veterinarians, physicians, ministers, automobile engineers; and many private preparatory schools are supplemented by the excellent public school system, which was started in 1805.

The Smithsonian Institution, the Carnegie Institution, the scientific bureaus of the Government, and the great libraries in Washington, attract scientists from all over the world, to such an extent, in fact, that there are more famous men engaged in scientific research there than in any other city on the globe. All the big daily newspapers of the country have their own staff correspondents there, watching like eagles for the first bit of news that will interest the people back home. And when they get it the telephone or telegraph wires carry it out. How those poor wires do hum with business! All day and all night they carry their heavy burden both inward and outward, as the mighty pendulum of the Nation's clock continues to swing.

In no other city will you find as large a proportion of negroes as in Washington. With its total population of more than three hundred thousand inhabitants, fully a third are blacks. Many of these are highly educated, hold important business places, and are financially well fixed. The negroes are represented on the school board, hold places of responsibility and honor
under the District government, and enjoy full equality before the law, although they have their own sections in street cars, and their own public swimming pool.

So much has been written about the social functions in Washington, that one who has never been there gets the impression that the city walks are always athrob with dignified diplomats, swinging gold-headed canes as they walk leisurely along to keep an appointment; or the pavements awhirr with princely gasoline cars and electrics which are going from dinner party to dinner party, or theater party to ball-room, or café to cabaret; while the printers work overtime trying to keep up with their orders for programmes, menues, announcements, and calling cards. The truth is, “society” in Washington, as elsewhere, is a matter for a select few. While perhaps the proportion is a little greater there, on account of the public services of so many, it is estimated that only about one in thirty of the populace makes a practice of attending social doings to any great extent.

As you walk along you naturally expect everybody to turn around for a second look if a Cabinet head, or a well-known Senator, should pass by. But this seldom happens. People who live in Washington are so used to seeing such distinguished personages that they give them scarcely
any more attention at a chance meeting than we would bestow upon the postman in our own town. Those who do turn about for a second look you may set down for strangers on the spot. That’s one way Washington folk know newcomers the moment they begin to wander around a bit. The President himself is the only famous Washington resident who holds the interest and curiosity of the population. He is their real hero, their pride and joy, regardless of what political party he represents.

If you went to Washington, and had no friends with whom to stop, you would of course put up at some one of the many hotels or boarding-houses of the city. Then you would find a curious state of affairs indeed. You would discover that each hotel, as a rule, has its own type of guests; that is, guests hailing from a certain locality of the United States; and if you were not of that locality the chances are you would soon feel just a little out of place, and make haste to change your abode for one catering to guests from your own State or section. Before they are in Washington long all get this sort of clannish feeling as to previous residence. So you will find most hotels distinctively sectional, although in some instances the vocations of guests have more to do with the class of patronage than the part of the country from whence they come. For ex-
ample, most men from Maine will go to the Hotel Hamilton; while the Ebbitt House is unofficial headquarters for officers of the Army and Navy.

The same kind of spirit prevails among the boarding-houses. Can we blame Southerners for flocking to the hearth of the landlady who makes a practice of serving corn bread and hot biscuits with honey? Can we blame the Irish for making a haven of the dining-room where delicious baked potatoes and onion stews prevail? Or can we blame Bostonians for hibernating under the roof of a cook especially skilled in the art of blending brown bread, baked beans, and codfish? Or rough-and-ready Westerners for frequenting the table where oatmeal is never forgotten, beef and mutton are done to a turn, and formality in serving is a thing unknown? In some boarding-houses you will even meet up with "State tables,"—a last surviving reminder of the congressional "messes" of the early days of the Republic,—where all the boarders from the same State are adroitly grouped about one table.

It is not at all surprising that, in so beautiful and distinguished a city as Washington, there should be a colony of wealthy Americans whose business is neither government or politics, but who choose to abide here during the winters, living in magnificent mansions, just for the social advantages it seems to provide for them. In the
summertime they are gone, like migrant birds or butterflies of rich plumage—gone to Europe or the Northern seashore resorts, leaving behind them lonely, shuttered, useless castles, which the passing poor look at longingly.

Washington's social fabric is largely held together by the warp and woof of its clubs. When their official duties of the day are over, the men who mold the affairs of the Nation are wont to seek relaxation in the elegant environs of the Metropolitan Club. Here they read, play games, take physical culture courses, bathe; and discuss, man-to-man fashion, the things that are close to their hearts. All restraint is thrown off; they are boys again—boys without a single care, out from school for a brief romp, a romp that will renew their jaded minds and bodies to meet the political trials of the morrow in an adequate manner.

In the same way the Cosmos Club caters to the needs of the scientists. Its membership includes the greatest inventors and investigators of the scientific world. The club is quartered in the fine old house once owned and occupied by Dolly Madison. It is now the social clearing house of the Smithsonian Institution and the Carnegie Institution. Chevy Chase Country Club is sacred to the Army and Navy minions, while the National Press Club is made up exclusively of news-
paper men, having the most extensive influence of any similar organization in the land.

The oldest residence in the city of Washington, the one under whose roof the most distinguished men of the United States have all abided, is the White House. When it was first provided for in the original design of the city, it was known as "The Palace." But when it was first built, under the direction of Alexander R. Shepherd, a plumber, it was called "The President's House," which was thought to be more appropriate for a Democracy. Following its burning by the British, it was painted white. Somehow the people began to speak of it after that as the "White House," and by such title it has been known ever since.

This dignified, simple, yet stately, structure had its cornerstone laid by George Washington in 1792, and was completed seven years later. James Hoban, a native of Ireland, but then a resident of South Carolina, drew the plans, winning the prize of five hundred dollars offered by Congress. His drawings called for the erection of a three-story structure, much like the house of the Duke of Leinster in Dublin; but the public thought this too elaborate, and so the plans were modified into the present two-story building of a few large, spacious rooms.

President John Quincy Adams was the first
leader of the Nation to occupy the new structure. Despite the fact that Mr. Adams was very proud of the edifice, and his good wife Abigail not one bit behind him in this respect, she nevertheless insisted upon hanging out the family wash in the big East Room. Since this, every President has lived in the White House, and has had his office there until President Roosevelt came. The latter had an office building constructed just to the west of it.

Under the White House roof have been administered the policies which have resulted in the growth of the loose federation of thirteen poverty-stricken colonies into the mightiest Nation in the world.

Shortly before the Civil War a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* said, in referring to the National capital: "Washington is the Elysium of oddities, the Limbo of absurdities, an embroglio of ludicrous anomalies. Planned on a scale of surpassing grandeur, its architectural execution is almost contemptible. It has a Washington's Monument which will never be finished, a Capitol that lacks a dome, and a Scientific Institute which does nothing but report the rise and fall of the thermometer!"

There is proof that, when he wrote this, this gentleman described conditions quite faithfully. Ambitions had run riot to make this head
city of the Nation one for Americans to be proud of; but money to finish the stupendous enterprises undertaken had been slow in forthcoming, and the caldron of war had put a complete halt to practically all improvements.

So while then the prospect must have been discouraging, what a heartening change we find today! The Washington Monument is completed, and is one of the most imposing obelisks ever raised by man to the memory of man. The Scientific Institute, far from being a source for sarcastic comment, has given to the universe of the living the science of meteorology. The Capitol has been finished; its dome, soaring toward the clouds, is crowned with the Emblem of Freedom that symbolizes the highest national attainments of the human race. And, more than all this, plans are now in process of realization for radically modifying the landscape of our beautiful Capital City and making it an hundredfold more artistic than it is at present. The people of America are demanding it. And what the people say, that shall be!
CHAPTER II

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Shortly before the Revolutionary War a regiment of British troops was quartered in Boston. Some of these soldiers greatly angered the Boston schoolboys by destroying the snowslides which they had built under considerable difficulties from Beacon Hill to the frog pond on the Common. Patiently the American boys rebuilt the slides, only to find them torn down again the next day by Redcoats. At length, in their indignation, they held a meeting on the very ground of one of their most cherished slides. As a result of this informal gathering, a committee was appointed to protest to General Gage, the British commander-in-chief.

“Did your fathers send you here?” demanded the officer, pompously.

“No, sir,” answered the spokesman of the little party. He was a tall, fair-haired lad who looked unflinchingly into the face of General Gage, as he continued: “This is our affair, sir; not our fathers’. We represent the boys of Boston. They sent us to demand that your soldiers stop
GOVERNMENT OF UNITED STATES

destroying our snowslides. They have no right to interfere with our play.”

The British general’s early irritation turned to whimsical amusement, then interest, as his questions drew out the whole story from the fearless youthful committee. His admiration for the boys was touched, his sympathies aroused, and the result was that he immediately issued orders that the snowslides should not again be molested by any of the king’s troops.

The boys who took part in this incident of more than one hundred years ago did not dream that they were showing how the American nation would one day govern itself. How little they thought that the time was soon to come when all the people of the great new country would take the place of their abused comrades of Boston Common; that a committee to represent them should be chosen, and that the brightest, most fearless and most trustworthy should be elected as their spokesman!

The United States of America is a democracy. It is, better still, a representative democracy. In the words of the beloved Abraham Lincoln, it is “a government of the people, by the people, for the people.” This form of popular government is one in which the citizens at large appoint certain ones of their number to act for them at the seat of power, instead of exercising their wills
directly in that place, as in the case of a pure democracy. Such representative government is also often termed a republic.

So complete might seem the powers of town, city and State government that there would appear to be very little need of higher political organization. Taxes are levied by cities and towns, schools are maintained by them, protection of life and property is provided by their police and fire departments, civil and criminal laws are made by State legislatures and enforced by municipal and State police and courts. Industries and public health are regulated and controlled by local boards and State commissions. The privilege of voting is granted to such individuals as each State may decide are entitled to it, and in many other ways the rights, privileges, and duties of the people are defined and controlled by the city or town or State.

Above all these minor governments, however, important as they are, is the great National Government. Under its immense wing each of the local governing powers is protected. Its authority is supreme in many matters, its laws must be obeyed by State, county, city and town in all things which are considered of more National than local importance. The coining of money, the making of treaties, levying of war, and making peace, imposing customs duties, con-
ducting the postal service, are matters the control of which is not left to States, cities or towns, but is under the supervision of the National Government.

The laws governing these matters of the Federal Government are made by the legislative assembly of the United States, in other words, the National Congress at Washington, D. C. The laws and regulations are enforced by the United States courts and by the United States executive departments, at the head of which is the chief officer of the nation, the President.

The President occupies much the same position in the National Government as the governor does in the State, as the mayor does in a city, or as the selectmen do in a town. He has general charge of executing the laws of the country, and appoints such inferior officers as seem necessary to carry into effect the laws of the land.

The Congress makes the National laws in the same manner as the State legislature makes State laws, and the United States courts try cases arising under these laws as the various State courts do cases arising under the State laws. Commissions and departments have charge of commerce, the Army and Navy, finances, and other departments which concern the people of the whole country, and the relation of the various States to each other. These national de-
departments, commissions and bureaus are given powers by the Constitution of the United States, and by the United States statutes, and their authority in matters which come under their control is above the authority of States, cities and towns.

To understand how such power as is exercised by the National Government was first given to it by the States and by the people (for all governing power in this country is given to the governing bodies by the people, as previously stated), it is necessary to study the early history of the country, when the States were mere colonies of England, and when, after securing their independence, they for a time thought that sufficient government was provided in city, town and State laws, and in the courts and officers. We shall presently see how for a time they struggled along without any real central National Government, and how the impending ruin of America caused them to form a Constitution which established the great Government and gave it power and authority and the means to enforce its laws. It is difficult for a European to understand the relation between our National and our State Governments, because there are no governments similar to ours among the European nations. Here we have two governments covering the same ground
in general, each in its own sphere commanding obedience of the same citizens.

A great writer has seen fit to liken the National Government to a large building in the midst of many other smaller buildings which represent the State Governments. First came the smaller structures; then, as conditions warranted, the larger edifice sprang up. Each of the smaller buildings maintains its own individuality of design and laws, as does the larger one. Yet the minor structures, which can make modifications and alterations in their frameworks to keep them in repair and up-to-date whenever they have occasion, must be very careful in doing so not to adopt any of the distinct characteristics of the great building itself. If any small building should collapse, its loss would be only slightly felt. On the other hand, if the large building met with disaster its absence would be more keenly realized, although the smaller could still stand as separate and distinct erections.

In the early days of American history, this was the exact condition of the States. Then there was no central governing power. Each state adopted its own laws regardless of the general welfare of the other States, and much dissatisfaction and bitterness resulted as a consequence; moreover, they discovered they lacked the re-
spect of other countries which might feel disposed to impose upon them. The result was a coalition of the self-governing communities, and the forming of that great and glorious political organization now recognized by all nations as the leading power of all powers in civilized Christendom—the United States of America!

This Nation began, as you know from your history reading, with small settlements along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Georgia, made by English colonists in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is true that the Swedes had a small settlement in New Jersey, and the Dutch had New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson River, but the Swedes were early conquered by the Dutch, who in turn were subdued by the English in 1684. New Amsterdam then became the English colony of New York, and the territory formerly occupied by the Swedes became the English colony of New Jersey.

While the colonies were part of the English nation, nearly all charters were granted by the King of England. These charters gave them certain rights and privileges—in fact, in most cases gave them the rare privilege of managing their own affairs! The governors had authority of veto over the laws passed by the Legislative Assemblies of the colonies, but as a rule did not use this power for the reason that they generally de-
pended upon the appropriation of money by these Assemblies for their salaries, and they feared to offend them. In two of the colonies, Rhode Island and Connecticut, the people themselves elected their governors, and there the Assemblies could make laws without the governor's consent. Thus these two particular colonies were virtually little republics.

The control which England exercised over the colonies was chiefly the regulating of their relations with other nations, particularly the regulation of commerce. Up to the time George III became ruler of England there was very little difficulty with the government of the colonies, but he was more strict than his predecessor in enforcing the commercial laws of England, as concerned with America, and one of his first steps was to have Parliament levy taxes upon the colonies in order to pay the British expense of the French and Indian War. These taxes were to be collected by selling stamps to the colonists which they must affix to all important law and business papers as well as newspapers.

The Americans resisted this because they thought that they should be taxed only by their own Legislative Assemblies, if taxed at all. In their indignation, in 1765, delegates from nine of the colonies met in New York in the assembly known as the "Stamp Act Congress," which drew
up a declaration of rights of the colonies. So stoutly did they hold their ground that England finally repealed the Stamp Act, but to offset this she persisted in taxing the colonies in other ways. This brought renewed protest, and eventually the ill-feeling between England and the new America became so bitter that it developed into open hostilities, ushering in the memorable Revolutionary War.

Before the war actually began, however, delegates from all the colonies had met, in 1774, in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. This was the First Continental Congress. The delegates voiced their disapproval of the treatment of the colonies by the mother country, and drew up a Declaration of Rights.

Shortly afterward actual fighting began in Massachusetts. Of this was born a Second Continental Congress, which met in 1775 in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and constituted itself temporarily a National Government. It took charge of commerce, National defense, organized a postoffice, raised an army, issued bills of credit, and in general made all such regulations as were necessary for the carrying on of the Government in time of war.

Soon after the necessity was seen of having some plan of government that should define the rights and powers of this Congress. The Con-
gress itself was permitted to draw up a plan of union for the colonies into a permanent Government, which resulted in the Articles of Confederation. These were finally ratified by all the colonies in 1781. Under them the laws were conducted until the adoption of our present Constitution in 1789. At that time there were but thirteen States. Now we have a grand total of forty-eight.

While the Articles of Confederation gave the National Congress considerable power in the matter of making laws, it was given no power to enforce the laws that it made. Furthermore, Congress could not pass laws of any kind without the consent of the State governments; and the taxes by which the Government must be carried on, although levied by the Congress, could not be collected unless the States saw fit to pay them. Neither had the Congress power to regulate commerce with foreign nations or among the States. The result was that, with each State making its own customs regulations and collecting its own duties, there was constant quarreling and dissension among them.

It was this commercial strife among the communities, or little nations, that led to the calling of a convention of delegates from the several States for the purpose of amending the Articles of Confederation. The meeting took place in
1787, and was attended by the leading statesmen of the time, among them Washington, Madison, Hamilton and Franklin. Much earnest discussion ensued. In the early part of the meeting it was decided that it would be better to form an entirely new plan of government rather than to try to amend the Articles of Confederation. After various ideas had been expressed, and many compromises effected, these men finally framed the Constitution of the United States of America, as we have it to-day, and submitted it to the States to be ratified.

In order to make the new Constitution a lawful institution to which any of the States must bow down, nine of the States were required to adopt it. It was found this was not to be done so easily. There was considerable disagreement among the States on several important phases of the Constitution. Some thought the numbers of delegates in the Congress of the new Government should be regulated according to State population—one representative for every so many thousands of inhabitants; others thought the representation from all States should be equal, regardless of population. Then, too, the question of negro slaves came up with startling suddenness. It was argued by the Southern States,—which had more negroes than their Northern neighbors,—that the blacks should count equally
with the white freemen in estimating delegates on a population basis; while, on the other hand, the Northern States,—with comparatively slimmer populations, if negroes were to be counted—objected very strenuously.

The matter was eventually settled by a compromise whereby the representation in the upper branch of the National Congress—the United States Senate—should be equal, while that in the lower house—the House of Representatives—should be in proportion to population. As for the question of counting negro slaves, this was settled by a compromise also: five negroes were to be considered as three white people, both in estimating representation and in affixing taxes. Another dispute, that of the importation of slaves, was adjusted by forbidding Congress to pass a law prohibiting the importation of slaves before the year 1808.

In June, 1788, the ninth State necessary for the establishment of the new Constitution had ratified it, whereupon all nine came under its binding influence. Those States that had not ratified it at this time did so later. Of these, Rhode Island was last, coming in two years later, whereupon the Constitution became the great and fundamental law of the whole United States.

The period between the framing of the Constitution and its adoption by the required nine
States was the most critical period in the Nation's history. If it had not been adopted, and the strong National Government established, it is almost certain that the various weak States, struggling against each other in selfish manner, as in the beginning, would have drifted into anarchy and ruin. If not this, surely in their divided interests and fragile defensive powers, they and their rich lands would have fallen prey to the greed of some jealous and more lusty nation.

The chief objection which many people and some of the States had to ratifying the Constitution was, that the National Government would be given by its provisions so much power that it might attempt to deprive them of the rights and privileges which they had so long enjoyed and so dearly loved. To remedy this difficulty, it was suggested that immediately upon its adoption, such amendments should be made to the Constitution as would safeguard these rights. Therefore the first ten amendments were ratified in 1791 as a sort of "Bill of Rights," securing freedom of religion, the right to trial by jury, and other stipulations looking toward that splendid personal liberty which has ever since made America the pride of her citizens and the Utopia of the oppressed foreigner.

Since then there have been added to the Constitution eight other amendments—one providing
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for the election of the President and Vice-President as they are now elected; one to create a reform in the taking of electoral votes, three abolishing slavery and giving the negro full citizenship, one to authorize the collection of an income tax, another providing for the election of Senators by popular vote, and still another prohibiting the manufacture or sale of spirituous liquors. The last three amendments have come within a comparatively few years.

The Constitution is the highest and most permanent law of the country. It is the basis of government for the Nation as a whole, and also a guide for the States which compose it.

This Constitution was formed and adopted after the United States became a free and independent Nation. Government of this kind—constitutional government—is considered by the American people the best form of government in the world. The Constitution may be changed or amended by a vote of the people, but very few amendments have been made within the last hundred years, as already shown.

Every American citizen, young and old, should read and study the Federal Constitution. In it he will find the general plan of the Government, the code of rights and privileges, and the protection guaranteed to all loyal Americans whether they be native or naturalized. All of the latter
must take the oath of allegiance, and swear to support and defend the Constitution before they are given final citizenship papers, about which more will be said subsequently in the chapter headed “Citizenship.” After this step the foreign-born will enjoy the same protection and privileges as are extended to the native-born Americans.

It will be remembered that when the Constitution was adopted there were only thirteen States. There were likewise less than four million people. Now there are forty-eight States and over one hundred million people. But the great law embodied in the Constitution means the same to the greater Nation as it did when it was a mere infant in swaddling clothes. It is now, just as it was then, the government of the people, by the people, and for the people.
CHAPTER III

TERRITORIES AND DEPENDENCIES OF THE UNITED STATES

No factor having to do with the wonderful growth of our country, from the very beginning of its history, has been of greater importance than the possession by it of a vast territory abounding in resources and fertility, and suitable in every way for settlement and permanent occupation.

As the Nation grew—almost before the pressure of increasing population had been felt—her area expanded in leaps and bounds. In the beginning, this expansion took the form of a steady swelling of her boundary lines, until there had been acquired all of the adjacent territory, which either was but partly settled, or the ties of which to another country were not of sufficient strength to maintain it in its allegiance. Finally, by prodigious jumps—but not without much dissension in the Federal Legislature in interpreting the Constitutional laws relating thereto—the movement of expansion overwhelmed its enemies, overthrew all legal obstacles, and a little more
than one century has brought under the sovereignty of the United States to-day a wealth of domain difficult for its average citizen to realize. First, we have the vast territory lying far to the north—Alaska; Alaska, rich in minerals, fisheries and fur. Next we have valuable islands lying in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; while on the southernmost mainland itself, where the two American continents are joined together, there lies a strip of ground supporting a most remarkable American engineering feat which has made a fever-ridden jungle world famous as a manufactured gateway between two great seas—the Panama Canal.

As we look back across the years that our country has gone steadily marching on, considerate of all contemporaries, fair-minded, square-handed, but ever ambitious and quick to avail herself of opportunity to benefit her people when the rights of foreign states were not involved, we cannot fail to be impressed with the slight extent to which this colossal movement has been consciously planned or directed by those having in charge the destinies of the Nation; indeed, the truth is, it has been practically beyond their ability to control; it is the outcome of the wonderfully progressive Yankee spirit, a spirit which no power except God's seems able to stem, a spirit which is,—like all forms of free-bred, liberty-
enshrined life,—light-hearted and ever-reaching for the better things to be had.

Thus, though it has never deliberately or consciously pursued an imperialistic policy, the United States to-day finds itself possessed of a territory truly imperial at first glance,—in its extent, in the variety of people or races occupying it, and in the wide difference of the conditions that have to be met in its government and administration. Lying in a broad belt across the heart of a great Continent, its main territory now embraces forty-eight self-governing commonwealths. Many of these in themselves possess the area, population, and potential material resources for the making of a respectable little Nation such as our own country found itself at the start of its career.

Beginning with the Louisiana Purchase, from France, in 1803, and ending with the Danish West Indies (now Virgin Islands), in 1917, the territorial expansion of the United States, as stated, has formed one of the most stirring chapters of its political history. All through, the policy of keeping a firm hold on the Territories, with more or less modification, has been continued. When the territory of Orleans was organized, in 1904, the executive power was vested in a governor appointed by the President and Senate, and the legislative power was given to
the governor, and a Legislative Council, consisting of "thirteen of the most fit and discreet persons of the territory appointed annually by the President of the United States from persons holding real estate." It was not until the western Territories were fairly well settled, and somewhat experienced in the conduct of their own affairs, that they were given larger powers of self-government.

With the admission of Arizona and New Mexico, in 1912, into the ever-widening realm of Statehood, the last of the Continental domain of the United States was laid out into States, and State organization was brought to a pleasant close. There are, however, two districts which possess governments modelled after those which were established in the earlier period. These districts are Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands.

Alaska, the first, was secured from Russia by purchase in 1867. It remained under direct government from Washington until 1912, when Congress enacted a law providing for a senate, and house of representatives, the members of both of which were to be elected by popular vote. The first session of this assembly was held in March, 1913, and among its early measures was a law granting suffrage (the right to vote) to women. The powers of the legislature are defined by law, as in this country. The execu-
tive authority is vested in a governor who is appointed by the President and Senate of the United States.

Thus has Alaska, long regarded as a cold and barren waste, possessing slight political importance, come finally into the fold of States. The proper treatment of Federal domain in that Territory, and the provision of creating adequate railroad facilities for opening up the vast storehouse of mineral treasure in that far-off corner of our country, are problems which Washington must yet solve. Advocates of the conservation of the resources named, who seek to avoid the wastes which occurred in disposing of the Continental domain in the nineteenth century, are strongly urging the Government ownership of the proposed Alaska railways, in order to offset the greed of monopoly.

A joint resolution of Congress, approved July 7, 1898, resulted in the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. Their administration is based on the organic act of April 30, 1900, which erected them into a Territory and created a complete system of government, going into even greater detail than in the case of Arizona and New Mexico. The provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the United States, applicable to local conditions, were extended to Hawaii; and American citizenship was conferred upon all
persons who were "citizens of the Republic of Hawaii on August 12, 1898."

The governor and secretary of Hawaii are appointed by the President and Senate. The legislature consists of a senate and a house of representatives, and the members of each are elected by popular vote. Every voter must be a male citizen of the United States, twenty-one years of age, and a resident of the territory of not less than one year's standing. He must be duly registered, also able to read, write, and speak, either the English or Hawaiian language. The last-named provision excludes most of the Chinese and Japanese inhabitants, and since there is a decline in the number of natives, the political power of the Island is rapidly passing into the hands of the English-speaking people.

The possession of Porto Rico by the United States dates from the raising of the American flag on the Island in July, 1898. For close to two years the domain was governed by military authority, but on May 1, 1900, the organic act of Congress, erecting civil government in the Island, was approved by the President. This act did not confer citizenship upon the inhabitants; it merely provided that they should be deemed citizens of Porto Rico itself, and as such, they were to be entitled to the protection of the United States. In this regard the Porto Ricans occupy
a peculiar position; they owe permanent allegiance to the United States, but they are not her citizens; nor are they aliens, according to the meaning of the Immigrant Act of 1891.

The chief executive officer of Porto Rico is the governor, who is appointed by the President and the Senate of the United States for a period of four years. The supreme court is composed of five judges, likewise appointed, and holding office just as long as their behavior suits Uncle Sam. There are also six executive officers in the capacities of the secretary, attorney-general, treasurer, auditor, commissioner of the interior, and commissioner of education—all appointed in the same manner as the governor. They have double duties to perform. On the one hand, they constitute a majority in the advisory council of the governor, and have charge of important administrative functions. On the other hand, they are members of the upper house of the Porto Rican legislature.

Under the organic act, the legislature consists of two houses. The upper branch, or executive council, is composed, as we have seen, of the six executive officials, and "five other persons of good repute" appointed by the President and Senate of the United States. Local representation in this body is secured by the provision that at least five members of the council must be na-
tive inhabitants. The lower house of the legislature consists of thirty-five members. They are elected biennially under a franchise which gives the right to vote to practically every adult male who has satisfied the residence requirements.

The problem of governing the Philippine Islands is far more complicated than that of governing Porto Rico. This is largely due to the facts that in the group there are over three thousand islands, inhabited by more than thirty tribes of comparatively wild natives, chiefly of the Catholic faith where a faith at all is embraced by them, and that they are so far away from our own country. The population is close to eight million. For every dozen civilized people there is one savage. In culture the people range from the well-educated and wealthy Spaniards to the poor and wretched natives.

It is little wonder, then, that our country has had great difficulty in devising a system of government that will properly meet the occasion. For the job is a big one—not only must the requirements and aspirations of the proud and independent elements of the population be satisfactorily provided for, but ignorance, vice, and cruelty of the savage mind, to say nothing of disease and poverty, must be handled, guaranteeing security of life and property throughout the archipelago.
Many a boy who reads this has a father who took an active part in the war which terminated in the United States taking over the Philippine Islands until such time as the inhabitants proved that they could govern themselves. The Islands were acquired under a treaty with Spain, the vanquished nation. The protocol suspending hostilities with that country provided that the United States should hold Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which should itself determine the disposition and government of the Islands. This treaty, duly signed at Paris, December 10, 1898, contained the definite transfer of the Philippines to the United States, leaving the status of the archipelago to be determined by Congress.

The development of American government in the Islands has passed through distinct stages. In the beginning a considerable portion of the inhabitants were in revolt against American rule, the ignorant natives being led on by Spanish influence. This made it necessary to govern under military authority, or martial law. In January of 1899, a commission was appointed to act in conjunction with Admiral Dewey and General Otis in extending American authority throughout the Philippines, and to investigate the whole problem of government there.

When he received the report of this commis-
sion, the President appointed, in March, 1900, a civil commission, with William Taft at the head, to continue the work of establishing civil government which had already been begun by the military officers. In 1901 the President transferred the government to a civil control in all provinces where tranquility was in force. Under this order Mr. Taft was made civil governor of the Islands. In 1902 Congress passed an organic act for the Philippines, providing, among other things, that after the completion of the census and the pacification of the Islands, a legislative assembly should be created. The last stage in the construction of the Philippine government was reached on October 16, 1907, when Mr. Taft, then on his celebrated tour around the world, opened at Manila the first representative assembly elected in the Islands under the authority of the United States.

As now in force the executive government of the Philippine Islands is vested in a commission of nine members, including the governor. These embrace five Americans and four Filipinos, all appointed by the President of our country. The legislature is made up of the Philippine commission, which acts as an upper house, and an assembly elected by those portions of the Islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes. The franchise for voting is limited con-
siderably more than in the United States themselves. Every voter must be a property owner, a taxpayer, and must be able to read, write, and speak English or Spanish.

Much debate has been indulged in regarding the final disposal of the Philippine Islands. In 1900, the year following the ratification of the treaty with Spain, the Democratic party in its platform condemned and denounced the leaders of the Republican administration for having placed the United States, "previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government." The platform, furthermore, favored "an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence; and third, protection from outside interference." In the campaign of 1912, the Democratic party again came out strongly with the same arguments. But in each and every case of criticism, the Republican party, under whose auspices the policy of Philippine government was inaugurated, retorted that the Islands had as much freedom as conditions warranted.

A third group of Territories of the United States includes the islands of Guam and Tutuila,
and the Panama Canal Zone. All of these territories are governed directly by Federal naval officers, without the intervention of a legislative assembly in any form. Guam was secured by the Spanish treaty of 1898; Tutuila and islets, by settlement with England and Germany in 1899, and the Panama Canal Zone by a treaty with the Republic of Panama in 1904. The islands are very sparsely inhabited, some not at all, and therefore no organized form of government has been required.

The government of the Panama Canal Zone, during the famous construction of the Canal, was vested in the President of the United States. By an executive order he created the Isthmian Canal Commission which virtually took out of his hands the actual work of administration. Toward the closing days of the construction, August 24, 1912, Congress provided that when the President thought the work sufficiently advanced he might abolish the Commission, and authorized him thereafter to govern and operate the Canal, and govern the Canal Zone through a governor and such other persons as he might deem competent to discharge the various duties.

The governor of the Zone is appointed for four years by the President and Senate. All other officials are appointed by the President alone, or are under his control. Despite the agreement
made by the United States, in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain in 1902, to the effect that the Canal should be open to all nations without discrimination, Congress, in the act mentioned above, provided that ships owned by American citizens engaged in the coastwise trade should be exempt from tolls. Great Britain protested against this discrimination, but Congress refused to yield.

For the Danish West Indies—consisting of the islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John, the United States paid Denmark twenty-five million dollars, taking possession May 31, 1917, at which time the population was a trifle more than thirty thousand. To date a Federal naval officer governs the dependencies.

We have now shown the Territories—the inhabitants of which may be defined as citizens of the United States—and the Dependencies—whose inhabitants are not citizens. It remains to conclude our chapter of American territorial possessions with a commonwealth which is neither a State, nor a Territory, nor a Dependency. This is the District of Columbia.

The District of Columbia, in area about seventy square miles, was accepted by Congress in 1770, as the seat of the Federal Government. Maryland made the gift, very happily and very proudly.
Several experiments in the government of the municipality by mayor and council were tried out, but none of them proved successful. At last, in 1874, Congress passed an act which caused a radical change in the conduct of affairs. Under the former elective type of government, negroes, who largely predominated in the section, were privileged to vote with the whites, according to Constitutional right. This resulted in a sad state of affairs, which Congress realized must be remedied. To this end the Legislature thereupon provided that every citizen of the District should be denied the privilege of the polls. It proved a wise law. Immediately conditions locally began to improve.

The legislative powers of the District are now assumed by Congress, which has by rule set aside certain days to be devoted to the business of the District itself. The executive power is in the hands of three Commissioners, composed of two civilians and one military officer, who are appointed by the President. This Board enjoys not only large administrative powers, but also makes ordinances relating to public safety, health, and welfare.

The judicial system of the District—which is, of course, only another name for the city of Washington—consists of a Court of Appeals, a regular trial court called the Supreme Court, and
a police court for the trial of petty offenses and municipal regulations. Justices of the peace are provided for the trial of certain kinds of civil cases. All of these judicial officers are appointees of the President.
CHAPTER IV

THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP

From American liberty there springs two great rights. These are civil rights and political rights. Civil rights are those which a person enjoys as a private citizen, as an individual—such as free speech, free religion, free education; in fact, general freedom itself. Political rights are those which belong to a citizen regarded as a participator in the affairs of government—such as the privilege of voting, holding public office, etc.,—and may very properly be called the public rights of citizenship.

As shown elsewhere, the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution declares that "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." Under this definition the following classes have been adjudged to be citizens of this country:

1) All persons born in the United States excepting the children of diplomatic agents and of hostile aliens.
(2) Children born in foreign countries whose parents at the time of their birth were citizens of the United States.

(3) Women of foreign birth married to citizens of the United States.

(4) Indians who pay taxes and no longer live in tribal relations.

(5) Naturalized persons.

The process of naturalization is as follows: At least two years before he can be admitted as a citizen the alien must appear before a State or a Federal court and take an oath that it is his intention to become a citizen of the United States. He must also "renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince or state, particularly the one of which he may at the time be a citizen or a subject." In addition, he must swear to support the Constitution of the United States. Not less than two years, nor more than seven years, after this declaration of his intentions, the alien may apply to a Federal or a State court for full admission as a citizen. If the judge of the court is satisfied that the alien is able to speak and read the English language, as well as write his own name, that he has resided in this country for five years, and that he is a person of good moral character, full citizenship will be conferred upon him. A person thus naturalized has the same rights as native born citizens ex-
cept that it is impossible for them ever to become President or Vice-President of the United States, no matter how competent they may be for such high office.

The children of naturalized parents automatically become citizens if they are under twenty-one years of age and are dwelling in the United States at the time of the naturalization of their parents. Alien Chinese and Japanese are barred from the privilege of citizenship. Persons professing the doctrines of anarchy, and openly opposing all forms of organized government, are also refused the gift of naturalization.

The rights of American citizenship flow from two sources—from the State and from the Nation. Because of the fact that each State determines for itself, in a large measure, the character of the civil liberty that is to be enjoyed within its borders, you can readily see that the rights of an American citizen, where the Nation is not concerned, are not everywhere the same. As we travel through various States, our privileges are thus constantly changing complexion, narrowing and broadening, with the crossing of each border into another political domain. For when a citizen of one State enters another State he has the rights of the citizens of that State in which he finds himself, and those rights only.

There are, however, certain civil rights which
are enjoyed in every State in the Union, and which may be termed the civil rights of State citizenship. These are the rights guaranteed in the State constitutions. In the constitution of almost every State are clauses of this import:

(1) That all men have the privilege of enjoying and defending life and liberty; of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness;

(2) That men have a right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, and that no preference by law should be given to any religion, and that no person should be disqualified for office on account of his religious belief;

(3) That trial by jury is a right inviolate;

(4) That the printing-press shall be free; that every citizen may freely print, write and speak on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of this privilege;

(5) That people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and possessions, against unreasonable searches and seizure, and that no warrant to search any place, or seize any person, shall issue without probable cause;

(6) That in all criminal prosecutions the accused has a right to be heard by himself and his counsel; to meet witnesses face to face; to compel witnesses in his favor to come to court and
testify; to a speedy trial by an impartial jury;

(7) That no person can be compelled to give evidence against himself, nor be deprived of his life, liberty or property, unless by the law of the land;

(8) That no person, for the same offense, shall be put twice in jeopardy of life and limb;

(9) That all courts shall be open, and that every man shall have justice without payment or delay;

(10) That excessive bail shall not be demanded, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel punishment meted out;

(11) That all persons shall be offered bail, unless for capital offenses;

(12) That the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless in time of rebellion or invasion. Whenever a man is placed in confinement against his will, and the fact is made known to a judge of a court, the judge, unless he knows the confinement is legal, is bound, upon application, to issue immediately a writ, termed habeas corpus, commanding the prisoner to be brought before him for examination. If there seems to be cause for the detention of the prisoner, he is sent back to prison to await a full trial; if there seems to be no cause, he is set free;

(13) That there shall be no imprisonment for debt, unless in cases of fraud;
(14) That citizens have the right to assemble in a peaceable manner, and to apply to the rulers for a redress of grievances;

(15) That the military shall at all times be kept in strict subordination to the civil power;

(16) That no soldier in time of peace shall be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner.

The First Section of the Fourteenth Amendment creates a distinct Federal citizenship, and provides that no State shall abridge the privileges of that citizenship. The question arises to our lips: What are the privileges which a citizen of the United States enjoys, and which no State can abridge?

At the present time it is possible to enumerate the following as the rights of Federal citizenship —rights which spring from the Constitution, which belong to every citizen of the United States, and which cannot be denied by State authority:

1. Process of Law. No person in the United States shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. This right no State can abridge; nor can the Federal Government itself deny it. A person seeking justice, whether in civil or political cases, under his right of due process may demand (1) that there be a court of law for the trial in his case; (2) that
the proceedings of the trial be regular; (3) that there be no unnecessary delay. Just what the regular course of procedure in a State court shall be is a matter for the State itself to determine; but after the State has once decided upon the course that justice shall take, after it has once established the processes of law, it cannot deprive any person of the benefits that arise from those processes.

II. **Equal Protection of the Laws.** Every person within the jurisdiction of any State, whether he be rich or poor, citizen or alien, is assured of the protection of the laws without any discrimination or favor.

III. **Protection on the High Seas and in Foreign Countries.** A citizen of the United States, in whatever part of the world he may be, is entitled to protection against injustice or injury.

IV. **State Citizenship.** Every citizen of the United States has a right to become a citizen of a State by a *bona fide* residence therein. And as a citizen of a State he has all the numerous rights appertaining to State citizenship.

We may now take up the subject of *political* rights, as distinguished from civil rights.

Political rights invest the citizen with the privilege of sharing in the formation of government, permitting of the right of voting at elections, and
of holding public office. These rights are an outgrowth of the struggle for civil rights.

Authority for granting the suffrage, and defining the qualifications of voters, resides chiefly in the State, the only restriction being found in the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Herein it is declared that the right of citizens of the United States to vote "shall not be abridged by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." As long as the State does not violate this amendment it is free to regulate the suffrage in its own way.

When we observe how widely the political conditions in one State differ from those in another, and consider how great is the opportunity allowed by the Constitution for a variety of regulations in reference to voting, we must be struck at the remarkable uniformity of the laws governing suffrage throughout the Nation. This uniformity is due partly to the democratic spirit of equality that exists everywhere, and partly to the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The age qualification for voting is twenty-one years in all States; in all of them, also, the previous residence provision of from six months to two years will be found. In thirty-eight States a voter must be a full-fledged citizen of the
United States. In ten States aliens may vote. Only nine States demand an educational qualification. Every State excludes certain classes of persons from the ballot. Chief among these are lunatics, idiots, paupers, and convicts.

The right of holding office is more indefinite than the right of suffrage. As a general rule, however, any one who may vote may hold office. Qualifications for the occupants of most offices are prescribed by law, and of course these must be met. When there are no special legal qualifications attached to an office it may usually be held by any candidate who is lucky enough to get himself elected or appointed to it. Should a State official, who has taken the oath of allegiance, afterward join in rebellion against the United States, he will thereafter be debarred from holding office.

Every American voter should regard himself as an officer of the Government—as a participant in its formation, as a director of its functions. He is one of the members of the electorate, that vast governing body which consists of all the voters in the land, and which possesses supreme political powers, controlling every branch of Government, Federal, State, and local. This electorate has in its keeping the welfare and the happiness of the American people. It is a great responsibility, one that can only be met by the
right kind of American citizens, men and women who are intelligent, fearless, and whose hearts throb for their country and the comfort of their fellow beings.

In the polling-booth every voter is a potent officer of the Government, charged by the best in himself and the best in his neighbors with certain serious duties, the neglect of which cannot fail to bring disaster to all that Justice holds dear. What are these serious duties of the voter in a self-governed country? Using our own intelligence and conscience, surely there is not a single one of us but who, after a little deliberation on the subject, will conclude that every American endowed with the right of the ballot, should—

(1) Vote whenever it is his privilege.
(2) Understand the questions upon which he votes.
(3) Learn something about the character and fitness of all candidates, regardless of party to which they belong.
(4) Vote only for honest, Godly men and women.
(5) Support only measures for the greatest common good.
(6) Spurn all bribes, direct or indirect; and offer none, as an act too debasing to be even entertained.
(7) Place country above party.

(8) Recognize the result of the election as the will of the people, and therefore as the law, regardless of personal opinion.

(9) Continue to vote for a righteous cause as long as there is hope of victory.

It will be seen that it takes a good deal to make the right kind of American citizen. In fact it takes far more than we have shown; it requires intelligence, education, honesty, Christianity, sacrifice, charity, unselfishness, cleanliness, health, love and loyalty.

Can you measure up to these standards? Can I? If so, and there are always a majority in the United States like us, then our glorious and beautiful country is safe for all time. But only by constant vigilance will there be such a majority; for evil influences, bitter and jealous, are ever at work to undermine the good.
CHAPTER V

YOUNG CITIZENS

Years ago there was a boy who was knocked about so hard and so long, that he swore to himself he would see, before he died, that some of the boys in this big world got a fairer deal than he. This boy's name was, and still is, Jack Robbins. He has now grown to the age and size of a man, but the rest of him—every bit—is just all boy.

Jack—everybody calls him "Jack," even the smallest boys, and they do it so warm-like you cannot help noticing it—Jack was living, five or six years ago, over on the West Side of Chicago. He had mighty little money, but heaps and heaps of liking for boys, especially down-and-out boys. You couldn't tell Jack Robbins there was any such thing as a really bad boy; if you did, he would just laugh at you, and that laugh would sort of have this essence in it for you: "Tut, tut! you don't know boys; why, you're actually talking silly."

And you would have to own up in your own
mind, if you knew Jack, that he ought to know boys, anyhow. Because Jack had lived all his years in the West Side, and where in the world are there more boys of all sorts than in that quarter of Chicago? Thick? Why, you can't move edgeways without bumping against a couple, no matter at what hour of the day or night you travel!

As time went on, Jack's acquaintance with boys expanded; and his heart interest for them spread likewise, not one whit behind. So many of them came to him, chum-like, with their troubles, and he helped so many of these chaps out, that he began to think of taking his spare pennies, and his spare time, and spare talents, to organize a sort of boys' club. No sooner thought of than done! At first there were only half a dozen fellows—not that more would not have been wild to join, but you see Jack wished to go slow and make sure of his ground before getting in too deep. Sometimes they would get together in a basement room which they rented two nights a week, and in between they would often walk the crowded streets, keep their eyes peeled to what was going on, and talk about what a lot there is that boys could do if they would just get together and do it—govern themselves, help govern the city they're a part of, help their own State and their own Nation, and particularly make it their business to help
other boys who needed a word of encouragement to keep straight.

And so the Boys' Brotherhood Republic started—started with six youthful members, coming from homes where nearly as many different foreign tongues were spoken, boys mostly foreign-born themselves, boys who had learned to swear and smoke and steal when they were not much more than babies, boys whose flame of goodness had been ignited by the spark of Jack Robbins's own sacrificing love for them, boys who would now go through fire and water to carry on Jack's work of helping the other fellow, provided Jack would guide them.

I will not tell here the story of how this little Brotherhood grew from a mere sprout to a lusty tree whose influence has affected the social and political fabric of a whole Nation in less than a week of years. I will not tell all of this story, because it is a long one, filled with episode upon episode of combat against the stubborn prejudices of a multitude of folk who think boys are "problems to be solved," and who stoutly opposed many good moves that Jack and his crowd tried to put through. But you cannot stifle a good thing, once it is well started. Thank goodness! the Boys' Brotherhood Republic had gotten a good start before much apathy was aroused against it. And how it did grow! More boys,
and more boys, and more boys still, kept coming into the club. They outgrew their quarters again and again, since the walls would not bulge outward for them, each time they had to move. The fact is, they are still expanding, still moving, as I write this, and probably will continue to spread themselves outward till branches of them are found in all cities of the United States.

The main purpose of the Brotherhood is to make better citizens. It doesn't believe in letting Dads and Mothers do all the voting for the family, take sole part in council meetings, serve alone on committees, and the like, while young Bill stays at home to entertain the baby, or worry the house cat, or tease sister Susie. None of these. It believes, heart and soul, in giving young Bill himself all the prideful feelings of citizenship by taking him in and making a full-fledged junior citizen out of him; a citizen with the power to vote with others of his age for real good government, not make-believe affairs; a citizen with duties and responsibilities placed upon him by his associates; a citizen, in fact, in every vital essential to the well-being of a person, serving for the very joy of making better order and greater happiness in his little community.

Of late years we have all heard much about Americanization—the making over of foreign-bred people in this country into loyal, intelligent,
helpful American citizens. In this great work, how few grown-ups have stopped to think what a powerful agency we have in this wonderfully efficient organization of Jack Robbins's! Brotherhood boys, at twenty-one, will not step up to the big polls to cast their first vote with blank minds and uncertain step. Brotherhood boys will know all about the candidates for election, the issues at stake, the method of legally carrying out their privilege to vote. No politician can bamboozle them with weak arguments for his party, no corrupt worker can tempt them to sell their vote, no thought of personal gain at the expense of community loss will ever be tolerated by them—for, as mere boys, these young men will have learned the tricks of politics and government; learned them in the right way, learned to detect and spurn the dross, to preserve the gold.

All in all, every day that widens the history of the Boys' Brotherhood Republic, widens the conviction that when Jack Robbins declared there was no such thing as a really bad boy he stated the bald truth. The marked success of this organization also goes to prove conclusively that Jack's pet theory that every red-blooded boy wants to do the big good things which most men do in preference to the big bad things some few men do, is fundamentally correct. By providing for his boys these very big good things, this
young man has proven repeatedly, in specific cases, that the worst side ceases to exist from sheer lack of nourishment. For example, I may state that in Jack's time he has scooped into his rescuing net two of the worst boy gangs, complete, that ever made life miserable for the police of a large city. Of one of these gangs, fifteen per cent were robbers, eighty per cent were pickpockets, and fifty per cent carried "guns" at all times. Of the other gang, forty per cent were murderers, fifty per cent were automobile bandits, and twenty per cent were in jail when taken over under parole. To-day the record of both these gangs, according to their leaders, is ninety-eight per cent "decent." This is truly something of a change!

As a further illustration of the club's faith in boyhood, let me cite the following incident: A few years ago, when the World War was in progress, and everything generally seemed to be upset or ready to upset at a moment's notice, there was a lot of talk in the newspapers throughout the country of how very, very bad boys were getting to be. It was said that since their fathers and older brothers had gone away to fight, there was no one to control them properly, and that they were just fairly twisting themselves inside out to find some new bit of mischievousness or cussedness to perform.
Lots of people who read these articles nodded emphatically, and said, "That's so, that's so; just right, just right! Boys surely are getting something awful. Never saw 'em so bad!"

What do you suppose the boys of the Brotherhood Republic said, when they also came across the newspaper items? Did they nod too? Did they agree with almost everybody else? Not much! Instead they held an emergency session, had the red-hottest hot discussion they ever had, and came out with this verdict, strong and ringing as Damascus steel: "There are no bad boys!

Of course what they said soon leaked out into newspaper channels. Chicago newspaper men knew these very boys had once been the toughest of kids, for they had often written up their dreadful deeds before Jack Robbins scooped them in, and they knew that if anybody knew what constituted a bad boy these same Brotherhood chaps certainly ought to. So out flew Chicago papers, all over the land, glad of the chance to say that Jack Robbins's boys had denied the stories of boys being worse, or even bad. And with this refutation was a challenge to every other city. It ran this way: "The Boys' Brotherhood Republic denies emphatically that there is such a thing as a bad boy in the country! The members declare that they can take the so-called 'worst boy' that any community can produce,
bring him to Chicago under their wing for six months, and send him home a boy for any place to be proud of."

This challenge was taken up in a way to surprise Jack and his boys. For weeks afterward, every mail brought dozens of letters from little towns and big towns, nearby towns and faraway towns, telling of some record-breaking "bad boy" that each had whom it was anxious to ship to Chicago for being made over into good material. Telegrams also came in profusely. For a time it looked as if the boys of the Brotherhood would have to install a temporary sub-station for mail and telegrams, with considerable expert help, in order to handle all the correspondence. But by stacking letters and telegrams in compact piles in spare corners of their rooms, and calling in almost all the members to help read and file them, they managed to wade through the labyrinth themselves.

And in that reading they learned a lot they never knew before about what a hard proposition some boys are thrown up against. They began to see that lots of parents thought they had boys who were going to turn into Jesse Jameses, just because they liked to play with wooden guns they had whittled out; and some thought their sons were surely going to the dogs because they smoked dried leaf cigarettes on the sly, or said
“darn it” when things went wrong unexpectedly, like Dad, or came sneaking into the back door with damp hair after they had been told not to go swimming! The fact is there were letters about boys to whom everything had been done that the law allows, except hanging, and who seemed to be in for that as soon as they got a little older.

One Brotherhood lad expressed the sentiment of all when he exclaimed, at the end of the big batch of reading, “Gee, kids, I wish we could take in all them poor guys an’ give ’em a little show. They ain’t got none where they live, that’s sure!”

But the making over of all these candidates was too big an order to take on—then! So they sifted and sorted till they had a list of “bad” boys in twenty-seven towns and cities; and then what do you suppose they did?

Two of the Brotherhood boys set out to visit all these twenty-seven cities, and look into the “qualifications” of the candidates. From place to place they went, critically sizing up every bad boy who had been recommended to the club as the worst kid in the land. Finally they landed in Albany, New York, without having made any definite selection. It had been impossible so far to find a chap who seemed quite bad enough to suit them.

When they called upon Governor Whitman, in
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Albany, they went briskly into the business in hand. "You've got a sixteen-year-old boy in the death-house at Sing Sing waiting to be electrocuted for murder," they said. "We've come to talk to you about him."

The governor looked his amazement. He ran his eyes up and down the small forms of his visitors, and then blurted out: "H'm! this fellow is as good as dead already! He's about the worst case of youthful depravity we ever ran across. What under the sun do you care about him?"

"We care just this much about him," declared the Brotherhood boys, with impressive warmth: "Wherever a boy's in trouble, we're in trouble too." Then they introduced themselves, and went on: "We're not out looking for a kid who stays out nights because he ain't got sense enough to go to a good home. We ain't looking for a kid whose father's afraid his boy won't grow up good, or whose mother cries because he won't tell her when he plays hookey from school. We're looking for a kid that's never been able to call any man father. We're looking for a kid that's never had any mother to care whether he went straight or crooked. We're looking for a kid that stays out nights and sleeps in packing boxes and barrels and wagons, and such places, because he ain't got no place else to sleep. We're looking for a kid that thinks everybody's against him.


and that he's got to steal if he wants to live. There's lots of kids like that, and we know it, because we've been that kind ourselves. But just now we want to make over a worse kid—a kid that's done something simply awful, maybe killed somebody. Now, if this guy you've got in Sing Sing is really that sort, please tell us all about him, if you will."

And the governor did. He didn't know everything bad there was to tell about this sixteen-year-old lad condemned to die in the electric chair, but he told enough to satisfy the small Brotherhood committee that this was undoubtedly the very toughest boy in the whole country, and the lad they wanted. They were permitted to talk with the prisoner, which clinched this belief. Then they had another long talk with the governor, and the upshot of the matter was that he granted a commutation to Tom Kellerman (by which name I shall shield his real identity), and it was arranged that Tom should join the Boys' Brotherhood Republic, in Chicago, a little later.

And did this unhappy, wretched youth, this top-notch of the down-and-outers, who had robbed a living human creature of the precious spark of life, ever reach his destination? He did. And what did the Brotherhood boys do for him? Did they prove that the very worst boy in the country could be saved by giving him a decent
chance? They did. They shook his cold hand till it warmed and sent strange heat thrills to his heart, they jerked his jaded rags from his back and clothed him in clean duds; they talked to him joyously about his bright prospects for the future, quite forgetting to say a word about his dark life behind; they refused to let reporters interview him, or photographers to snap pictures of him; they boarded him in a decent family near the clubhouse; they found him a good job; they let him slide in with a lot of dandy fellows of his age who were interested in clean sports and good citizenship.

And he made good, just as they said he would! To-day that boy with the black past is a splendid, manly chap, holding down a good position, respected by all who know him; and nobody in the Brotherhood is more anxious to give other fellows a chance to redeem themselves than he.

Now let me tell you how these boys carry on their self-government.

A boy who wishes to become a citizen of the Republic, makes application to the citizenship committee. The committee questions him very closely, thus getting an idea as to what sort of opinions he holds about the welfare of people in general. If they are satisfied that he is not hopelessly selfish, and that he has in him the making of a good citizen, one who will do his best for
the common good, they admit him—if there is room—and give him that prized and sacred thing of all real good citizens, a vote.

The Brotherhood works under the regular system of big politics as closely as it can. Each city which has an organization has as its head a Mayor, elected by vote of the young members themselves. The Mayor appoints his own cabinet of assistants, from among the members, each of whom has charge of his own department, and who is responsible for good service to the Mayor. If the latter proves incompetent or untrustworthy, the boy citizens, or voters, may impeach him and ballot for his successor.

Elections are conducted on much the same plan as those of the adults in the city of Chicago. Boy citizens have to register; but they are not given a card permitting them to vote unless their taxes—regular dues for meeting general expenses—are clear and paid up. Sometimes the candidates for office, not content with plugging hard themselves to win the coveted berth in the little "City Hall," engage a campaign manager. The latter then begins to advertise the good points of his candidate in every conceivable way; he posts bulletins all about the stamping-grounds of the fellows, he "stumps" fiercely for his man, he offers to meet any rival in a fair-and-square debate. "We fight fair, win or lose," is one of their
most cherished mottoes. They made the sentiment, they printed the card, they hung it themselves in the little "City Hall."

Each Boy City has its mayor, city clerk, city treasurer, city judge, prosecuting attorney, chief of police, policemen, board of education, board of health, employment bureau, citizenship committee, investigating committee, institutional committee, athletic committee, and so on.

One of the most important committees is the institutional committee. To this body are reported the names, the addresses, and the records, of all boys about to be released from city correctional institutions, such as the Juvenile Home, Boys' Refuge, Juvenile Court, etc. Members of this committee make it their business to visit unfortunate boys immediately upon their release, and by brotherly persuasion try to get them to visit the club's headquarters, join the organization, and turn over a new leaf. It is under the greatest privations and hardships, too, that these young citizens often make these calls upon those in detention. Usually they have been working all day, and most of them also have some kind of night study to perform before they can roll their tired young bodies into bed; but in spite of all this they take miles-long hikes and car rides in order to locate and talk with these jail boys
who are to be let out into a cold-looking world again. Not satisfied with the conference with the youthful criminal, they visit his home, if he has one, and try to find out if his parents or guardians are the proper sort to be entrusted once more with the job of guiding him aright. One way and another they keep after that bad boy till they get him, or see him, started right. He can’t dodge them; they are harder to dodge than the cops.

The employment office of the B. B. R. operates on a plan worked out by the boys themselves, representing their ideal of service in such things. When an employer wants a boy who is used to hard knocks, and one he can thoroughly trust, he gets into communication with the Brotherhood bureau. But he doesn’t get a boy just because he asks for him, and offers him alluring pay. Not much! There are two sides to a matter of this kind. So before the boy calls around for the job, the investigating committee of the B. B. R. looks into the character of the would-be employer. If he isn’t a good Christian man, with a reputation for honest dealing and kind treatment of his help, he has to go elsewhere than the B. B. R. for assistance. All these details about employers asking for help, the boys write out on big blackboards covering the office walls,
where all boys who come in can readily see them.

When the job is filled, the clerks in the employment office erase it from the board, substituting another, as there are usually more positions waiting than lads to fill them.

Every day is job-day for the Brotherhood boys. But once a year they advertise their services by a special "Boys’ Job Day." The mayor of Chicago publicly proclaims this, and all the newspapers refer to it in editorials and news articles till you would naturally think that the business of getting jobs for kids was about one of the most important in that great city’s many duties. "Boys’ Job Day" comes early in April of each year, and from the rise of sun that day till its glorious set, from eight hundred to a thousand jobless boys are harnessed up with that old steady-going mare called Work.

Most employers who know anything about the B. B. R. would rather have a boy’s citizenship card than any other recommendation he could bring. Men who know what these boys stand for will hire one of them and send him out collecting money, taking that card for a bond.

The greatness of the B. B. R. is that through it hundreds of boys are developing themselves for life in the struggling human mass; learning to climb and to yield, to govern and to be governed, to find themselves through seeking others,
and to do a great many other things which go to make up life in all its fullness to-day.

They make their own rules, and they enforce them. They study the laws of the city, their State, and their country. And they uphold them. If they think those laws should be better, they do not whine about it, but straightway they go to work to use their influence to have them improved. But in everything it is their own understanding on which they act; the will of their own majority moves them.

You would be delighted to attend one of their council meetings, I am sure. Lively? That's a mild word to express what you would see at times! But bear this in mind: As full of vim and enthusiasm and surplus steam as these meetings are, the boys' parliamentary rule is one of the best man could find in a long search among grown-ups' meetings. They never become chaotic, rude, or ungentlemanly; they never get out of order, because if they did they know they would be promptly brought back again; if the chairman's ruling doesn't settle them, the chief of police does.

So rapid has been the growth of the Brotherhood Republic in Chicago that several city halls have had to be established for the use of the members in carrying on their administrative work. Soon after the Northwest City Hall was founded,
a new citizen therein was indiscreet enough to lend his citizenship card to a young friend who did not have one, and who used the card to gain entrance to the game room, the gymnasium, and other advantages which he greatly coveted. The result was that the erring citizen was speedily arrested by the chief of police, and arraigned for trial on the charge of misuse of his citizenship privileges. Very meekly he pleaded that he did not know it was any harm to lend his card.

"A citizen," he was reminded by the boy judge, "has got to know what he can do and what he can’t do. That's a part of his job of being a citizen."

During the course of the trial one little juror went to sleep. At five minutes before midnight, when the evidence was all in and the counsel had finished their speeches, the little juror suddenly awoke and voted "Guilty." The sentence was six months' loss of citizenship privileges.

This verdict seemed pretty tough to the defendant, so much so that at the next meeting of the council his lawyer appealed for a new trial. This brought about a good deal of debate in regard to his case, during which considerable scorn was manifested for "a guy that ain't got no better sense than to think citizenship is a fit thing to lend or play with. What if Bill (the juror) did go to snoozin'? That don't give Dan's lawyer
any right to ask for a new trial. Why, it was that lawyer's business to keep them jurors awake!"

You might not believe it, but fifty-one members of the B. B. R. served their country in the late war. Of these two never came back; they had given up the most precious thing any person can give up for the sake of others—their lives. Every blessed boy of them did not wait to be drafted. One and all, they were volunteers!

One of the boys who paid the supreme sacrifice fell at Château-Thierry. And it was the little Juniors at the Main City Hall—the boys from twelve to fourteen, about eighty of whom were training themselves for B. B. R. citizenship at fourteen—who bought the gold star for that lad who lies beside the Marne, and presented it to the City Hall. The speech of the president of the Juniors was one of the most moving you could have heard in all that war. The killed boy had been a nameless waif, and when he had applied for citizenship in the B. B. R., had filled out a blank, one question of which was "Why do you want to join the Boys' Brotherhood Republic?" In looking up the hero's record, the day before the memorial service, a member of the City Council had secured this questionnaire. As he now held the crumpled paper aloft where all could see it, tears came into the eyes of many a chap,
tears of which they need not have felt ashamed, and were not ashamed.

"Listen, feller citizens," said the young coun-
cilman in a reverent, low voice, with a suspicious quaver in it. "Here's his application—the one he signed when he first come here with us. An' here's a question, just like you've all seen on your own papers. It says, 'Why do you want to join the B. B. R.?'' An' right here after it he jest writes four simple words—'to get a chance!'"

The speaker choked, then went bravely and huskily on: "Well, he got it, didn't he? We didn't give him half so much a chance here as the Lord did over there in France; but, anyway, kids, we like to think we helped Bennie to see it when it came."

Governor Lowden, of Illinois, in a letter to these boys, declares that he considers their work a most important demonstration in democracy. It is! Could there be a B. B. R. organization in every town where boys are growing up, life would be a lot easier for the older citizens and lots more interesting and satisfying for the younger ones.
CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR PLATFORMS

In any walk of life differences of opinion will arise in regard to a common subject. John has a suit of clothes which he thinks is of a most exquisite texture and pattern. His brother Henry, or sister Mary, think he would look better in something else. Again, Frank has a great fondness for Latin, caring very little about mathematics, while Bob dotes on problems in numbers, and cannot for the life of him see why such a nonsensical gibberish as Latin should be studied nowadays.

Just so are there differences of opinion among men and women voters on the National issues that come up from time to time, and some of which have always been up. These dissimilar viewpoints have caused the formation of a number of political parties in the United States, as they have done in other countries.

Of the parties now in existence, the Democratic is the oldest, dating back to the time of Thomas Jefferson, when it was known as the Democratic-Republican party. In 1824 there
ensued a split, which resulted a few years later in the organization of the present Democratic party.

The Republican party was born in the year 1854, as a direct result of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, making slavery possible in the North.

Still a third party—the Socialist-Labor party—came into being in 1890, accompanied the same year by an off-shoot of slightly different views calling themselves the Socialist party.

In much the same manner, in 1912, a faction of the Republican party became discontented, and withdrew, arraying themselves under the term of Progressive party.

Each political organization holds National and State conventions at election time, at which it nominates its candidates for office and also adopts a platform declaring its principles. Before affiliating with a party, the citizen should not only study carefully the principles outlined in the platforms, but should note whether the parties, through their elected candidates of the past, have been in the habit of practicing that which they preached.

Sometimes a party grows careless about carrying out all its promises, once its men are in office. This fact should be duly registered against the party, or office-holder, whichever seems most
guilty, and the complaint made telling the next time the voter goes to the polls, even if it be his own party to suffer, or his own brother. Only in this manner can we maintain clean politics, clean administration, and a clean record in the eyes of the world at large.

At their 1916 conventions, both the Republican and Democratic parties—the largest of all the parties—openly declared for the protection of the American citizen, and for the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine, although they differed as to the methods by which these ends might be attained. Both platforms approved friendly inter-relations of Pan-American countries, the conservation of natural resources, provision for National defense, economy in Government through the budget system, upheld the Civil Service regulations, and favored the extension of suffrage to women.

**Democratic Platform.** The Democratic party reaffirmed its belief in tariff for revenue, and endorsed the Underwood bill as exemplifying that measure. It endorsed the pending shipping bill. It commended the current administration (Democratic) for its legislation on behalf of the farmer, and its thus-far conduct of the war against the Central Powers. Furthermore, it stated that the Federal Government should put into effect these "principles of just employment," and should urge
them in the State legislatures: "A living wage for all employees; a working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven; the adoption of safety appliances, and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor; adequate compensation for industrial accidents; the standards of the 'Uniform Child Labor Law' wherever minors are employed; such provisions for decency, comfort, and health, in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race; an equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employees of the Civil Service, to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained."

In addition, it favored an early enactment of a Federal Child Labor law, the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in inter-State commerce, the creation of a Federal Bureau of Safety in the Department of Labor, the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines, the development upon a systematic scale of the means already begun under the present administration to assist laborers throughout the Union to seek and obtain employment, public health, the establishment by the Federal Government of sanitariums for needy tubercular patients, and the alteration of the
Senate rules to secure prompt transaction of business.

The following principles of prison reform were urged: Training in remunerative occupations; the setting apart of the net wages of the prisoner for his dependent family, or to be paid to him upon his release in case he had no family; and the liberal extension of the principles of the Federal Parole Law, with the adoption of the probation system.

Generous pensions for soldiers and their widows were advocated. The development of harbors and waterways was favored, and the control of the Mississippi River floods was stated as a National problem to be handled by Congress. Self-government for the Philippine Islands was recommended, while pledges were made for the development of Alaskan resources, and the granting of the United States traditional territorial type of government to Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico.

Republican Platform. The Republican party made bold to condemn the Democratic policy of granting self-government to the Philippines immediately, reaffirming its past policy of government by the United States, with constantly increasing participation by the Filipinos in such government until such time as they proved more
conclusively their ability to administer to themselves. It repeated its belief in the absolute right of expatriation, and pledged itself to maintaining the right of asylum.

Once more it gave approval to its advocacy of a protective tariff, and condemned the Underwood tariff bill. Belief was expressed in "rigid supervision and strict regulation of transportation and great corporations of the country," declaring that "all who violate the laws in regulation of business should be individually punished."

The Democratic policy in this case was censured, with the observation that it would "involve the Government in a business which should be left within the sphere of private enterprise, and in direct competition with its own citizens."

Pledges were made for legislation beneficial to rural credits and the extension of the Rural Free Delivery, while at the same time the Democrats were blamed for not making good their promises along the same lines. It disapproved the Government ownership of vessels proposed by the Democratic party, and instead favored liberal payments to ships in the foreign trade for services in carrying the mails, also advocating the passage of other legislation helpful to the merchant marine. All transportation, it said, should be under Federal control.

The party declared for the faithful enforce-
ment of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor, advocated for vocational education, the enactment of laws for Federal child labor, a generous and comprehensive workman’s compensation law, and accident compensation law covering all Government employees, and much legislation for public safety.

Socialist Platform. The Socialist party, claiming to be the “political expression of the economic interests of the working class,” called upon all voters under that head to make a “determined stand on the question of militarism and war, and to recognize the opportunity which the World War has given you of forcing disarmament and furthering the cause of industrial freedom.” It went on to state, “Socialism admits the private ownership and individual direction of all things, tools, economic processes, and functions which are individualistic in character, and requires the collective ownership and democratic control and direction of those which are social or collectivistic in character.”

As peace measures, the platform advocated that all laws and appropriations for the increase of the military and naval forces of the United States should be immediately repealed; that the power to fix foreign policies, and conduct diplomatic negotiations, be lodged in Congress, exercised publicly; and that the people be free by
referendum at any time, to order Congress to change its policy; that no future war be declared or waged by the United States without a referendum vote of the entire populace, except for the purpose of repelling invasion. The Monroe doctrine met with strong disapproval, pledge being made for its abandonment. Immediate self-government for the Philippine Islands was advocated. Plans were suggested for having the Government call a congress of all neutral nations, to mediate for lasting peace; and it was stated there should be an International Congress gifted with powers to adjust disputes between nations, and to guarantee equal rights to all.

Many other political issues were promised correct handling by the Socialist platform should the party get in political control. Among these were: Equal suffrage for men and women, the adoption of the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment; the initiative, referendum and recall for all public office holders, National and local; abolition of the Senate and veto power of the President, the election of the President and Vice-President by direct vote of the people, provision for the amendment of the National Constitution by a majority of the voters, a convention to revise the National Constitution; abolition of the power of the Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress, the
only repeal for such legislation to be by Congress itself, or by referendum vote of the whole people; abrogation of the power of the courts to issue injunctions, and the election of all judges to United States courts for shorter terms.

Demands were also made for the free administration of the law, for suffrage for the District of Columbia, for a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs, for the extension of democratic government to all United States territory, for full freedom of the press, unrestricted speech and assemblage; for increase of income and corporation taxes, and the extension of the inheritance tax; for general educational measures, for the abolition of monopolistic ownership of patents, in favor of collective ownership, with direct royalty rewards to inventors.

In the way of industrial pledges, the promises were: A shortened workday, freedom of economic and political organization, a rest period of not less than a day and one-half in each week, more effective inspection in workshops, factories, and mines, prohibition of employment for those under eighteen years of age, inter-State transportation of child labor products and the products of uninspected factories and mines to be annulled, minimum wage scales, old age pensions, State insurance against unemployment and sickness; compulsory insurance of workers by employers,
at the latter's expense; benefits to be paid in the event of contracting industrial disease, enduring accidents or death while at work; mothers' pensions, etc., etc.

Prohibition Platform. This party's platform declared mainly for National and State legislation to stop the liquor traffic, of which it has long been the mortal enemy. Suffrage for women was strongly endorsed, also a World Court for Peace in time of dispute between nations, the abolition of militarism, and the employment of the army in normal times in reclamation work. It went on record in reaffirming its faith in the Monroe doctrine, recommended that the Philippines be governed by the United States with increasing local privileges to the natives, and urged reciprocal trade treaties, and a committee to investigate the tariff laws. Recommendations were made for merchant marine legislation, likewise legislation for labor. Civil Service regulations were promised, also public grain elevators operated by the Government, with Federal grain inspection throughout the country under a Civil Service plan of appointments. The abolition of any institution speculating or gambling in grain, was thought wise. Ready endorsement was offered to Government warehouses for cotton, while approval was given also to public ownership of utilities and the development of free institutions
such as hospitals, clinics, etc. Conservation of natural resources, the early establishment of a Federal budget to meet the expenses of government, the right of the President to veto any single item in an appropriation bill, uniform marriage and divorce laws, a single Presidential term of six years, and the initiative, referendum and recall, were likewise approved.
CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATION

You would have to search through a good many townships, villages, election districts, and city wards, before you would find one in which each of the three or four great political parties did not have established its permanent local committee of management. Likewise you would find, at almost any time, such permanent committees for the county, city, and State.

It is these permanent committees which perform the vast part of the work in politics. Aside from the actual procedure of voting itself, it may be said, in fact, that they do all of the work. Among their duties they must—

Keep in close touch with voters of their own party, taking care that their spirit does not lag, nor their views change.

Keep pegging away by argument to win over new converts from the ranks of other parties.

Keep an eye on those who are too indifferent to vote, and try to persuade them to get out and do their citizenship duty in this respect.
Provide vehicles for taking the ill and infirm voters to and from the voting precincts.

Organize political clubs to spread propaganda.

Arrange for political mass meetings and processions.

Solicit funds among their well-to-do constituents with which to conduct campaigns in the way of advertising cards, bills, newspaper articles, etc.

Issue calls for the nominating conventions of their party.

In many other ways, also, these permanent party committees promote and defend the interests of their party, through good and ill report, after success as well as after defeat. The chief office of their performance, however, may be said to be that of keeping the nominating machinery of their party well oiled and ready for fast speed when the crucial moment shall arrive.

The nomination of candidates is accomplished in two ways. One method is for the members of a certain party to vote direct for the candidates they would prefer to have make a run for election. The other method is indirect, and accomplished by the action of committees at party conventions.

Under the first-named plan, a primary meeting is arranged for by the leading politicians of the district, or in other words, at a decision of the
party organization of that locality. In this way the Democrats may call a primary for one day, and the Republicans of the same locality one for another day. To this meeting all voters of the party who reside in the district are invited to come and cast a ballot for the men of their side whom they would like to have in public office.

Days before the voters appear to make their choice, local newspapers and other advertising mediums have been filled with references to likely candidates for all existing parties, such articles having of course largely originated in the offices of the respective local political committees and clubs, which, as a matter of fact, are but carrying out their end of the game in suggesting candidates they know to be good timber. In this manner, practically every voter going to the primary meeting has already made up his mind as to just which candidate of a very limited number talked about he will cast his ballot for; and but for this scheme, voters would go to the polls uninformed and guessing, and make selection perhaps from among a large group, many of whom would not care to accept office. Needless to say, too, such haphazard choice would greatly increase the clerical work of counting and properly classifying ballots, result in frequent ties, render belated reports, and cause much dissatisfaction in general, to candidate, voter, and official.
So this primary election is managed in exactly the same manner as a general election, except that the contest for honors is all among candidates of one party, and that the voters are also of one party, but of different mind in the way of individual selection. The candidate with the majority of votes is declared nominated by the local party committee, whereupon his name is posted on the party ticket as the regular nominee for the office to be filled. And when regular election day comes around, he is then pitted against the regular nominees of the contemporary parties for this office, and wins or loses, according to whether his supporters are more numerous than the rival supporters, or of smaller showing.

The direct method of nominating candidates has been adopted by a majority of the States in at least portions of them, and in many it extends to the nomination of all candidates, from the most humble to the most exalted.

In some States candidates for the higher offices are nominated by the conventions, which are composed of party representatives or delegates. Under this system, a candidate for sheriff, for example, is nominated at a county convention composed of delegates chosen at primary meetings which have been held throughout the county. After the same manner, when a candidate for a State office is to be nominated—we will
say, for convenience, a governor—the county (or city) conventions throughout the State send delegates to a State convention. Here a vote is taken among the delegates, and the nomination for governor is made from the count of their ballots.

Party organization in the United States was built up in the beginning as a means for finding a way for nominating a candidate for the Presidency. Since that early day it has fastened itself strongly to the fabric of local and State politics as well, but even so, the Presidential nomination is still the central object of party activity. Because this is so, party organization may be best understood by following the workings of a party in a presidential year.

In the States which have adopted the plan of direct nomination, each of the great parties, by a direct vote of its members, elects delegates to the National Convention. The latter nominates the candidates for President and Vice-President. In a few States, in the primaries at which these delegates are chosen, the voters are given an opportunity to express their preference in respect to presidential candidates.

We will now describe the meetings and conventions in States where the convention system is in operation.

1. The Primary or Caucus. In the spring of a presidential year, the permanent local commit-
tees of the lowest grade receive an order which has come down to them through the State committee from the National Committee, to call upon the voters of the party within the local precinct to take action in a primary meeting, or caucus, upon matters relating to the nomination of a candidate for President. At this primary delegates to a county (or city) convention are elected.

For many years the primary meeting, like the entire party organization, was a voluntary institution. It was controlled by rules made by party managers, and whether it was conducted honestly or dishonestly was not an affair of Government concern. If at the primary election there was cheating, or irregularities of other kinds, no one could be punished. But this sad state of affairs has happily changed. In most of the States the primaries of recent years have been placed under the control of the law, and have been conducted as regularly and as squarely as other elections.

II. The County (or City) Convention. The delegates chosen at the local primary are sometimes instructed to act in the interests of a certain man as the party candidate for President, and sometimes they are left free to act as their own judgments may dictate. Shortly after the primary election they assemble—usually at the county-seat—as the county convention of the party which they represent. This body, which
may consist of fifty or sixty men, elects perhaps a half-dozen men as delegates to represent the party in a State convention. If the county convention favors a certain candidate for President, it may instruct these delegates to stand for him in the State convention.

III. The State Convention. A few weeks after the county convention, seldom longer, delegates from all the counties (and cities\(^1\)) assemble at some convenient place which has been selected as the headquarters for the State convention of the party. This body, consisting sometimes of several hundred men, passes resolutions expressing the political views of the party in the State, names its choice for presidential candidate, and elects delegates to a National Convention, the number of delegates thereto allotted to each State being twice the number of its representatives in both Houses of Congress.\(^2\) Sometimes it also selects candidates for presidential electors.

\(^1\)In a city each ward, at a primary meeting, despatches delegates to a city convention, and this body elects delegates to the State convention to meet with the delegates from the counties. In some States the delegates elected at the city primaries go directly to the State convention, or to a congressional district convention.

\(^2\)In most of the States, the State convention elects only four delegates—called delegates-at-large—to the National Convention, the other delegates being elected at congressional district conventions, two delegates being chosen from each district. Where this is in vogue, the district convention selects a candidate for presidential elector.
Although the men in this class are several degrees removed from the voting mass, if the sentiment at the primaries is pronounced and definite, it will find expression in the State convention. If, on the other hand, the voters at the primaries give no direct indication of their will, the delegates in the higher conventions must act according to their judgment.

IV. The National Convention. After the State conventions have been held, along in June or July, the delegates from the various States and Territories assemble as the great National Convention. This body often consists of a thousand men or more. It meets in some city conveniently situated for the majority. After several days of discussion, it gives public expression of the views of the party upon vital questions of the hour, termed a platform, and chooses candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.

After all the political parties have named their candidates in some one of the fashions we have named, the gigantic struggle to elect them begins. Political meetings are held all over the land by clubs and committees; and political rallies, to stir up the voters in general, are also inaugurated wherever there is a chance to accomplish anything in the way of adding to the vote. Usually the ablest speakers of the party take a lead-
ing part at these rallies, and do all they can to ex-
plain and defend the platform and the past serv-
vice of various office-holders belonging to their
class.

With all its faults, which sometimes become
quite glaring owing to the abuse of privileges by
scheming and unscrupulous candidates and cam-
paign managers, the campaign in general is a
most wholesome element in our public life. It is
the lesson-time of democracy. Through it the
attention of everybody is strongly attracted to
public affairs; even children feel a thrill when a
political procession passes by, with marchers
shouting themselves hoarse in approval of their
candidates, or when they hear big brother or
father or Uncle Dick warmly expounding the
virtues of the office-seekers on their ticket with
the neighbor-man next door. All in all, civic
spirit is awakened to the uttermost corners of
the country, partisan feeling runs high; but in
recent years patriotic sentiment has begun to get
the upper hand of the partisan, and every elec-
tion finds political education spreading, and with
it voters are standing more and more by the man
himself than by the party he represents.

Surely this is the true American principle. It
is the smothering of caste in favor of worth.
It is seeing and appreciating the character of a
politician instead of the dyed-in-the-wool cre-
dentials of his party. It is forgetting what party our father or grandfather always stood with, and what party we perhaps have stood with in the past, and voting for good men regardless of the party with which they are affiliated. It is, in fact, the right step to purge out of politics the insincere and untrustworthy, and fill all our public offices with clean, vigorous, loyal, efficient servants and representatives.

The campaign continues, gradually gaining in strength, until Election Day, which is the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. All that day the hearts of the candidates are in their throats, their relatives and close friends are much excited, and their campaign managers are equally nervous and expectant. For as a rule during the ensuing twenty-four hours their fates will be settled by the votes of that great impartial jury, the American citizens, and for four years they must abide by their decision.

Just how elections are carried on, how the polls are conducted, and the votes counted and registered, will be told in another chapter as an interesting little story of its own.
CHAPTER VIII

THE BUSINESS OF VOTING

The simplest and quickest form of voting is probably the oldest form—that of the voice, where those in favor of a measure are asked to signify it by shouting "Aye," and those opposed, by saying "Nay." But this is by no means a fair or accurate method, for if the vote is close it is very difficult to tell which side is in the majority; and even where it is not close, sometimes the minority seem to make more noise than the others. Chairmen, under such circumstances, are also often misjudged by the voters, and accused of deliberately favoring one side or another, no matter how just they try to be.

Still another simple method—but one more accurate than that of viva voce—is the show of hands, each voter raising his right hand at the call of the chairman. But this, likewise, is open to criticism, for sometimes hands are unseen and sometimes a voter might be tempted to raise both hands in a thick gathering and in a critical count.

A different manner of voting than either of the two foregoing, is to call for what is termed a
rising vote. Here the Aye side rise from their chairs to a full stand when called upon by the one in charge. They are then counted, whereupon the Nay side are asked to follow the process.

Of the three methods of voting named the last is perhaps the most satisfactory in point of correctness of registration. But there are many occasions for voting when it will prove not at all to the liking of voters. Men are sometimes timid, or careful not to hurt the feelings of others, and for one reason or the other they do not wish to express their opinion openly. For instance workmen are usually backward about declaring their opinions in front of their employers, fearing a loss of employment in the event of discovery of their attitude. And, indeed, in another instance, it is very embarrassing to us to have to make an open choice from among a number of candidates, many of whom may be personal friends. We would much prefer to force home the weight of our opinion in a quiet, unobtrusive manner.

It was to meet this very demand for an honest, accurate, and self-effacing vote that man devised finally the written or printed vote called the ballot. The word means, strictly, "a little ball," and in many clubs and societies black and white balls are still used to vote with, as the Greeks and Indians used shells on certain occasions. The ballot permits a secret expression of a voter's views,
often saves him from unpopularity among his fellows and his opponents, and thereby encourages timid people to vote just as they think regardless of the opinions of others. Not only that, but it also permits of voting quickly for a number of candidates at one time.

Efficient as is the ballot in the hands of the general voting public, it is not so well fitted to the requirements of a representative body like Congress. Here every member is openly responsible to the people who have chosen him, and who are entitled to know just how he votes on the various questions which come up. It is the custom in this body to call off the names of the voters in order, and register the vote of each before calling upon the next. In this way those who are absent and do not vote at all, are also noted.

Candidates have often spent money lavishly in order to be elected; they have hired numerous agents to persuade voters to change their votes at the polls or voting-place; even worse, they have sometimes bribed careless and dishonest citizens to give up their vote for a present, a ride, a drink, a dinner, a job, or other selfish object. Men have also been employed at the polls to watch the ballots and spy out what kind of vote each voter put into the box. And there have been times when the officers in charge of the election have been false to their trust, and have
permitted fraud at the polls, and have contrived to count the votes wrong.

Now, if cheating at elections was tolerated, or if any considerable number of citizens were willing either to cheat or be bribed, popular government would become a farce, the laughing-stock of the world. For this reason laws have been passed to protect the elections in every way possible. Thus, there are laws requiring candidates or the party managers to publish their expenses of the campaign, also laws to regulate the amount of money that may be expended for each office in this way. For there is no better defense against works of darkness than plenty of light; publicity makes rascals afraid, if it does not make them ashamed. After all, how much more manly, how much more honorable, it would appear, if we were a candidate for public office, if we did not spend a single penny for advertising ourselves, but relied solely upon the merits of our integrity and reputation to put us in our new office! Imagine George Washington or Abraham Lincoln—the beloved and respected of our ex-Presidents—going around the country tooting their horns and inducing their friends to raise funds to help buy them into office! It is too absurd, too incongruous, even for supposition, is it not?

One of the fairest of the election laws for vot-
ing is based upon a method used in England and Australia, called the *Australian Ballot System*. The principal feature of this system is that it secures for each voter the privacy of a stall while he is marking his ballot, also absolute secrecy in voting. It also provides the votes at the expense of the Government, so that no candidate or party can have excuse for spending money at election-time, except for the perfectly proper purpose of publishing platforms and policies. It prints all the names of the candidates on one ticket, so that the voter can choose freely for himself without confusion. It demands that a cross (X) be placed against the name of each and every candidate voted for.

We have already seen how enrollment and the primaries concern only those voters who become party members. Registration is a much broader institution of elections; it sweeps in *all* voters, regardless of party; every man and woman must register at least once in the district in which they reside, or their vote will not be accepted.

Registration for the Presidential election takes place in October, when the inspectors meet at the polling-places in each election district to record the names of those qualified to vote. The lists prepared are afterward filed with the boards of elections. In cities of more than five thousand inhabitants, voters come personally before the
inspectors. They answer various questions concerning age, residence, and occupation, and if their status as citizens is in accord with the Constitution, they sign their names in the registers. Their right to register may be challenged by any inspector, or any spectator. In such a case the would-be voter's qualifications must be proved by a sworn statement, which will be investigated by the local police. If the statement is found correct, the challenge perforce is withdrawn.

The primary purpose of registration is to prevent fraud, to make sure that a voter does not vote more than once, and that he is qualified to use the ballot. But for this system dishonest politicians could induce dishonest citizens, and those who were not citizens, to appear in several different voting districts and cast their ballots. Every one must vote in the district of which he is a resident, and nowhere else. Traveling men must go home or miss their vote. Even Congressmen in Washington, who live elsewhere, must return to their native heath for the privilege of using the polls. Many of them travel hundreds of miles in this way just to vote, so glad are they at the opportunity.

In small places of less than five thousand inhabitants, personal registration for all is not necessary. Instead, the inspectors simply copy in the registers the names of those who voted in
the last election, and add the names of all qualified new voters who appear before them. No registration of any kind is required in electing town and village officials.

When registration is over, the voter as a rule waits anxiously for the chance to use his privilege. At any special election set by the governor, or at the general election in the fall, he goes to his voting-place between six in the morning and five in the afternoon to cast his ballot that will count in deciding just who shall hold some public office.

Each district has one polling-place which is located in a school, store, or public house, and which is in charge of four inspectors, two poll clerks, and two ballot clerks. These minor officials—numbering over seventeen thousand in New York City, where more than two thousand polling-places are used—are yearly appointees of the local Board of Elections in very large cities, and of mayors in smaller cities. In towns the inspectors are appointed by the town boards, and select their own poll and ballot clerks.

Bi-partisan, like their superiors, these deputies are responsible for the honest and proper conduct of the election over which they preside. The inspectors have general authority over the polling-places, have custody of the ballots and ballot boxes, and examine or challenge anybody whose
right to vote is doubted. The poll clerks keep a list of all voters in books called poll books, and assist the inspectors in various ways. The ballot clerks fold and deliver ballots to the voters as they appear before them.

As a last safeguard, each party sends two paid watchers to the polls, to supplement the regular officials, and to see that fairness prevails. They have official privileges, may challenge voters, and may also carefully scrutinize the counting of the vote.

All election expenses are borne by the city, town, or village in which an election is held. In New York City, the total expenditure of the board of elections in a recent election ran over a million dollars. The bulk of this vast sum went to pay the officials who served at the voting-places.

The polling-place must comply with certain strict rules as to its equipment and conduct. Each poll must have a guard rail, and behind that rail one or more enclosed booths, with sufficient ballot boxes for the different kinds of ballots—those designed for receiving votes on constitutional amendments, and those for receiving the votes for various candidates. No liquor can be sold anywhere within the building, and no electioneering attempted within one hundred feet of the premises.
Going behind the guard rail, the voter first gives his name and address to one of the inspectors. The latter calls out the name, and the register is examined to see if he has already registered. If he has, the poll clerk writes down his name and address in the poll book. To prevent illegal voting in places where there is personal registration, as in New York City, the voter himself signs the poll book, and the inspector compares the signature with the one made on registration day. If he is satisfied, the ballot clerk is instructed to give the voter a ballot, with a numbered stub or coupon attached. The poll clerk then enters the number of the stub against the name of the voter in his poll book.

The voter goes alone into one of the booths. He is allowed five minutes in which to mark his ballot. If he cannot understand it he is at liberty to call in one of the officials to help him. With a pencil which he finds in the booth, he marks his ballot. He may vote what is called a “straight ticket” if he wishes; that is, vote for every one of the various candidates on a certain party ballot, in which case he need only mark his X in the large square at the head of the ticket. If he does not like certain men on this ticket, he must vote what is termed a “split ticket.” This will take longer, as he will be compelled to mark the square at the left of each candidate he pre-
fers, on as many tickets as there are parties covered. In doing this he should be very careful not to vote for two different men for the same office, or his vote for both will be lost to him when the ballots are counted and the puzzled officials note the inconsistency.

After he comes out of the booth, the voter offers his folded ballot to the man in charge of the ballot box. This official again calls out the voter's name, which appears in view upon the folded paper, and also calls out the number of the stub attached thereto. This is then verified by the poll clerk, consulting his book, and if all is well, the inspector tears off the numbered stub, and drops this and the ballot into separate boxes.

Our voter has now cast his vote in the regular way, and passing quietly outside of the guard rail, leaves the polling-place with a feeling of just pride and satisfaction in the thought that he is an American citizen and has just exercised the greatest political privilege that can come to any man in a free country—the right of vote, the right of choosing his own law-makers.

As soon as the polls are closed; at five o'clock, a vast number of people await the verdict. Every voter has had an opportunity to cast his ballot before that hour, for if he is employed the law insists that his employer shall let him off long enough to go to the polls, and if he is ill or crip-
pled, automobiles will call for him and return him to his home.

But the verdict does not come at once. It takes time to count the ballots, much time where the vote is large. It may be three or four hours before the result can be determined; it may be that the officials will have to work over the jumble of candidates' names into the wee small hours of the morning.

Now that the clock has struck five, only officials and watchers remain behind the guard rail; but the doors of the polling-place must be left unlocked, and the room must be well lighted.

The State provides printed sheets to tally the vote, and issues detailed instructions to insure a correct count. When the count is finished at last, the result is announced publicly. A written statement is given to the police officer on duty at the polls, to be handed to his superior; the good ballots are returned to their boxes, and the latter sealed, and void and useless ballots are done up in packages. As a last measure, three sworn statements of the result are signed by the inspectors and poll clerks, to be filed with the proper authorities.

On the following Tuesday, with all the records before them, the county boards of supervisors—or the boards of aldermen in New York and Buffalo—make the second and official count of the
ballots for county officers. The local board of elections verifies the number of those cast for city officials, and the State board of canvassers—consisting of the secretary of State, the attorney general, comptroller, State engineer, and treasurer—count the ballots for State and National officers.

When the results are announced, and certificates of election issued to the successful candidates, the election wheel so carefully designed to carry out the will of the majority of the people has made its complete turn once more.
CHAPTER IX

THE GOVERNMENT OF TOWNSHIP AND COUNTY

When the English colonists came to America and settled down in their new home, they were familiar with forms of both national and local government as practiced in England. Their removal to America did not at first change their national government in any way, for the English government still remained theirs, or rather they remained subjects under it. But to meet their local needs, Great Britain was too far away, and it was necessary to establish some form of local government in their new home. In doing this it was natural that they should imitate the forms with which they had been familiar since childhood in England.

In the early times of English history the smallest political division was the town, which in those days consisted of a palisaded village with surrounding farm and pasture-land. It was governed by a meeting of the men of the town in what was called a town meeting. In the troublous course of early English history these towns lost their right of self-government.
Meanwhile another division of the land appeared for purposes of government. This was the parish, which was under the control of the parish priest. The parish generally was about the same size in area as the older town. The people of the parish met in what was termed a vestry meeting, their purpose being to assess the church rates for church expenses and the care of the poor.

As the powers of the town meeting declined, the vestry meeting gradually assumed them, until the latter became really the same thing as the older town meeting.

When the Puritans left England because of restrictions on their religious liberty, they went in congregations; and when they settled in Massachusetts, they grouped in little palisaded communities around the church. Under these conditions it was natural that the New England colonists should adopt the town form, or parish form, of government, with which they were in every way familiar.

Thus each little community, including the village and surrounding farms in the new country, was called a town, or township, and was governed by an assembly of all the freemen (landowners) who belonged to the church. Their meetings were called town meetings. In the beginning they met in the church, but later did so
in the town house, a public building erected for the purpose. The members of this meeting levied taxes for church purposes, to provide for the poor, and also to pay the expenses of government. Subsequently it provided funds by taxes for a school, and authorized the construction and repair of roads and bridges. The laws enacted by the town meeting were called by-laws, which means town laws, and which we still have with us, by name, in parliamentary law to this day.

In order to execute its by-laws it was necessary for the town meeting to elect officers. First of all, there were from three to nine selectmen, the number varying with the size of the township. These officials had general supervision over all community business. They represented the town when the town meeting was not in session, and called the town meeting when they saw fit.

The town clerk kept the records of the business of the town. There were tax assessors, who determined the amount of tax each citizen must pay. The town treasurer received the taxes of the people, and paid the expenses of the community. Overseers of the poor looked after the needs of the unfortunate. The constable served warrants issued by the selectmen, arrested criminals, and collected the taxes when it became necessary to use force to accomplish that purpose. Each town also had a school commit-
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tee who provided teachers and schoolhouses for the youth of the day.

At the time America was colonized, England's parishes were only a part of the local government in that country, there being also shires, or counties. The shire included a number of parishes, or townships. Over the county there was a government which at one time was composed of representatives from the townships and cities, but which afterward consisted of a number of justices of the peace appointed by the king. These justices constituted the court of quarter sessions, meeting every quarter of the year to hold court. They were both a judicial body, trying cases at law, and an administrative body, managing the affairs of the county.

Unlike the Puritans, the colonists of Virginia did not come to America for religious freedom. Nor did they leave Great Britain for political freedom, as did the early settlers of Massachusetts. On the contrary they came in search of wealth. Virginia is a rich farming country, and here the colonists had wonderful crops, and later did a thriving business in the growing of tobacco. They scattered themselves along the rivers, as planters, instead of living in compact communities like the New England colonists.

Therefore, when the Virginians organized themselves for local government, they adopted
the English plan of county government, in preference to the township plan. The whole colony was divided into counties, over each of which was placed a county court, consisting of eight justices of the peace. These justices were appointed by the governor of the colony, in the same manner as they were appointed by the king in England, but they could themselves fill vacancies in their number.

The county court was primarily a judicial body, trying cases at law, and meeting for the purpose about once a month at a designated place called the county seat. It also had administrative powers, as in England, appointed highway surveyors and constables, levied taxes for the maintenance of roads and bridges, and for other expenses of government.

In each county there was a sheriff, appointed by the colonial governor. His chief duties were to execute the judgments of the court, and to serve as treasurer and tax collector.

Another important officer was the county lieutenant. This person had charge of the militia, and in those lawless times there were frequent calls, especially from Indian sources, for him to mobilize his volunteers.

Thus we find two forms of local government in the colonies. Both were from England, and each was adapted to the peculiar conditions in
which the different communities of colonists found themselves. Throughout New England, the township system of government was in vogue, and still is, for the matter of that, in many small communities, although it has necessarily been abandoned for the representative system in the larger communities. Throughout the Southern colonies, the township method prevailed. Even to-day it is still the unit of political organization in this section.

New York and Pennsylvania, lying between influenced in their forms of local government to such an extent that their administration was strongly flavored with features of both neighbors. In New York the township predominated, but these were grouped into counties, and each township in a county elected each year a member of the county board of supervisors. In Pennsylvania, also, there were both townships and counties, but the counties predominated, and the county officers were elected by the people of the county instead of being appointed by the governor, as in Virginia.

At this day, throughout the West the mixed form of township-county government prevails; sometimes one and sometimes the other in the ascendancy. In the Northwest the influence of the township is especially strong wherever there
is a new England population. In Michigan, northern Illinois, and other parts of the Middle-west, the town meeting still manages the affairs of the township.

The power of the town meeting in developing a strong citizenship has been very great. Since all voters have a right to attend, and to take part in the discussion and settlement of public questions, this augurs for keen interest in local affairs and satisfaction in legislation. Moreover, it has been noticed that others besides voters often attend the meetings. In listening to the discussions, these outsiders become satiated with patriotic fervor very often. The town meeting thus becomes for the new arrival an excellent school of instruction in political science. Nowhere else is it possible to find such evidence of wholesouled, healthy, active citizenship as encountered in those localities where the town meeting is in style.

The county system of representative government is more practicable throughout the West than the township with government by town meeting. The country is almost wholly agricultural, and the population is widely scattered. The main governing body of the county is the board of county commissioners, or supervisors. They administer the affairs of the county; they fix the rate of taxation; they appropriate money
for the building and repairing of public buildings, such as the courthouses and jails, for constructing and repairing roads and bridges; they also appoint subordinate officials.

Every county has its court, which is held at the county seat. The commands of the court are carried out by the sheriff, who also maintains order in the county of his own volition, and who usually has charge of the county jail and its inmates. There are various other officers, among them the county treasurer, the tax assessors and collectors, the superintendent of schools, the clerk, the coroner, and the surveyor.

In those States where the township has the chief importance in local government, the county exists for little more than judicial purposes. In other States the county government has many of the powers which the township government exercises elsewhere. There seems to be a growing tendency to centralize the administration of many local affairs in the county government, or at least to give the county government supervision over the affairs of the townships. This is seen in the administration of the schools, and of roads. This supervision secures greater uniformity and efficiency than would be the case if each township had exclusive control over these matters.

The government of rural communities seems a comparatively simple matter. The pressing
problems of city and National government have thrown it into the background. But it has an importance that demands the interest and attention of every citizen. In the first place, the township and county have always been the units of self-government. No matter how isolated a farmer and his family may be, these governments provide him with a direct means of coöperating with others for the satisfaction of his immediate wants, and the protection of his rights. In addition, upon the excellence of these local means of self-government depends in large measure the success or failure of the general governments of State and Nation.

In the second place, these forms of local government have acquired new importance because of the very fact of the growth of cities and the increasing complexity of community life. While it is true that they were originally adapted to the needs of rural communities and small towns, their power for political welfare to-day is fully as good, if not better, than when they were first instituted on American soil. Though the township government by town meeting has had to give way before increasing population centers, county government has remained almost unchanged and unmoved.

The county is an administrative division of the State. By this is meant that an important part
of the work of county government is to administer the laws of the State within the county’s own borders. On the other hand, there are many matters of purely local concern that come under the jurisdiction of the county government. Where there are such differences among the counties as exist in most of the States, many believe that better results would be obtained in matters of purely local interest if a larger degree of home rule were allowed. California has taken the lead in this matter by enacting a State law which allows each county the right to adopt its own charter, or form of local government, a right which the cities of that State have enjoyed for some time past.

In these and other ways county government is being modified here and there in our fair land, but especially in the West. Changing conditions of community life must be met, and met in a manner to benefit conditions and the people.
CHAPTER X

CITY GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL

From the town grows the city. The growth of cities in the United States has been very rapid. In 1790, when the first census was taken, there were in the United States only six cities with a population exceeding eight thousand. The largest, Philadelphia, had but twenty-eight thousand. In 1920 there were nearly a thousand cities of more than eight thousand population; New York, the largest American city, had over five million, having attained the honor of being the largest city in the whole world. In 1790 only slightly more than three per cent of the population lived in cities; at the present time our cities contain approximately fifty per cent of the entire population of the country.

Cities have brought with them serious problems of community life and of government. New and costly enterprises are required for cities for the health, comfort, and safety of their inhabitants—enterprises needed by the comparatively simple exigencies of the towns from which they
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sprang. Where so many people are crowded together, there are many conflicting interests which cannot be settled by the ordinary town meeting form of government, as described in the foregoing chapter. Public business becomes complicated and extensive. Frequent meetings are necessary to provide for these enlarged needs, of course.

Cities, like counties and townships, receive their right of self-government from the State in which they are situated. This right is called a charter. The latter is granted to the city by the State legislature, and in the charter is named the form of government and the powers the city may exercise. The city even does not always have the privilege of ratifying the charter,—that is, voting for its acceptance or declination—but must take what is given them. Because the charters are often long and detailed, and since the legislature usually holds the right to change them at will, the amount of self-government left to the city is frequently very limited.

This control over the details of the affairs of the cities by the State legislatures is one of the chief obstacles to good city government. And the reason is simple. Most of the State legislators are from small towns and the rural districts. No matter how well-intentioned they may be, their experience is necessarily not such as to make
them intimately acquainted with city business, hence they are likely to introduce bills detrimental to the best interests of the larger communities, and vote against those which should be put through for city welfare. In addition to this, it is much easier for scheming corporations to exercise an ill influence over a few legislators than over the numerous citizens of a city, and there have been in the past sufficient of these corrupters, wielding the great power that their vast wealth brings, to keep, in most instances, the city under the thumb of the State legislature in this way.

However, it is pleasant to know that the interference by State legislatures has been checked somewhat by the provision in some States for a general form of charter for all cities of about an equal size. Under this status, a legislature cannot modify the charter of any one of these cities without changing likewise the charters of all other cities in its class, and this would arouse such opposition that it is unlikely the legislature would ever have the temerity to attempt a modification.

In a number of States—California, for one,—cities are allowed by the State to draft their own form of government, which, after being ratified by the voters of the city, is submitted to the legislature for approval. At the present time this
excellent principle of home rule for cities is spreading with encouraging vehemence.

A good many changes have been made in the form of government for cities in the United States during the past hundred years. As has been intimated, there are to-day varied ramifications of political directorship in different cities throughout the length and breadth of the country. As in the case of State and National governments, however, all city governments exercise legislative, executive, and judicial powers, but the separation of these powers has not been clearly outlined.

In the form of city government that has been most common in recent years, the legislative power has been vested in a city council. Its members are elected by the people, the city being divided into sections called wards, from each of which one or more representatives are chosen. In some cases the council consists of two chambers, an upper chamber, or board of aldermen, and a lower chamber, or common council. Invariably the upper chamber is the smaller. The councilmen are elected for a short term, usually two years, and are paid a salary by the city.

In order to transact business the council is organized into committees, such as the committee on streets, on public buildings, on finance, on parks, on water, on playgrounds, etc. Ordinarily
the mayor, who is chief executive, presides over the meetings of the council, and sometimes, but not always, he has the power to veto its acts.

There was a time when practically all of the powers of the government of the city was held by the council. It could carry out laws as well as make them. The business of the police, the fire department, the streets, etc., was managed by its committees, or by officers appointed by the council. There was a mayor, elected by the people, but he had very limited powers, being scarcely more than a presiding officer for the council itself, although he was often a magistrate with judicial authority.

It is not surprising that this sort of government proved unsatisfactory. There were several objections to it. One was the difficulty of fixing responsibility. Another was a lack of unity of government, since the various committees were not always harmonious, rather the contrary. Furthermore, the elective council members were frequently incompetent to direct the business of the various city departments.

These deficiencies resulted in an important change by which the powers of the council were greatly reduced, while those of the mayor were correspondingly increased. The council had never had wide legislative powers, as they extended only to matters of local concern not regu-
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lated by State law. Its most important legislative power is that of controlling taxation and expenditures for city purposes. Even this power was curtailed in some cities by a special board of estimates. The latter branch had large powers over the city’s finances. New York City, as an example, is thus governed.

Another important function of the council is granting franchises, or rights to corporations which propose supplying the citizens with street car service, electric lighting, heat, water, etc. Such franchises run for a definite number of years, when they must either be terminated or renewed by an extension.

The work of administering the business of a large city is so complex that it has to be subdivided. Hence there are various administrative departments under the supervision of chiefs of boards. Perhaps the most important of these is the department that manages the money affairs of the city. There is also a treasurer, who has care of the city’s funds, and who makes payments when authorized by the proper authorities, and receives money for taxes and licenses. If a circus comes to the city for an exhibit it must pay a license to the treasurer for the privilege. Even the humble huckster, who wakes us up of an early summer morning by his discordant call of “Strawber-rees! strawber-rees!” has to pay a
yearly fee for the privilege of selling his wares.

In some cities there is also a controller, who is the real director of the finance department. There will likewise be found the city health department, the fire department, the police department, the water works department, the public works department, the department of education, and many others. In each department there is of course a head, under whom there are numbers of assistants and employees.

City government has suffered greatly from the spoils system, which is a lamentable condition of a victorious political party discharging the conscientious and competent office-holders of the losing party and putting in their place new men of little or no experience who are sometimes dishonest and pure grafters. Doubtless this condition would not exist, else exist in a milder form, were it not for the fact that our National political scheme is fostered upon a like spirit. It is the essence of selfishness and poor judgment, and wasteful of efficiency and government economy. Speed the day when party politics will be a thing of the past, when every candidate will stand alone on his own merits, and when voters will vote alone from their own intelligence!

One way of removing cities from partisan control is by holding city elections at a different time from State and National elections. This will do
away with much of the present confusion between local and National questions, segregating them, as it were. But even more important than this is the wider introduction of the merit system in the appointment of city officials and employees, under what is known as the civil service. This cannot fail to improve vastly the quality of government in cities, as it already has done in the National government, for it compels all appointees to office to pass an intellectual, physical, moral, and experience test, before qualifying to serve the people.

Two forms of government very different from that already described have recently been introduced in many cities. One of these is the Commission form. By this plan the government is placed wholly in the hands of a commission of from three to nine men (most often five) who are elected by the people at large. One member of the Commission is designated as the mayor, but he has no powers different from those of the other members. He simply presides over the meetings of the Commission, and on public acts as official head of the city. The Commission as a whole serves as a legislative body. It decides on the policy to be pursued by the city government. Each member of the Commission is placed at the head of one of the main departments of the government. Thus there is a commissioner
of public works, a commissioner of safety, a commissioner of finance, etc., etc.

Galveston, Texas, was the first city to adopt this form of local control. It happened directly after the city had been devastated by storm and flood, at a time when the crisis demanded a simple but energetic and efficient business management. Since then, it has spread rapidly and widely, until at this writing it has been copied, with slight variations, by hundreds of the leading cities of the country.

Some of the advantages of the Commission plan are said to be:

1. That it prevents the concentration of too much power in the hands of one man (the mayor).

2. That it supplants the large council with the small commission, which makes it easier for the people to hold their legislative body responsible for its acts.

3. That it fixes the responsibility for the management of each department of government upon one man.

4. That it facilitates the transaction of the city's business.

Under the old plan of government there are often many delays in getting business through the council, which usually meets once a week, and which receives its messages through numer-
ous committees and administrative offices. Under the Commission plan each commissioner is on duty all the time, and not only that, but the several commissioners may hold a joint meeting at any time the occasion demands.

Under the Commission form of government the principle of the short ballot is applied; that is, only the more important officers (the commissioners) are elected by the people, the minor officials being appointed by the few elected. This plan of administration is also usually accompanied by the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, which are nominal means for holding the members of the Commission and their subordinates directly responsible to the people.

The chief objections to the Commission plan may be said to cover two. First, it is said by many to be unwise to combine legislative and administrative powers in one body. Second, it is urged that the Commission plan tends to break up the city government into three, five, or more parts, without sufficient provision for unity.

But these objections are said to be overcome in large measure by the most recent form of city government, which, like its predecessor, is spreading fast. In fact it is not only gaining converts among the populaces which have have never tried the Commission form, but numerous cites which have had experience with the Commission type,
and liked it, have now adopted the new scheme with gratifying results. This newcomer into the political fold of cities is called the City Manager plan.

The City Manager plan is like the Commission plan insofar as there is a small body of commissioners. Yet it differs in that the commissioners of the City Manager plan appoint a "city manager" to whom is given full authority to administer, or manage, the city's business in all its departments, and to appoint his own subordinates. Thus the commission becomes wholly a legislative body, determines what the policy of the government shall be, and, after appointing the manager, holds him responsible for the proper conduct of the city's affairs, and has power to remove him at any time.

On the other hand, the people hold the commission responsible for the manager's acts, and usually have the power of recall over its members.

The relation between the commission and the manager is like that between a board of directors in a business organization and the manager or superintendent whom they choose to conduct their affairs; or like that between a board of education and the superintendent of schools. The truth is, the commission becomes a board of directors for the city, and the city manager is their
expert superintendent who sees that everything moves along smoothly.

You can readily see that the position of city manager would require large ability and thorough training. Therefore, in most cases, the council is given authority to seek its manager wherever he may be found, regardless of his local citizenship, just as any employer would do in regular business, and the salary is usually made large enough to attract competent men. As an example: When the city of Sumter, S. C.,—which was the first city to adopt the City Manager plan,—decided that it wanted a city manager, it advertised in the newspapers throughout the land. Almost two hundred answers came in, mostly from trained civil engineers (which profession seems to furnish the best material for the purpose), and from this list the commission made its selection after much deliberation.

Since this, the City Manager form of government has spread from Sumter to scores of cities, many of which are in the belt involving Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, and it is constantly gaining in favor. The chief advantages claimed for it are that it applies to city government the principles of good competitive business management; that it simplifies and unifies the city’s problems of administration; that only experts in their line of work are engaged as directors; that
it places responsibility in the hands of a single official instead of a handful; that it avoids the confusion between legislative and executive powers common to the Commission form; and that it gives the people full control over their own local government.

For the exercise of their judicial powers all cities have courts. There are police courts, before which are brought persons arrested by the police for minor offenses; there are higher criminal courts—such as the circuit court—for the trial of more serious cases; there are civil courts for the settlement of disputes over property rights—such as the probate court. In many cities there are also special courts of various kinds, among which are juvenile courts, where boys and girls have their hearings on different charges. The judges of all these courts are sometimes appointed by the mayor or city manager, and sometimes they are elected by the people themselves.

More depends upon the efficiency of the courts than the hasty thinker would ever realize. It stands for granted, of course, that absolute fairness and impartiality should be shown by every court in its considerations of disputes and crime. A wise judge wields a great influence in the way of turning many a budding criminal—and sometimes a hardened one—from a crooked path into
a straight one. On the other hand, a judge of poor discernment and little tact, will often embitter those who appear before him, and instead of using his office to better the condition of humanity, he is contributing to the delinquency of the misguided, and putting obstacles thereby in the path of all good citizenship and good government.

In the same way the police courts have much to do with the efficiency of the police department. Hardly could we expect the police to be conscientious and diligent in bringing in offenders and upholding the law by their acts if they have doubts about the courts standing valiantly back of them with merited punishments. For this reason every citizen should make it his duty to keep posted as to the character and service of the judges in his home city, and earnestly remonstrate at the polls when he finds a judge again a candidate for office, whose past record is shady.
CHAPTER XI

THE REAL MEANING OF SCHOOLS

There is an Englishman named William Farr who has figured out what boys in countries like England and the United States are worth in money. This gentleman may be a little wrong in his calculations, but if so almost any educator will tell you that he has erred on the under side rather than the upper; in other words, that Mr. Farr has not placed the value of the average bundle of boy make-up as high as he should.

Well, anyhow, this statistician says that some boys are worth only two hundred dollars, some five hundred, some one thousand, and some several thousands. As the boys get older their value increases. He is quite sure that the average ten-year-old lad is worth about two thousand dollars!

At first it may not be easy for you to see just how any boy, who perhaps has less than forty dollars' worth of clothes, and not more than fifteen dollars' worth of toys and other playthings, can be such a valuable person. Even if he should quit school and go to work he could earn only a few
dollars a week. So it is not what he owns, nor what he earns, that makes him worth so much. When, then, is it? And to whom is he thus valuable?

Boys and girls are like uncultivated fields: they are only an expense until they have been prepared to produce something that the world needs. While there is rarely a parent who does not consider his children the most valuable belonging about the premises, nevertheless to him they are far less valuable than they are to the country which some day hopes to see them grown up and holding the reins of government in their own hands, or at least contributing greatly to the general welfare of the community in which they live. And of course these boys and girls, who are the nation’s greatest future wealth, must be trained—cultivated—till they are bursting with knowledge and energy to be used in attacking gigantic new world problems, and conquering them, which no man to-day perhaps can foresee.

Because the United States does not want to go to pieces twenty or thirty years from now, because it must have the smartest and most skilful of engineers to construct its future great bridges, buildings, dams, railways, tunnels, et cetera; because it must have talented draftsmen to work out its complicated drawings, because it
must have broad-minded, courageous editors, ministers and teachers to expound the best doctrines; because mathematicians, chemists, cooks, dressmakers, physicians, and many other trained workers will be needed to carry on and enlarge the work of the old veterans who are laying down their tools every day,—because of all this the nation spends millions of dollars every year on schools. In fact, in time of peace, education is by far the country’s heaviest expense. But she pays it gladly, knowing that the more she spends the greater she will be.

In 1607 the first permanent English colony was founded in Virginia. Sixty-four years later, Governor Berkeley reported to the king on the condition of the colony, and, among other things, he said, “I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years.”

A statement like this from one in authority seems strange to us now, when one of our chief causes of pride is our fine system of free schools and our multitude of clanking printing presses. But it is only an example of the belief of despotic rulers, from time immemorable, that much knowledge on the part of their subjects is dangerous. It is true that a despotic government cannot exist in a nation where the mass of the people are educated. In order for tyrannic rulers to thrive
the people must be in the main uneducated and ignorant—a condition in which they cannot think for themselves, and will believe almost anything that is told them by those in control. "Dumb brutes are most easily driven," is a trite saying we have nearly all heard sometime or other. In our present case what Governor Berkeley wanted to see was a colony of loyal subjects of the king, contented because ignorant of their rights and powers, and without ambition to extend their liberties by revolting against the government of the king and his officers.

Very fortunately for the growth of our self-governing people, Governor Berkeley's ideas were not to prevail. The people of Virginia were eager enough for schools, though geographical conditions hindered their development.

Within a few years after the founding of Virginia, another group of colonists founded Massachusetts. Here a law was passed providing that in every town of fifty householders an elementary school was to be established, and in every town of one hundred householders there was to be a grammar school. It was largely owing to the development of its system of free schools, free discussion, and a free press, that, one hundred years after Berkeley's time, New England became the center of rebellion against English oppression.
If education were left with the parents of a child, it would be very unequally and poorly provided. A large proportion of the citizens of America are foreigners. They and their children would make little headway in acquiring the knowledge that makes them intelligent citizens, if their education were left for their families to accomplish. In this way, too, the children of wealthy families might be highly educated by means of books and travel, and by the employment of private teachers at home, while the children of wage-earners would have to get along with a very meagre education.

It is not a high degree of education on the part of a few that makes a republic like ours prosper. Rather it is a fairly generous amount of knowledge coming to each and every one of all ranks and education that shall be within the reach of all. And that every boy and girl shall not miss this wonderful opportunity to gain wisdom and experience, the community must also insist that every child up to a certain age shall attend school, whether willing or not.

Training for citizenship is accomplished by the school in two ways:

1. Through a course of instruction that will bring the pupil to see and experience his various relations to life, and which will also develop his
powers of clear thinking and right action. We usually think of civics and history as two subjects intended to train largely for citizenship, but every subject in the course of study, if properly presented by the teacher, will contribute materially to that end. Mathematics, language, literature, science, manual arts, music, and many other branches, are all intended to broaden the view of the individual, to develop an all-round manhood and womanhood, to cultivate the different desires and powers in such a way as to fit the pupil for future active life in the community.

2. The second way in which the school should train for citizenship lies in the life of the school itself. The school is a little community—a part of the larger community about it. It is a mistake to think that the institution is merely a place to prepare for life. It is life itself. The haughty and supercilious child is brought shoulder to shoulder with the humble and frank child, the poorest rub against the richest, the careless and indifferent are pitted against the over-careful and fastidious, the braggart is jeered into abashed silence by the condemnation of the majority, the sneak is quickly discovered and uncovered by the same pitiless majority. Thus are rough edges worn down early, worn down round
and smooth, worn down by the daily contact with the grinding stones of democracy, from the great mill of which every lusty young American must come out with much of the false of him removed, and the golden truth of him greatly expanded.

People learn to do things by practice. All the principles of community life, found in the world outside of the school, are found also within the school. Here, without, are grouped together a number of people with different desires and different motives, but all possessing certain common interests. Among these outsiders are probably represented several different nationalities, going through the process of being molded into Americans by common observation, common experience, and common association with one another. Among the school children are children from all classes in the community, all on exactly the same footing through the democratic laws of the school, and with absolutely equal opportunities for showing their worth and winning advancement by their own efforts.

In the school is found the necessity for industry and productive work; for a division of tasks and a united action, under the direction of teachers, for the common good. Here is seen the necessity for discipline, organization, and government, in order that the greatest good for the
greatest number may result. Here more or less responsibility rests upon each member for the welfare of all. Failure or wrongdoing on the part of one not only brings misfortune to himself, but he soon sees that it disturbs the harmony and well-being of all.

That pupils may be given actual practice in community government, many schools are organized somewhat on the plan of a city or State, with similar officers, such as a mayor, councilmen, and judges. This “school city” plan of pupil self-government is widely known, and has been productive of much benefit to the boys and girls while at the same time maintaining excellent order in classes, halls, and on the playground itself. But however valuable it may be, as a means of instruction, the really important object of all education should be to form habits in the pupil which will invest him with the best principles of good citizenship while he is mastering his regular cultural and practical studies, under the natural conditions of school life.

Education is not only a privilege; it is a duty, because every citizen owes it to his community to equip himself to render the best account of himself for the service of others that is in any way possible. In most of the States there are laws which require every child to attend school until a certain age (usually fourteen, fifteen, or
sixteen), and parents are held responsible for
the attendance of their children. A great many
pupils, however, drop out at the end of each
grade, especially upon graduating from the ele-
mental schools, for one reason or another. The
United States Bureau of Education estimates
that only about one-fourth of the children who
enter the first grade ever reach the high school,
and of these less than forty per cent graduate.

Investigation has disclosed that the majority
of these who quit before entering the high school,
do not stop, so much from the necessity of going
to work to help out the finances of the family, as
from the fact that parents do not realize the im-
portance of continuing their children, and be-
come indifferent after the average child has
learned to read and write fairly well.

These facts have led educators and others to
study seriously whether the schools are doing all
they can for the pupils, whether there are not
some ways by means of which the children may
be made more interested in their school life, and
their fathers and mothers led to appreciate the
full merits of a thorough education for their
youngsters. Thus, of late years, many changes
have been made in educational administration as
well as the subject matter taught, and already
the increasing proportion of attendance shows
that it is a step in the right direction.
Now in most large cities, and many smaller ones, pupils who have particular difficulties are given special attention. In some cases there are special classes under special teachers—even special schools—where backward, retarded, and sub-normal pupils are cared for. Then, too, some cities have taken another step in advance in the way of providing a special open-air building, or annex of the regular building, where anemic and tubercular children are provided with plenty of fresh air the whole year round, as well as supplied with plenty of fresh milk at regular periods. Manual and vocational training for boys, and domestic science for girls, has been one of the greatest assets added to education during the past twenty-five years. All regular pupils in the elementary schools of towns of any size get manual training and domestic science nowadays, while many schools exclusively given up to preparing boys and girls for vocations of the better kind are to be found in large cities all over the country. When students graduate from the vocational schools they are sufficiently skilled of hand and versed of brain to take their places in the busy marts of trade and industry at good wages.

The duty of education falls on the State, and not on the National Government. The State, in turn, has left the matter largely in the hands of
local communities. As a result we find a good deal of variety in the organization and management of schools. As a rule, in rural communities, the township or county is divided into school districts. If the district is small, it has only one school. Sometimes the township, or even the county, constitutes a single district, and then there are likely to be several schools under one management. In some cases the school business is transacted directly by the voters of the district, who assemble at stated times for the purpose. Usually it is placed in the hands of one or more committeemen, or trustees, who are elected by the people. As a rule all the schools of a county are united under the management of a board, which sometimes consists of several township trustees. The board of trustees looks after the school buildings, employs teachers, and often selects the text-books to be used. In order to maintain uniformity and excellence in all the schools of the county there is usually a county superintendent, appointed by the board or elected by the people, whose business is to supervise the actual work of the people.

Unfortunately, owing to lack of money, which means incompetent teachers, poor equipment, and cramped quarters, rural schools are often in a state of ragged organization. For one thing the terms are far too short. For another, pupils
of all ages, and all stages of advancement, are grouped together in one room, often in the same classes, and taught by the same teacher, who, of course, has far too little time in which to properly prepare her courses, and whose nerves are likely to be too highly strung under her burdens to preserve that peace and power in the schoolroom which are so necessary to efficient organization and administration. In some localities this latter defect has been partly overcome by consolidating the schools of the township in one centrally located building, where the pupils can be graded, and where several teachers can be employed under the supervision of a principal. During the final years of the World War, and the first year of reconstruction, when teachers were scarce, many rural schools were kept going in this way, where otherwise they must have had to close.

In cities the organization of schools can be more perfectly effected. The large number of children makes it possible to grade them from the primary classes to the high school. The compactness of the population also makes it easier to supervise the work of all the system. Better buildings, better equipment, and better teachers, can be afforded. The schools are under the management of a board, the members of which are sometimes elected by the people, and some-
times appointed. A superintendent, usually elected by the board, is in direct charge of the school work.

City school boards are usually given wide powers, and act more or less independently of the other branches of the local government, in order to secure freedom from political influence, which is highly preferable. While the schools of the smaller towns and rural districts are usually controlled in their general methods by a central State authority, city schools, on the other hand, exist under conditions so different that the State allows them unusual liberty in organizing and managing their work.

The State authority in education is vested in a State board of education, and often a State superintendent. The latter is chosen quite often by election, although he is sometimes appointed by the governor. In some States the text-books used by schools are prescribed by the State board; in others, the local board is allowed to choose its own. There are States which furnish books free to pupils at State expense, but not all States do this.

That young men and young women, after completing high school, may continue their education without financial embarrassment, a number of States provide State universities. These institu-
tions furnish not only a broad collegiate education that will fit any one for life in the social realm of his community, but they also offer excellent finished theoretical training in many professions, among them law, medicine, engineering, architecture, music, electricity, chemistry, and mechanical arts. Attendance at State universities is usually free to citizens of the State; but so excellent are they that they often attract the youth from other States, where the privilege of State universities has not extended. Outsiders have to pay a tuition.

While education is thus chiefly in the hands of the State, the National Government is not wholly inactive in the matter. It has not only given a start to the educational work of the States by donating tracts of land, but it has established a Bureau of Education, at the head of which is a gentleman styled the United States Commissioner of Education. This Commissioner's duties are chiefly to collect information on educational matters, to publish this information in reports and bulletins, and to exercise an influence on National movements throughout the country.

The National Government maintains military and naval schools, schools for the Indians, and schools for the city of Washington. Statistics
show that the average cost of education throughout the country is about twenty-six dollars per pupil.

While the instances cited cover practically all of the educational arms spread out by our Government to take in and protect our precious youth, it must not be supposed that this is all the community does for its citizens in this way. In addition to the public schools, there are thousands of private schools scattered over the country, especially in cities; and in the summer vacation time many others open up their doors in pretty rural locations, where, breathing the fresh air of the countryside, and engaging in joyous nature studies at first hand, lessons that seemed hard and dry in the city are unconsciously assimilated by Jack and Mary while they romp and play in wholesome surroundings at Dad’s expense.

Then there are many parochial schools; that is, schools managed by certain churches, such as the Roman Catholic, the Dutch Reformed, etc. There are also many colleges which are self-supporting, or derive their support from private funds. There are schools for the deaf and dumb, and for the blind. The latter are usually supported by the State.

And although this is a chapter on schools, we should not fail to speak of the thousands of libra-
ries all over the land—should not fail to include them, for they are a valuable ally of the public school system of the United States, and are often managed by the school boards of the various cities in which they are located. In the larger cities these libraries have branches which are located within certain schools themselves, making an ideal arrangement for teachers as well as pupils who wish to consult reference books at any time, or go as a class into the library for special study.

Many of the States have State libraries. These are generally located within the State capitol building. At Washington, D. C., is the great Congressional Library, the Nation's own mammoth and beautiful library—the finest in all the country.

We have already told how, in colonial days in New England, the town meeting was one of the greatest educational forces. Now the town meeting has almost disappeared. But in its place many other means for the discussion of public questions have arisen. Among these none is assuming greater importance than that of the school house itself. People are just beginning to realize that their school buildings, which have generally stood idle except during the school sessions, might have a wider use and afford an excellent place for neighborhood meetings. In
many localities, therefore, in both city and rural communities, the school houses have become civic or social centers of great influence in the education of the people through neighborhood discussion of public questions. Entertainment in the way of socials, lectures, motion pictures, and other things, has also been offered free of all cost or at a nominal price. Parents, who otherwise never would do so, have thus met the teachers of their children, seen the rooms they worked in, and much that has been helpful to all three parties has come out of the experience.

The social center has quite naturally bred the evening school. So today you will find, during the winter, that the schools of nearly all cities of fifty thousand population or more, are humming with activity in the evening as well as the day, teachers are teaching, and students are learning. But in the case of the evening schools, you will not find the same pupils. These at night are older, as a rule. They are the city's workers—boys and girls who have had to leave day school and go to work before they were through with their educations—men and women, from the store, office, and factory, who are after special training in those branches which will help them to earn more at their callings—and last, but not least, the foreign-born, the newcomer to Amer-
ica, who is doing his level best to master the language and the ways of his new neighbors, and become, like them, that glorious being, an American citizen!
CHAPTER XII

THE STATE LEGISLATURE

In the old days families joined into clans, and clans formed tribes, and finally tribes of kindred people were united for common defense into kingdoms and nations. Somewhat after this old model of organization, we now have townships forming counties, as we have shown, and counties making up into States.

Each State, in some respects, is like a separate nation. It can make laws for its own people just as though it were independent, and these laws may differ radically from those in other States provided they do not violate the Federal Constitution. But no State would think of doing that. If it did, it would soon be called to account by Uncle Sam. Thus a State can create new towns and counties; lay down the rules for local government, demanding that all towns and cities get all their authority from it. It makes laws for the schools, and has its superintendent of education to direct the local superintendents. It also provides itself with a military force called the militia, and an organization of mounted po-
lice called the constabulary, both bodies of which are usually well-trained and subject to call at any time for quelling disorders and arresting violators of State laws. In the past year the constabularies of many States have been exceedingly active in running down bootleggers, or whiskey smugglers. The State also provides itself with courts for trying those arrested for breaking its laws.

Every State has to keep strongly in mind all of the time two things—the welfare of all its citizens, and the protection of each one individually. It has the same right over its land—and its land is everybody's land within its domain—as once belonged to a tribe or a king. It can take the land of any person, or his property, if it thinks by so doing it will be benefitting the majority. For instance, this has been done for various public purposes, such as the building of an important railroad, or removing a structure threatening the general health of a certain community. Generally the State pays for what it takes, endeavoring to bring no hardship upon any man, woman, or child, in carrying out its plans for the ultimate good of all.

You may have wondered sometimes why we have States at all—especially if you have had to stand at a blackboard and draw in their many boundaries in placing them on a map of the
United States. One reason is that of convenience. Not only would it be placing too great a burden upon the Federal Government to ask it to look after all the little details of our town, township, and city needs, but it would also put the administration of each local government to great trouble to have to take a train clear to Washington, or send a telegram, each time permission was wanted to do something, or advice required. It is very vexatious both for Ireland and the British Empire, for example, that the Parliament at Westminster legislates for Ireland’s local affairs.

But the chief reason why we have States is that our forefathers settled this country in separate colonies, and with different customs. When they asserted their independence, the thirteen separate colonies each had a government of its own, consisting of a governor appointed by the king, and an assembly or legislature chosen by the people of the colony. The people were not quite free to do as they pleased, for the royal governor might veto or forbid what the legislature voted.

The government of each colony was founded upon a charter made for it in England, which required the colonists to obey the laws and government of Great Britain. Thus the British Parliament could make laws, and did, which seri-
ously injured the interests of the colonies, while the latter had no delegates or representatives in Parliament to defend their rights. Therefore the colonies took matters into their own hands, and became independent States. Henceforth each chose its own governor, who represented the will of the people who elected him. And instead of having to go by the royal charter, with all its bitter laws, each State made its own constitution. There was, indeed, a period before 1789 when any State—as Massachusetts or South Carolina—had the right to establish a custom-house, to exclude goods from other States and thus hinder trade. This was a lamentable condition, truly, but fortunately for the good of all it was not one to prevail any great length of time.

After the Federal Union was established and the country began to fill up rapidly with people, new States were settled in what had previously been a sheer wilderness. Florida was bought of Spain. The vast region, known as the Louisiana Purchase, and comprising the Mississippi Valley and the Great Northwest, was bought of Napoleon, who then ruled France and her possessions. Later Texas, and a vast portion of what had belonged to Mexico, including California, were added to the National domain. From time to time other new lands were settled and made
into Territories, with a temporary government, somewhat like the old colonies; and again, when these grew populous, they were admitted to Statehood.

Needless to say, it would be quite impossible for all the people of a State to come together, as in a town meeting, to consult or to make laws. For this reason they choose their representatives at regular intervals, according to the particular laws regulating this choice in each State. Some States, for instance, select their representatives yearly, some every two years, and others every four years. Be that as it may, the duty of the representatives is to meet in the State capitol and discuss the business of the State. These men constitute the State legislature. Since the members of the body have to give up considerable time, and to incur some expense, in the exercise of their powers, the State allows them a reasonable compensation, demanding in return faithful and disinterested service. This feature of salary makes it possible for poor men as well as the rich to serve the State actively.

Whatever the legislature decides to do, the people must acquiesce in. If they do not like the action of their representatives, they have no other recourse than to wait till another election, and then choose different men who may act more wisely.
Sometimes the legislature does not wish to take the responsibility for some certain action. In this event they may refer it to the people, who shall vote Yes or No. Thus laws to forbid the sale of intoxicating liquors were sometimes referred to the people, either of the whole State, or to the people of each city or town. The latter condition was called local option, and by it the citizens of a certain locality could determine by their own vote whether or not they wished liquor to be offered for sale.

The constitution of some States provides means, in case an act of the legislature does not please the people, to permit them to vote directly upon the subject. This political device is proving more and more popular as time goes on, and is known as the Initiative and Referendum. It is a powerful instrument of the people for keeping their representatives in line with their best interests; if the legislators vote against the public sentiment, they know that they are not only displeasing their constituents but also jeopardizing their own future political service.

The nature of the power which the people may exert through the Initiative and Referendum may best be learned from a clause in the constitution of one of the States in which this feature is in full force; to wit: "The legislative authority of this State shall be vested in a legislature consist-
ing of a senate and a house of representatives, but the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to adopt or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislature, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature. . . . The first power reserved to the people is the Initiative, and 8 per cent. of the legal voters shall have the right to propose any measure, and 15 per cent. of the legal voters shall have the right to propose amendments to constitution, by petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure proposed.

"The second power is the Referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety) either by petition signed by 5 per cent. of the legal voters, or by the legislature as other bills are enacted. . . . The veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures voted upon by the people. . . . Any measure referred to the people by the Initiative (or the Referendum) shall take effect and be in force when it shall have been approved by a majority of votes cast in such election. . . . The Referendum may be demanded by the people against one or more items, sections, or parts of any act of the legislature, in the same manner in which
power may be exercised against a complete act."

By this it will be seen that the Initiative is a constructive force: it enables the voters to secure what they want regardless of whatever ill choice they have made in the selection of their representatives. The Referendum is a negative or preventive force: it enables voters to veto laws which they do not want.

The general use of the Initiative and Referendum throughout the country would introduce a new force into American politics, and would profoundly change the character of American government. In Switzerland, where the people have had centuries of training in public affairs, direct legislation has been a marked success. There seems little doubt but that it would be equally as great a factor for good here in America. More than fifteen States now have it, with others coming into the fold every year. Invariably these States are noted for their high average of popular intelligence and strong democratic spirit; the foreign-predominating States will probably be among the last to fall in line.

Closely associated with the Initiative and Referendum is the political device known as the Recall. The aim of this institution is to give the people complete control over the officers whom they have elected. Wherever the Recall is in use, the voters, upon complaint or petition of a cer-
tain number of citizens, vote upon the question as to whether a certain officer shall be deprived of (recalled from) his office before his term expires; and if the vote is in favor of the officer's removal, he must give up his seat before the end of his term.

When an officer is removed by the operation of the Recall, the vacancy is filled by holding a special election, at which the officer removed may be a candidate if he so desires. The Recall is in operation in many of the cities governed by the Commission form, and in some cities not thus governed. In several instances mayors of large cities have been removed through procedure of the Recall. In Oregon, Washington, Colorado, Kansas, Arizona, and California, every State official is subject to recall. The Recall is, in fact, a mild sort of impeachment. In case of impeachment the accused officer is tried by the legislature, whereas under the procedure of the Recall the accused is tried by the whole body of voters. If anything, the deposed man is likely to feel more dishonored under the Recall act than under that of impeachment, for the one carries the overwhelming verdict of all his fellowmen, while the other conveys only that of a few.
CHAPTER XIII

THE STATE EXECUTIVE

There is considerable difference between the administration of a State and that of the Nation. Great power is given the President in the administration of the Federal Government. He is allowed to appoint the heads of the departments, and also all subordinate officers, although some of the latter are appointed by him indirectly. His responsibility is great, in proportion to his power, as you might suppose. For example, if the administration of the affairs of the United States is successful, the President receives the lion's share of the credit; if hard times should visit the country, to him goes the lion's share of the blame. Of course he really has only a small part in turning the tide of national affairs, compared to that of the Legislature, yet, as the head of the Nation, people hold him largely accountable for results in his administration.

On the other hand, the chief executive of the laws of a State—the governor—does not shoulder nearly so much responsibility for the condition of State affairs. The execution of the laws
here is not given to one person, or to one body of persons, but is intrusted to various officials and various bodies. The greater part of the public business in a State is administered by local governments, by cities and townships and counties. Those laws which relate to special branches of State administration are distributed to State officers and State boards to be carried into effect, and very often these officers and boards are elected by the people and are not responsible to a higher authority for their conduct. But should such high officials commit gross wrongs, the State legislature may reach them through the right of impeachment, and, in some cases, by the Recall.

The executive department of a State comprises all of the State officers and boards whose duties consist in managing special branches of the State’s business. Because of the fact that this department is organized according to the particular needs of each State, we may naturally expect it to differ in details in the several States. Still, the general outlines of formation are nearly the same in all the States. For instance, every State has a governor, a secretary of state, and a treasurer. Nearly every State has a comptroller, or auditor, an attorney general, and a superintendent of education. The length of the terms of

¹Thirty-three States also have a lieutenant-governor.
service of these officers, the manner of their election or appointment, and their qualifications and salaries, differ according to the laws laid down in the constitution of each State. We may, however, summarize in a general way the duties, in which there is not quite so much variation.

The Governor. The first duty of this official is to see that the laws are faithfully executed. The governor is commander-in-chief of the military forces of the State, and he can call upon the soldiers to assist him in enforcing the verdict of a court, or in suppressing riots and disorderly proceedings. Very frequently he has to use this power in preserving the peace in the event of strikes.

Whenever there is occasion for it, the governor must draw up a message, informing the legislature of the condition of affairs in the State, and suggesting such methods of remedying faults as he may deem wise. However, the legislature does not have to follow these suggestions, not even consider them, unless they choose. Sometimes the legislature is not in session,—that is, the members have gone, during a recess, to their homes. Should the governor, at this time, think certain legislation urgent, he may summon the legislature to meet in “extra session” and lay before it the measures that demand immediate consideration.
In most of the States, but not all, the governor is invested with power to pardon a criminal convicted of a misdemeanor against the laws, but he must in all cases of this practice declare his motives, which must be open and above board. Sometimes pardons are granted for unusual good behavior on the part of a convict, after long imprisonment; sometimes because developments cause the executive to doubt the man’s guilt; sometimes, out of sympathy for relatives of the prisoner, who need his presence; and sometimes because he becomes attacked with a disease which threatens his life if he is continued in confinement.

This pardon may be absolute, or it may be commuted. In the latter case, the governor shortens the sentence term of the court which convicted the prisoner.

Reprieves are also granted. This document postpones the execution of a prisoner condemned to death.

In a few States the powers of pardon, commutation, and reprieve, is not left to the governor, but is vested in a special body of officers known as the board of pardons.

In every State it is the duty of the governor to appoint many officials whose selection is not otherwise provided for. When an elective official dies or resigns before his term ends, the gov-
ernor fills the vacancy by appointing some one to serve until another election is held. He also issues writs of election to fill vacancies when any occur in the representation of a State in the lower branch of Congress. Should a vacancy occur in the United States Senate, the governor may issue a writ for a new election, or, if so authorized by the legislature, he may make a temporary appointment to last until the people fill the vacancy by regular election.

In case there is any hasty, corrupt, or unwise, legislation, it is the duty of the governor to put a check to it by interposing his power of veto. Were it not for the restraining influence of this power of his over the legislature, some members might be tempted to commit wrongs. Altogether the governor’s veto is a wholesome weapon for good government, so wholesome that in only one State of the Union is this authority denied the executive.

Numerous social duties fall to the lot of the governor. He opens fairs, dedicates public buildings, presents diplomas to the graduates of normal schools and colleges, and honors with his presence important meetings and celebrations of many kinds.

*The Lieutenant-Governor.* When the governor is out of the State, or for any other reason is unable to attend to his official duties, the lieu-
tenant-governor takes his place. He is the ex-officio president of the Senate, and when a vacancy occurs in the governorship he succeeds to the office. In the States where there is no official of this kind, the president of the senate usually succeeds to the governorship in case of a vacancy.

**The Secretary of State.** This official records the acts of the governor, also files the laws passed by the legislature. He has charge of all State papers, of the journals of the legislature, and of the historical documents, statuary, paintings, relics, etc., of the State. He is really the chief clerk of the executive department, and his files are a very extensive arrangement, indeed.

**The State Comptroller.** The financial business of the average State is far from a small thing, involving the handling of millions of dollars yearly without losing track of a single penny. Although the comptroller does not actually handle the money, leaving this task for the State treasurer, he must keep an accurate account of all the money spent and received by the State. Not a dollar can be drawn from the treasury without his order. His chief duty is the making of plans for improving the income of the State by means of its revenue and taxes, and seeing that these are collected. As a rule it is his job to see that all collectors of revenue are responsible persons,
and that they are properly bonded. In a few States the comptroller also serves on one or more State boards.

*The State Treasurer.* All the money paid into the State treasury is taken care of by this official. He is, in fact, the State's own banker. His principal duties are to receive the State funds, place them where they will be safe, and pay them out when he receives an order to do so from the State comptroller. Like the comptroller, the treasurer sometimes serves on State boards.

*The Attorney-General.* This official is the law officer of the State. He appears in court against State offenders, and should any executive officer need legal advice, all he has to do is to apply to the attorney-general for it, and it will be quickly forthcoming.

*The Superintendent of Public Instruction.* Standing at the head of the public school system of the State, this officer reports to the governor or the legislature the condition of educational affairs through the State, visits teachers’ institutes and other educational meetings, delivers lectures upon educational matters, inspects schools, suggests methods of teaching, and promotes the cause of education in many other ways too numerous to mention. In some States he prescribes the qualifications of teachers and issues their certificates, selects the textbooks to be
used, and supervises the distribution of the school funds.

In addition to these principal officers we find in the different States such minor officers and boards as special conditions may require. Among these might be mentioned the following:


It must be understood that no one State has all of the above officers, but every State has at least a few of them. And besides these major officials there are always to be found in the service of each State numerous deputies, secretaries, clerks, and other employees, who are needed for the efficient working of the several departments of State.
CHAPTER XIV

THE STATE JUDICIARY

When the United States was under the rule of England each colony had its own judicial system. The judges, with the exception of those of Rhode Island and Connecticut, were appointed by the colonial governor. After independence was declared each State kept the system of courts to which it had been accustomed, but under the new constitutions eight of them allowed the legislature to elect the judges, while five permitted the governor this privilege.

It was not until early in the nineteenth century that a State grew bold enough—or radical enough, to be more accurate—to entrust the election of its judges to the people. This daring pioneer of democracy was Georgia. She was venturing upon a policy hitherto unknown in the history of politics, and many of the other States predicted the step too drastic; but Georgia was confident. As time went on the wisdom of her course became more and more manifest. The growth of the spirit of democracy throughout the land also did much to win converts to her
side among her sister States, and here and there, from this corner and from that, came demands of the people of the other States for the privilege of electing their judges, as well as their other officers, as Georgia had been doing. At the present time, in more than three-fourths of the States the judges are chosen by the people. In the remaining States they are either appointed by the governor or chosen by the legislature.

In the administration of justice in the State, it has been found convenient in all the States to have at least three grades of courts. These are the Justice’s Court, the Circuit or District Court, and the Supreme Court.

I. The Justice’s Court. This court, the lowest in the series, is presided over by a justice of the peace. It may properly be called the court of the neighborhood, for in every community it is near at hand, always ready to mete out justice in small affairs. These minor difficulties cover such things as civil cases involving very small amounts of money, and other petty offenses. The decision of the court is usually final, but when its judgment inflicts a severe penalty, or involves a considerable sum of money, an appeal may be taken to a higher court. In the cities this type of court is generally called a police court, a municipal court, or a magistrate’s court.

II. The Circuit or District Court. Next above
the Justice’s Court comes this one. It may be called the court of the county, for it holds forth in the county-seat of every county of a State. However, the jurisdiction of the judges is not limited to a single county, as you might suppose. A circuit (or district) usually includes several counties, and the judges of a circuit go from county to county to hold court. In rural districts this court tries both civil and criminal cases. A very large city will often have an elaborate system of such courts of its own.

These courts of the second grade are the centers of most of the judicial activity of the State. The more serious cases of the law are all tried in them. They not only have original jurisdiction in important criminal cases and noteworthy civil litigation, but they must always be ready to review cases appealed from the Justice’s Court. In their decisions the jury figures prominently.

There are two kinds of these juries—the Grand and the Petit. The Grand Jury is a body of men varying from twelve to twenty-three in number. They are chosen by court officials to inquire if there have been any violations of the law in the community, and to determine whether or not the persons under suspicion should come up for trial.¹

¹ In some States an accused person can be brought to trial without the intervention of a Grand Jury. Where this is done the prosecuting attorney determines whether a case shall be brought to trial.
When making an inquiry into a criminal charge, the Grand Jury sits in secret session and hears only the evidence against the accused. Its function is not to try the accused, but to decide whether on the face of things there is sufficient evidence of guilt to justify the trouble and expense of a trial. Should a majority of the Grand Jury be satisfied that the case ought to come to trial, the indictment is endorsed with the words “a true bill,” and the case goes to the Petit Jury to be taken up.

In all the States but one, the Petit Jury consists of twelve men. It sits in open session, and hears evidence on both sides of the question, according to a provision of the Federal Constitution. During the progress of the trial questions of law are determined by the court (judge), the jury itself deciding only questions of fact. After the evidence has all been given in, and counsel on both sides of the case has been heard, the jury retires from the court-room, and is locked in a small ante-room, where it remains until it finds a verdict, or agrees to disagree. In the latter event, a new trial may be ordered. As a general rule the verdict of a jury is final.

The members of a jury are chosen from among the ordinary citizens in the neighborhood in which the trial is conducted. As much diversity of occupation, religion, and nationality, is aimed
at in their selection as possible. Thus, the average jury will be found to be made up of farmers, clerks, mechanics, professional men, tradesmen, teachers, laborers, etc.,—a feature that doubtless makes trial by jury so popular, and insures the fairest kind of a decision. While the jury system, like every other human institution, has its defects, it is nevertheless one of the greatest safeguards of civil liberty ever devised.

III. The Supreme Court. In four States—Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey and New York—this is called the Court of Appeals. In Texas there are two Supreme Courts, one for civil and one for criminal cases. Over this court presides the supreme judicial authority of the State. It sits at the State capital as a rule, although in a few States it holds sessions at several different places in the State. The Supreme Court is active the greater part of each year, handling a good many cases of importance. For the most part its jurisdiction is appellate, or deciding cases which have been carried over from inferior courts, but there are a few instances in which it has the power to hear and judge new cases. As an example of the latter condition, we might cite a case in which the official action of a State officer is involved.

When a decision of this court conflicts in no way with the Federal authority, it is final, and is
binding upon the people of the State as long as
the State constitution remains unchanged; but
should the decision conflict with Federal law, it
may be reversed by the Supreme Court of the
United States, which sits at Washington.

The State courts are entirely independent of
the Federal courts. They have their own judges
and court officers—sheriffs, clerks, and prose-
cuting officers—and their own court-houses.
They attend solely to the judicial business of
their State and cannot be compelled to perform
judicial duties of a Federal nature. But, as we
have shown, their decisions may be reviewed and
reversed by the Federal courts. When one of the
parties to a case in a State court claims that the
decision of the court is contrary to the Federal
Constitution, or to Federal law, the case may be
carried over to the Federal courts for trial; but
when a case is wholly outside of Federal au-
thority, it must receive its final settlement in a
State court.

We should not belittle the great importance of
the part played in our civil lives by the State ju-
diciary. By far the bulk of cases that come up
for settlement in this country are tried in the
State courts. Where one case is tried by the
Federal judiciary within the State, ten are han-
dled by the State courts themselves.

A State judge has the power to declare a stat-
ute of the legislature invalid on the ground that it conflicts \((a)\) with the constitution of the United States, or \((b)\) with a statute or treaty of the Federal Government, or \((c)\) with the constitution of the State.

When the case before the court is novel and there is no law, either customary or written, which will fit the case, the judge may nevertheless render a decision; and this decision is not only law for the case in hand, but it will also be regarded in other courts of the State as the law for similar cases when they shall arise. Laws thus established by judicial decisions are distinguished from those enacted by the legislature and are called judge-made laws or case laws.

Judges in courts of equity—and in most States the regular law courts are also courts of equity—have the power to issue writs of injunction forbidding a person to do, or commanding them to do, a certain thing helpful to the common good. Should the injunction be ignored, the person disobeying it is liable to punishment. The writ of injunction is generally used to prevent the commission of wrongs which there would be no other way to reach by the ordinary workings of a lawsuit. Thus, if a telephone company began to erect its poles upon a citizen's property without his consent, a judge in a court of equity would, at any time of the day or night, issue an
injunction forbidding the transgressor to continue the putting up of his poles until the regular courts could consider the merits of the case. In recent cases courts have forbidden labor leaders to induce or coerce workingmen to strike, where the strike would seem to cause irreparable injury to the business of the employers and the comfort of the community in general. The use of the injunction has met with strong opposition by the labor unions, being regarded by them as unwarranted, unfair, and protective of capital. Both State and Federal judges exercise the power of injunction.

There are cases where State judges may issue the **writ of mandamus**. This writ is issued to an officer, or corporation, and requires the performance of a public duty which the officer or corporation has refused to perform. Federal judges may also issue this order in special cases.

In addition to these courts, there are sometimes special tribunals for particular purposes: chancery courts, which administer equity, probate or surrogates’ courts for the settlement of estates of deceased persons, children’s courts dealing with offenses committed by children, and courts of claims for hearing claims against the State.

An account of the judicial system would not be complete without some consideration of the
prosecuting attorney. In most States he is an elective county officer, but in some instances he is selected for districts larger than a county. He represents the State in all criminal cases, and conducts the prosecution. He makes preliminary investigations into crimes, and determines whether a prosecution should be instituted. If he decides in the affirmative, he presents the case before the grand jury. If the grand jury returns an indictment—that is, declares that the accused should be held for trial—the prosecuting attorney takes charge of the prosecution at the trial. In one respect his functions are similar to those of the counsel for the plaintiff in a civil suit. Yet, in another way, he is much more than that. He is a quasi-judicial officer who should be interested most in getting at the truth and doing justice whether the accused is freed or found guilty, regardless of the cost. In addition to performing his functions at criminal trials, at times he also represents the county in civil cases.
A fatal weakness of the Union, under the Articles of Confederation, was the absence of an executive to enforce the laws. The Convention, however, soon decided to remedy this defect by establishing a strong executive department and vesting its powers in a President. To this end many plans for electing the President were discussed. At last a plan of indirect election was adopted—a plan wherein the President was to be chosen by State colleges of electors, the electoral college of each State to have a number of electors equal to the combined number of senators and representatives to which the State was entitled in Congress. Each State was permitted to select its electors in a way agreeable to the Legislature. Each of the electors was to vote for two persons, and the person who received the greatest number of votes (provided it was a number equal to a majority of the electoral votes) was to be the President, and the one who stood second in the list was to be the Vice-President. If more than one person received a number of
votes equal to a majority of the electoral votes, the election of the President was to be made by the House.

As it was first adopted, this electoral system was very crude and clumsy. By the time the fourth presidential election was held, the system had broken down so signally that it was found necessary to amend the Constitution in order to save the remnants. Thus, by Amendment XII, which was adopted in 1804, the work of the electoral college was greatly simplified by making the election of the Vice-President an affair quite distinct from the election of the President.

Under this system—which we now have with us—the State legislature may appoint the electors itself, it may vest their appointment in some other body, or it may call upon the people to elect them. In the early days of this three-way privilege, various States adopted this way and that way of accomplishing the purpose. But to-day all States have become a unit in believing that the electors it chooses should be selected on a common ticket by popular vote, and thus electors are established all over the land.

It was formerly the practice for Congress, after having made the official count of votes for the election of the President, to select a committee for the purpose of notifying the new executive of his good fortune; but this was not uni-
formly followed, and has now been abandoned altogether. Curiously enough, no official notice whatever is given to the President-elect. He is supposed to be sufficiently aware of the fact himself, and on the fourth day of March he appears to take the oath of office. He usually arrives in Washington a few days before, and politely calls upon the retiring President, to pay his respects.

On the day of the inauguration, the President-elect, in charge of a committee on ceremonies, is conducted to the White House, whence, accompanied by the presiding President, he is driven to the Capitol. Unless the weather prevents, he takes the oath of office, which is administered by the Chief Justice of the United States, in the open air upon the platform built for that special purpose at the east front of the building. In case of inclement weather, the oath is taken in the Senate chamber.

Following the example set by George Washington, it is the practice of the President to deliver an inaugural address setting forth his policy.

After the administration of the oath of office, the new President is driven back to the White House. Here, from a reviewing-stand, he surveys a long procession of government officials and citizens which is usually hours in filing past.

As soon as the new President has been in-
stalled, he is confronted with the problem of selecting his Cabinet, and of filling a large number of minor places which are either vacant or whose occupants are ousted for one reason or another. For the post of Secretary of State it is quite common for him to select the member of his party who is generally deemed to be next to himself in the esteem of the country. For example, President Lincoln called to the State Department Mr. Seward, who had been his chief rival for nomination at the convention of 1860 in Chicago.

Sometimes the new President rewards with Cabinet positions the men who have been especially prominent in securing his election, thus following the custom of successful politicians of power in general. For example, President Harrison appointed to the office of Postmaster-General, Mr. John Wanamaker, who had been treasurer of the Republican campaign committee.

Though as a rule the President confines his appointments to prominent members of his own party, in this way, he sometimes shows a pleasing strain of nobility of character by choosing members of the opposition who have been lukewarm in their political activity. Furthermore, he makes every effort consistent with a display of loyalty and sound business principles, to scatter his appointments in such a way that all the different parts of the country will be fairly well rep-
resented. In no event should he select men with whom he cannot work harmoniously, nor men who are unwilling to carry out the main lines of his policy.

While the nomination of every Cabinet officer must be confirmed by the Senate, this body always accepts the President's election as a matter of course. So, in a sense, the Cabinet may be regarded as the President's retinue on whom he can depend for coöperation and advice in making his administration successful.

The functions of the President are prescribed by the Constitution, as we have outlined elsewhere, but his real achievements are not set by the letter of the law. Rather they are determined by his personality, the weight of his influence, his capacity for managing men, and the strength and effectiveness of the party forces behind him. As chief executive he operates through a vast and complicated official hierarchy which centers at Washington and ramifies its skein of power throughout the great American empire, and, through the diplomatic and consular services, extends even into foreign countries. As a political leader he may use his exalted position to appeal to the nation; to sectional, class, or group interests; he may use his veto power against laws passed by Congress, he may agitate all people by means of his messages, and he may bring pres-
sure to bear in Congress and within his party through the discriminating use of the Federal patronage. Thus it happens that we do not have the whole office of President before us when we are in the presence of the Constitution and statutes of the United States.

The chief duty of the President is to see that the Constitution, laws, and treaties, of the United States, and judicial decisions rendered by the Federal courts, are duly enforced. In the fulfilment of this business, he may direct the heads of departments, and their subordinates, in the discharge of the functions vested in them by the acts of Congress. The exact degree, however, to which he may control an administrative officer is frequently a subject of political controversy, and cannot be set down with definiteness; more depends upon the tact of the President than upon any theories of constitutional law.

But some departments are made more directly subject to his control than others. For instance, the Secretary of State, in the conduct of foreign affairs, is completely subject to the President’s orders; and the Attorney General must give an opinion, or institute proceedings, when asked. On the other hand, when the Treasury was organized in 1789, it was definitely understood that Congress had a special control over the administration of that Department.
The Supreme Court has held that the President is bound to see that an administrative officer faithfully discharges the duties assigned by law, and that he usurps no power beyond his sphere. He has the power to remove the head of a department who refuses to obey his orders, or who takes more upon his shoulders than he should. When President Jackson wanted the Government funds withdrawn from the United States Bank, he removed two Secretaries of the Treasury for failing to comply with his wishes. Again, in 1920, President Wilson asked his Secretary of State to resign, because he (the President) considered the Secretary in question had exceeded his authority in calling together the heads of other departments while the chief executive himself, on a sick bed, was unable to meet with them.

Among other things, the President makes rules for the army and navy, the patent office, and the services of the customs, internal revenue, consular, and civil. Sometimes he issues these rules in accordance with provisions of the statutes, and sometimes under his general executive power.

As chief executive, the President may instruct the Attorney-General to institute proceedings against any one suspected of violating the Federal laws, and in case of open resistance he may employ the armed force of the United States.
Laxity or severity in law enforcement is, therefore, largely within his discretion.

The choice of diplomatic representatives is left to a great extent with the President, who usually has many party obligations to settle in this connection. Military and naval appointments, especially in times of crisis, are principally subject to presidential control, but political influences are always rife here. It is not often that the Senate interferes with appointments to the Supreme Court.

Another group of offices filled on presidential nomination is composed of minor positions within congressional districts, such as postmasterships in the smaller cities and towns. It has become a settled question to allow the Representative, if he is of the President's party, to name the appointees of his district; but if he is not of the President's party, the patronage goes to the Senator or Senators. The task of selecting appointees is usually a very vexatious one for the member, for he finds it difficult to please all of his constituents, and he sometimes makes more enemies than friends by his appointments.

The President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of the State militia when called into service of the United States. He holds this power in time of peace as well as in
time of war. The equipment of the army and navy, and the right to declare war, belong to Congress. The President appoints all military and naval officers by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,—except militia officers who are appointed by the respective States,—and in time of war he may remove them at will. But in time of peace they can be removed by court-martial only.

The President is not limited in the conduct of war to the supervision of the armed forces; he may do whatever a commander-in-chief is warranted in doing, under the laws of war, to weaken and overcome the enemy. It was under this general authority that President Lincoln, during the Civil War, suspended the writ of habeas corpus in States which were not within the theater of the armed conflict. It was also under this authority that he abolished slavery in many of the States; that he arrested and imprisoned arbitrarily those charged with giving aid and comfort to the Confederacy; that he established a blockade of Southern ports, and, in short, brought the whole weight of the North, material and moral, to bear in the contest. It would indeed be difficult to imagine greater military power than was exercised by President Lincoln in that war.

Under his war power the President may govern conquered territory, appoint officers there,
make laws and ordinances, lay and collect taxes of all kinds, and exercise practically every sovereign right until Congress has stepped in and acted. The Supreme Court, however, has put one limitation to this power; after the ratification of the treaty with Spain, Porto Rico and the Philippines became a part of the United States within the meaning of the revenue acts, so that duties could not be laid by executive order on goods passing from those islands to the United States, or *vice versa*.

Under the Constitution, the United States guarantees to each commonwealth a republican form of government, and protects it against invasion, also against domestic violence. By act of Congress the President is authorized to call forth the militia when aid is asked in due form by the authorities of a State struggling against an insurrection. It is by statutory law also that the President is empowered to use the militia or the army and navy whenever, by reason of obstructions, assemblages, or rebellion, it becomes impracticable in his judgment to enforce Federal law within any State or territory by the ordinary course of judicial procedure. In fact it was under this authority that President Cleveland used of his time.

Federal troops in quelling the big Chicago strike
CHAPTER XVI

THE PRESIDENCY—II

The President is the official spokesman of the Nation in the conduct of all foreign affairs. As such he is primarily responsible for our foreign policy and its results. It is true that the Senate must confirm his nominations to diplomatic and consular positions, and must approve his treaties; that Congress alone can create diplomatic and consular positions and provide the salaries attached to them; that in many cases it makes provision for the execution of treaties. But Congress has absolutely no right to establish and conduct relations with any foreign power without the authority of the President.

Many things may the President do which vitally effect the foreign relations of the country. He receives ambassadors and public ministers from foreign countries. He may dismiss an ambassador or public minister of a foreign power for political as well as personal reasons, and if in the former case, he might embroil the nation in a costly war. He may order a ship or a fleet of his own country to a foreign port for any rea-
son he may choose. He could move troops to such a position on the borders of a neighboring power—as Mexico—and thereby bring on an armed conflict, were he lacking in tact. A notable instance of such an action as the last-named was that when, in the case of the opening of the Mexican War, President Polk ordered our troops into the disputed territory, and on their being attacked by the Mexicans, declared that this act automatically placed Mexico and the United States in a state of war.

Again, in his message to Congress, it is possible for the President to outline a foreign policy so hostile to another nation as to precipitate diplomatic difficulties, if not more serious results. A case of the kind occurred in the Venezuelan controversy, when President Cleveland recommended to Congress demands which Great Britain could hardly regard as anything but unfriendly.

The President may even go so far as to make “executive agreements” with foreign powers without the consent of the Senate, the Constitution requiring that only treaties shall be confirmed by that body. For example, we will say that a German who is a naturalized citizen of the United States returns to his native country. While he is there, his former sovereign calls upon him to render his mother country military
service. Naturally this would bring on diplomatic discussion between the two nations, both of which are claiming him. It is finally settled by an exchange of notes between the Secretary of State and the German Government, thus clearly constituting an international or "executive agreement" quite independent of the treaty clause of the Constitution.

In addition to his administrative duties, the President has the power to grant reprieves and pardons (except in cases of impeachment) for offenses against the United States. No limits are imposed on his exercise of this power, and therefore it may be used as he sees fit. He may remit a fine, commute a death sentence to a term of imprisonment, or free the offender altogether; but when forfeiture of office is one of the penalties imposed he cannot restore the offender to his former position. Though the usual process is to pardon after conviction, a pardon may be granted before or during trial.

While in the exercise of his power of pardon, the President relies, of course, largely upon the sentiment of others. The application for Executive clemency, with all the papers attached, is sent to the Attorney-General, in whose department there is a pardon-clerk in charge of the preliminary stages of the procedure. Usually the judge and district attorney, under whose super-
vision the case was first tried, are asked to make any statement they may choose in regard to the merits of the case. The opinion of the Attorney-General is then endorsed on the application, advising what course of action should be taken, and the papers are sent to the President for final determination. If no new evidence in favor of the condemned man seems to have developed, and the sentence appears not unduly severe, the President refuses to interfere by exercising his power of pardon. It often happens that the wife or mother of the prisoner comes in person to plead for mercy, and then, to quote from President Harrison, "there is no more trying ordeal for a President than to have to hear her tearful and sobbing utterances, and to feel that public duty requires you to deny her prayer."

So exalted is the President's position as chief executive officer, and so extensive are the powers of that position, that his functions as a legislator are often lost sight of by his commentators. He is required by the Constitution to give the Congress from time to time information of the state of the Union, and to recommend such measures as he may judge necessary and expedient. In the exercise of this duty, he may recommend laws, and even draw bills, which Congress willingly accepts, or which it accepts reluctantly under the feeling that the President has the support
of his party throughout the country, or which it modifies or rejects altogether if it disapproves.

The President's message is the one great public document of the United States which is widely and eagerly read. Its details are as enthusiastically discussed over the cracker barrel of the little general store in the smallest and remotest American town as they are over the ivory-topped table of the most fashionable metropolitan club. Congressional debates, in comparison, receive scant notice. It is true that all the better newspapers give up space to them; but every sheet in the land honors the President's message to the fullest extent of its mechanical equipment, even the editorial page containing crisp and extended comment in the editor's best style.

This message is supposed—though often erroneously—to embody in a very direct sense the policy of the Presidential party. It therefore stirs the country to its very foundations; it often affects Congressional elections; and if its recommendations correspond with real and positive interests of sufficient strength, they sooner or later find their way into law.

From the very nature and duties of the Executive department, the President must possess more extensive sources of information in regard to both domestic and foreign affairs than belong to Congress. The true workings of the laws, the
defects in the nature or arrangements of the general systems of trade, finance, and justice; and the military, naval, and civil establishments of the Union, are more readily seen by the Executive, because he has them under his constant review, than they can possibly be by any other department. Therefore, there is great wisdom in not merely allowing, but in requiring, the President to lay before Congress all facts and information which may assist their deliberations. He is thus justly made responsible for due diligence of examination into the means of improving existing systems, as well as administering to them.

The Presidential message is not always the work of the President alone. There are notable instances where it has been prepared, or partly prepared, by others. But he must stand for its contents, and attach his own signature. In every case, especially of the message prepared for the opening of Congress, the information contained in the document is largely furnished by the various Departments. The President incorporates such of this information in his message as he sees fit. Sometimes he omits whole paragraphs, sometimes he condenses, and sometimes he merely uses the material as a basis for his own conclusions. Some of President Roosevelt's special messages were founded on the re-
ports of commissions, and were accompanied by well-done illustrations; others were his own work, prepared in the main to force home his own views with regard to some particular topic which he wished to make of public interest.

The power of vetoing measures of Congress, like that of sending messages, possesses both a legal and a practical aspect. Every bill or joint resolution must be presented to the President; if he signs, it becomes a law; if he disapproves, he must return it to the House in which it originated, with a statement of his objections; and the House must thereupon reconsider it. A two-thirds vote of both Houses is sufficient to carry the measure over the Executive veto. The same procedure is applied to orders, resolutions, and votes, to which a concurrence of both Houses is necessary, excepting questions of adjournment. If, within ten days, the President fails to return a measure, it becomes a law without his signature, unless Congress prevents its return by adjourning, in which case it does not become a law. When Congress adjourns, leaving many bills to be signed, the President may quietly suppress those bills to which he entertains objections. This act is known as the "pocket veto."

In addition to his powers and duties, the President enjoys certain privileges and rights. No tribunal in the land has any jurisdiction over
him for any offense. In other phrasing, he cannot be arrested for any crime, no matter how serious, even the superlative crime of murder. He may, it is true, be impeached; but until judgment has been pronounced against him, he cannot be in any way restrained of his liberty.

The President is entitled by right to payment for his services, as you will note by reference to Article II, section I, of the Constitution, in another chapter. In the beginning, the salary of the Chief Executive was set at twenty-five thousand dollars; in 1871 it was increased to fifty thousand, and in 1909—the last change—it was made seventy-five thousand. Much of this, large as it may seem, he must spend for social functions.

Besides his personal salary, the President is furnished with an Executive mansion called the White House, where he lives with his family and servants. In this magnificent old colonial building, surrounded with beautiful lawns and gardens, he has his business offices. An appropriation for the upkeep of the premises is allowed by Congress, which often reaches in one year as much as two hundred thousand dollars.
CHAPTER XVII

THE PRESIDENT’S ASSISTANTS

As we have stated, responsibility for the smooth and efficient working of the great Federal machine rests almost wholly upon the President; but in the supervision of so complex a mechanism there must, of course, be assistants for him—chieftains of departments who are highly capable for the particular kind of work they are called upon to do. These assistants are, in most cases, known as Secretaries.

Years ago George Washington began his administration with as few as three Secretaries—a Secretary of State, a Secretary of the Treasury, and a Secretary of War. To-day, owing to greatly increased government business and new demands, the heads of the President’s cabinet number ten, as follows:

1. The Secretary of State.
2. The Secretary of the Treasury.
3. The Secretary of War.
4. The Attorney-General.
5. The Postmaster-General.
6. The Secretary of the Navy.
7. The Secretary of the Interior.
8. The Secretary of Agriculture.
9. The Secretary of Commerce.
10. The Secretary of Labor.

Each of these Secretaries is appointed by the President, and is responsible to him for the proper management of his own particular great department.

I. The Department of State. This is considered the foremost of these ten departments. Under the management of the Secretary of State, it attends solely to foreign affairs. It conducts the negotiations which lead up to the making of treaties, instructs our foreign ministers and consuls in their duties, extends official courtesies to the ministers from other countries, protects American citizens in other lands, gives passports to those intending to travel abroad, and transacts all other business arising between our Government and other governments.

II. The Department of the Treasury. Under the Secretary of the Treasury, this department manages the financial business of the country. Its duties are to collect the internal revenue and the customs duties; to attend to the expenditure of money appropriated by Congress; to issue Federal bonds when necessary (as in the case of the famous "Liberty Bonds" of the late war); to manage the public debt; to organize and inspect
National banks; to control the mints and supervise the making of paper money. And in addition to these services, this department also controls the life-saving stations on the shores of the seas, supervises the construction of public buildings, and manages the marine hospitals for disabled sailors.

III. *The Department of War.* This division of Government business, under the Secretary of War, has charge of all land soldiers. It purchases supplies for them, handles the transportation of troops, directs the improvement of rivers and harbors, controls the signal service, and supervises the Military Academy at West Point.

IV. *The Department of Justice.* This is the great law department of the National Government, and is directed by the Attorney-General. Should the President, or a member of his Cabinet, desire a bit of legal advice,—and some one does, almost daily,—it is quickly forthcoming from this branch. When the Government is interested in a case in court, an officer of the Department of Justice defends or prosecute the suit. Next in rank to the Attorney-General is the Solicitor-General, who, under the former's direction, has charge of the business of the Government in the Supreme Court of the United States.

V. *The Post-Office Department.* To this de-
partment, under the Postmaster-General, goes the duty of carrying and distributing the mails, and establishing and discontinuing post-offices. The work involves, besides the regular city distribution by carrier, rural free delivery and collection of mails, the special delivery of important letters and packages on which an extra fee has been paid by the sender; and the collection and delivery of merchandise mail, known as "parcel-post matter," all over our own land and to about thirty different foreign countries. Besides this, this department conducts a money postal-order system by means of which, for a slight fee, money may be safely transmitted to practically all parts of the world; also operates a postal savings bank system whereby citizens may deposit on good interest, in their local post-offices, such savings as they may desire.

In three cities of the country arrangements have been made with street car companies to equip their cars with mail-boxes, and to stop at any crossing at which a person may be waiting to mail a letter. In the heart of the city, a central collector secures this mail at each trip of a car, thus affording outlying residents fine opportunity to hurry their mail on its way, and relieving the regular collectors of a heavy burden.

The post-offices sell stamps, post-cards, and envelopes.
VI. The Department of the Navy. This department is under the Secretary of the Navy. It purchases naval supplies; provides for the proper enrollment, instruction, and welfare of its sailors; looks after the construction and equipment of vessels, supervises the navy yards and docks, and controls the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

VII. The Department of the Interior. Under the Secretary of the Interior, this department directs the work of National affairs right here at home. It examines pension claims and grants pensions; it attends to Indian affairs, handles the sale of public lands, issues patents and copyrights, directs the work of the geological survey, concerns itself with such educational interests as are of National importance, superintends the construction and operation of irrigation works authorized by Congress, and investigates methods looking toward the safety of miners.

VIII. The Department of Agriculture. Useful information about the soil in its effect upon the growth of vegetables, cereals, etc., together with the best methods for raising such crops, is constantly sent out by this department to the people of the United States, through special bulletins and newspaper articles. Under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture, the department distributes new and valuable seeds; warns of expected ravages of insects; educates for the
proper care of cattle, swine, and sheep; has inspection laws to protect the public from unhealthy meats and milk. It has charge of the Weather Bureau, through which the daily newspapers get their weather reports, and also controls the forests of the United States.

IX. The Department of Commerce. This department, under the Secretary of Commerce, fosters, promotes, and develops, the foreign and domestic commerce of the country. It also, in like manner, looks after the mining, manufacturing, shipping, and fishing industries, and the transportation facilities of the United States.

X. The Department of Labor. Under the Secretary of Labor, this branch of our Government looks after the welfare of the wage earners of the country. It improves their working conditions wherever possible, and advances their opportunities for profitable employment. One of its main duties is to collect, collate, and report full and complete statistics of the conditions of labor, listing labor’s products and their distribution. It also enforces the immigration laws, and the laws relating to naturalization of aliens, and through the agency of the Children’s Bureau, it reports upon the industrial welfare of children.

Each of the ten departments which we have named has the control of a vast amount of executive business. Indeed so great was this business
that it was long ago found expedient to subdivide the work and place an officer at the head of each subdivision. A subdivision of a department is sometimes known as a division of the department, but more often it is termed a bureau. The head of a bureau is called a director, or commissioner, and sometimes a superintendent.

As an example of the divisions of a department, let us name those in the Department of Commerce alone. We have the following bureaus: Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Lighthouses, Census, Fisheries, Navigation, Standards, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Steamboat Inspection Service.

There are a few items of executive business which have not been assigned to any one of the ten great departments. The work of the Interstate Commerce Commission is performed by seven commissioners who act independently of any department. The Civil Service Commission, whose duty it is to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States, consists of three commissioners who are directly responsible to the President. The Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, the Government Printing Office, the Library of Commerce, and the Smithsonian Institute, are also outside of departmental control. The chief officers in all cases of extra-departmental activity are nomi-
nated by the President, and confirmed by the Senate, just as are other principal officers.

There are nearly five hundred thousand persons employed in the executive Civil Service. Of these nearly ten thousand are appointed directly by the President, and, of course, they constitute the leading officials, the heads of departments and their chief assistants, the heads of bureaus and divisions, the postmasters of large cities and towns, the chief custom house officers, the ministers to foreign countries, and the like. All officers and employes who are not appointed directly by the President are appointed by the heads of the department.

In 1883 Congress provided for the competitive examination of a large class of employes in the Civil Service, as it was found that the old system of securing help through appointment did not always get the best kind of men, those in power often securing berths for their friends because of their desire to do them a favor rather than because they were competent in the service they were to assume. It proved a wise move. Now, in those lines of service which the Civil Service Commission controls,—and their control is every year widening,—every citizen has a fair chance to qualify for the vacancy or vacancies to be filled. All over the country, post-offices from time to time announce the examinations to be
held, and any one who can qualify can take them right there, without the inconvenience of going to Washington.

This rule of giving employment only to those who prove themselves qualified by their own ability, has extended until, at the present time, it has reached into almost every department of the National civil service, and embraces about two-thirds of all the employes. As in business or industrial life, every man stands on his own merits. His job lasts only as long as his good behavior lasts, and knowing this when he steps in, he is very likely to keep always abreast of the demands of his work, and render the best for his country that is in him. Of course the right kind of man will do his best at all times without threat or compulsion; but wherever you go, among numerous employes, you will always find some of them ready to steal back the time they have sold, or unable to meet the requirements, and it is this class which makes it necessary for all large employers of labor, like Uncle Sam, to watch diligently and provide against.
CHAPTER XVIII

THE FEDERAL CONGRESS

The organization of the Federal Government is determined by the Constitution. Article I provides for the Legislature, Article II for the Executive, and Article III for the Judiciary. In these articles you can learn of the qualifications of the officers, of the lengths of their terms of service, of the manner of their appointment or election, and of their duties and privileges. Indeed, many of the facts of Federal organization are stated in the Constitution so clearly and fully as to make it unnecessary to repeat or enlarge upon them in this volume. But there are other important facts which we should make clearer.

At the time when the Constitution was framed many novel ideas of government were in circulation. Fortunately, however, the men in attendance at the Convention steered clear of ideal schemes; they were sufficiently practical statesman to know that if their work was to be successful they must plan for a central government,
with its three departments,—the executive, legislative, and judicial,—as a pattern for the Federal structure.

With this determination in mind, the next problem was to provide for a Legislature. Since in all the States but two—Georgia and Pennsylvania—the legislatures were bicameral (composed of two chambers or branches), and since this type of legislature was then as now a characteristic institution of English-speaking peoples, the sentiment for a Congress of two houses easily carried the day.

Then arose the question: how shall the States be represented in the new Congress? Shall they be represented as they have been under the Confederation—one State, one vote? Or shall they be represented according to their wealth? Or according to their population?

As you might suppose, these questions gave the Convention a peck of trouble. Some of the members, where their State was prosperous, wanted representation according to wealth; but the democratic spirit in the assembly was too strong for them and they failed to gain their point. At last Connecticut came forward with this proposal: Let each State, regardless of its population, be represented in the Senate by two Senators; in the House let each State be represented according to its population.
The aged and beloved Franklin supported this compromise in the following homely but wise observation: “When a board table is to be made, and the edges of the planks do not fit, the artisan takes off a little wood from both, and makes a good joint.” In the end the Connecticut plan prevailed, and a Congress was established which was partly Federal and partly National.

To-day, in the Senate, the Federal principle prevails, although not fully, for the two Senators are not required to vote together and cast a single vote, as they would have to do under the pure Federal plan. In spite of this we must look to the Senate for the Federal element of our system, for there a State as a State is strong. The twenty-five smallest States, with their three million voters, can wield more power in the Senate than the twenty-three largest States with their fifteen million voters. There is nothing unjust, however, in this. The decentralized features of our system cannot be maintained unless we keep the States equal in the Senate.

In the House of Representatives the National principle prevails, for Representatives do not appear as representing States, but as representing people. Yet the House is not National in all respects; in the event, for instance, that it is required to vote for President, it votes by States, the representation of each State having one vote.
—a recognition of the Federal principle. Moreover, a State must have at least one Representative, a condition that is not required under a purely National system. As a whole, however, the House is National; its 435 members represent not forty-eight States, but a hundred millions of people!

When it was proposed to give to each State a number of Representatives proportional to its population, the question of enumeration arose. Should every human being, white and black, yellow and red, be counted in the population as one person? In the northern States there were but few slaves; in some of the southern States there were, on the other hand, vast numbers of them. The northern States, quite naturally, were unwilling to be outnumbered by having slaves counted; the southern States, quite as naturally, wished to outnumber by counting them.

This difference finally ended in a compromise. It was agreed that five slaves should be counted as three persons. This rule stood until it was made obsolete by the enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which provides that all people except untaxed Indians shall be counted individually. In the meantime the Constitution fixed the number of Representatives that each State was to have until a census could be taken. After this census, the apportionment
was to be regulated by Congress in accordance with the results of the census.

When the National Government was first established, one Representative was allowed for every thirty thousand inhabitants; but with the increase of population it was found necessary to increase the ratio of representation. This was done to prevent the House from becoming overburdened from too many members. Had the original ratio been kept, the House of Representatives would now consist of three thousand members! Surely such a great body would be entirely too large for expeditious action. Members could not hear easily, could not vote readily, could not seat themselves advantageously. The present ratio of representation—211,877—gives a House, as we have before stated, of 435 members, which certainly is numerous enough.

Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, have one delegate each in the House of Representatives, while the Philippine Islands have two delegates. These delegates have seats in the House, and may speak there, but they have no vote.

In 1842 the Apportionment Act of Congress provided, "that in every case where a State is entitled to more than one Representative, the number to which each State shall be entitled under this apportionment shall be elected by districts composed of contiguous territory, equal in
number to the number of Representatives to which said State shall be entitled, no one district electing more than one Representative." It is now the rule of Congress to require that Congressional districts shall be composed of "contiguous and compact territory containing as nearly as practicable an equal number of inhabitants," each district electing only one Representative except in cases wherein the State legislature fails to carry out this exact provision, when certain or all members may be elected at large on a general ticket.

Notwithstanding the intention of Congress to provide for substantially equal Congressional districts, our State legislatures have succeeded in creating, principally for partisan purposes, the grossest inequalities. For instance, a certain district in one State has shown almost sixty thousand voters, while another district in the same State has less than fourteen thousand voters. Many other examples equally as glaring might be cited. Of course many discrepancies are excusable, as representation is not based on the number of voters, but on the population of a district. Still there are numerous instances of irregularity, due principally to the desire of the majority party in each State legislature to secure as many of its members as possible in Congress.

This misuse of the power of creating Congres-
sional districts is known as "gerrymandering." It has been devised as a means by which a dominant party can make its own vote go as far as possible in Congressional elections, and cause its opponent's vote to count for as little as possible. This is done by massing the voters of the opposing party in a small number of districts, and giving them overwhelming majorities there while the dominant party is allowed to carry the other districts by very small minorities. Gerrymandering is responsible for some very curious political geography. There is, for example, the famous "Shoestring District" in one of the southern States where gerrymandering has been used to counteract the effect of the negro vote. There was at one time in Illinois the "Saddlebag District," comprising two groups of counties at different sides of the State, so connected as to crowd as many Democratic counties as possible into one district, and thus secure Republican seats in nearby districts by eliminating the vote of hostile localities.

The term of a member of the House of Representatives is two years. It is a comparatively short term, and as such it has recently received much criticism. The system of biennial elections, coupled with the practice of not assembling a Congress until more than a year after its election, has had a most unfortunate effect upon the
character of that body. Ordinarily when members take their seats their term of office is practically half expired; and within a year, if they expect to continue in Congress, they must enter into a campaign for renomination and election. This may have a double effect. It diverts the attention and energy of the member from his official duties; if he is defeated, it leaves him disgruntled and careless of the true principles of his office. It is a well-known fact, also, that no member of Congress can exert a considerable influence during one term of service, since it requires a great deal of practical experience to discover the mysteries of Congressional procedure and get a hearing from the leaders of the House. On the other hand, there is no provision for a dissolution of the House, or recall of members, and long terms might result in Congress frequently misrepresenting the country.

Party machinery has been developed in every State for nominating candidates to the House of Representatives. Where the older methods have not been overthrown by primary legislation, candidates are nominated by district conventions of delegates representing units of local government within the Congressional districts, such as counties, assembly districts, townships, and city wards. In a large number of States, however, the convention system has been abolished alto-
gether, and an official direct primary election is provided for each party. Any member of any party who wishes to be a candidate for Congress must have his name put on the party primary ballot by petition, and at the primary election the party voters are given opportunity to select from among the several candidates on this ballot. Representatives-at-large—those recently added to the State's representation, and who have no regular district until re-districting provides one—are nominated by State conventions or by State primaries.

For nearly a century and a quarter members of the Senate were elected by the legislatures of the several States. And for more than three-fourths of a century the legislature of each State chose United States Senators in its own way; but since disagreements constantly were arising as to the manner in which the election should be held, in 1866 Congress ordered that the two Houses of the Legislature should meet in joint assembly and elect by joint ballot; that if, on the first ballot, no person should receive a majority the balloting should continue from day to day until a Senator should be elected in due course.

This rule did not always work well. As the position of United States Senator was highly prized, the struggle for it became so keen that the regular business of the Legislature was seri-
ously interfered with, frequent votings being necessary very often in order to break a deadlock. Finally it was proposed that Senators be elected by a direct vote of the people. To do this required an amendment to the Constitution. So, in 1912, by a two-thirds vote of both Houses, Congress submitted to the States for ratification an amendment providing for the popular election of Senators. In 1913 the amendment was adopted and became a part of the Constitution.

The amendment provides that the two Senators from each State shall be “elected by the people thereof for six years . . . The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of the State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.”

Under this amendment it will be necessary for the States to make provision for the nomination of candidates. Those commonwealths which have direct primary laws applicable to Senators will probably continue them in force. The remaining States may retain the convention sys-
tem. If any State fails to make the requisite provision for the popular election of Senators, Congress may act under Article I, section 4, of the Constitution.

The term of a Senator is fixed at six years. In practice Senators are far more frequently re-elected than members of the House of Representatives. Some Senators have served more than thirty years, and "died in the harness." The terms of all Senators do not expire at any one time; the Senate is a continuous body, one-third of the members going out every two years, and it is very rare that a State is ever called upon to elect two Senators at the same time.

First among the privileges of Senators and Representatives is perhaps that of compensation. In 1907 the salary of the members of both Houses was fixed at $7,500 per annum, to which is added an allowance for clerk hire, stationery, and traveling expenses. In the same year Congress enacted a law forbidding corporations to make contributions to campaign funds in Federal elections; and in 1900 and 1911 other laws were passed requiring candidates for Federal offices to make public their receipts and expenditures both before and after primaries and elections. At present a candidate for the House of Representatives may expend not more than five thousand dollars in his own behalf, while a candidate for
the Senate may not spend over ten thousand. Their friends may spend an unlimited amount, but under no consideration will the election be lawful if it is found out the candidate had a hand in this dispensation of excessive funds. States may also prosecute for a transgression of similar laws within their domain, as in the case of the recent trial and conviction in Michigan of one of her Senators for criminal conspiracy with his friends to secure an election by the use of large sums of money.

The second privilege enjoyed by members of Congress is that of freedom from arrest during their attendance on the sessions of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace. During the periods mentioned a Congressman cannot be compelled to testify in a court, serve on a jury, or respond to an action brought against him.

The third privilege of Congressmen is freedom of speech during debate. No matter what a Congressman may say during a debate no member of either House shall have the right to question it in any other place. The effect of this privilege is to free the members from the liability to prosecution for libel or slander for anything said in Congress, or in committees, in official publications, or in the legitimate discharge of
their legislative duties. Members of Congress also conclude that this privilege carries with it the right to circulate their speeches, not only among their own constituents, but anywhere throughout the United States; and constant use of this right is employed by them.

The difference in the organization of the two Houses makes it necessary to say a few words by way of comparison before bringing this chapter to a close. The Senate is, of course, the smaller body, being composed of ninety-six members, as against 435 members in the House of Representatives. Generally speaking, the Senate is composed of older men—men of wider political experience, as most of them have previously been in some branch of State government or in the House of Representatives, in addition to which their longer term of office tends to make them political experts, acquainted not only with the problems of law-making, but also with the inner workings of Federal government.

The influence of Senators is also augmented by their position as party leaders within their respective States. They have a large power in appointing to Federal office; and sometimes they are able to construct political machines of extraordinary strength. Usually they have great weight in selecting party delegates to National party conventions, and in fact are largely responsible for
securing a majority of office-holders in those assemblies. The command over party resources within their States enables the Senators to bring more or less pressure to bear on the members of their own party in the House of Representatives.

It is true that there are Senators whose controlling purpose seems to be to protect and advance the interests of particular combinations of capital in civil life, without any regard to the broader principles of true statesmanship or their plain duty as representatives of the commonwealth; but fortunately such men are in the minority. Let us hope that the future will find them eliminated entirely through process of still better laws.
CHAPTER XIX

CONGRESS AT WORK

To most of us Congress is a vast and complicated legislative organ, with rules, committees, and methods, quite beyond our understanding; but a careful examination of the procedure of that body from day to day reveals certain principles and practices which, once grasped, make the working scheme of the organization fairly clear.

First of all let us consider that the working methods of Congress are determined largely by the existence of two political parties. One of these is always a majority in control of one or both Houses, and regards itself as responsible for the principal legislative policies. The other is always a minority, and is in opposition, and is bound under ordinary circumstances to criticise, and often vote against, the measures introduced and advanced by the majority.

Each party in the Senate and the House is organized into a Congressional caucus, whose meetings are held behind closed doors, at which is frequently determined the line of party action
with regard to important legislative questions. At one of these caucuses, before the opening of each Congress, the majority in the House chooses the Speaker; and in similar manner the minority decides upon its leader whom it formally presents as its candidate for Speaker, although knowing full well that he cannot by any chance be elected. In the same caucus the majority decides whether it will adopt the rules of the preceding Congress, or modify them; and it is seldom that this decision is overthrown. The caucus is definitely organized under rules by which party members are expected to abide, although there are often a few "insurgents" who insist on acting independently on some matters.

In the House the directing power seems unquestionably to be concentrated in the Speaker, in the majority members of the Committee on Rules, and in the chairmen of the other important committees. The positive leadership of these men seems to be definitely recognized. They are at present gradually working toward something like a Cabinet-system of government, in which they formulate the policies and bring the other party members into line by the many methods known to politics. Needless to say, this is not a system for the best interests of the people, and therefore it should be abolished as soon as possible.
Second, let us consider the fact that each session of Congress is confronted with an enormous amount of business—from five to twenty-five times as much as that body can properly handle. Any member may introduce as many bills as he pleases by handing them to the clerk, if they are of a private nature, or to the Speaker if they are of a public character. He does not have to secure permission in advance; nor does he assume any responsibility for them, even though they may possibly involve heavy calls upon the public treasury.

As each member has a large number of special appropriations for his own particular district, he is generally willing to be generous with the claims of other members in return for a favorable consideration of his own. This practice of cooperating in securing appropriations is known as "log-rolling"—a term derived from pioneer times when frontiersmen helped one another in rolling logs for clearing and building purposes. It is owing to this system that National interests are largely subordinated to particular and local interests. Of course this is all wrong, as it has at times degraded the House of Representatives into a group of astute wire-pullers whose tenure of position and standing with their constituents depended, not upon their high abilities for dealing with issues really great, but upon the success
with which they secured appropriations for selfish local interests.

But in this connection we must not place too much blame upon the members of Congress, for singly they may not be wholly at fault. Any one of them who should refuse to join in this general scramble for the division of spoils would find himself speedily retired by the organized element among his constituents, for they are generally prone to measure the achievements of their Representative by the largeness of the appropriations which he secures for their district. It is really the system which is at fault. To this we must devote attack if things are to be changed for the better. As long as political parties hold the power they do today—as long as any member of Congress may introduce measures unlimited, carrying a charge upon the public treasury—just so long will the log-rolling process continue its degenerate course, just so long will the House be so overwhelmed with business as practically to destroy its functions as a deliberate assembly.

Since in the House the leaders are the Speaker, the Committee on Rules, and the chairmen of the principal committees to which bills are referred, rules are made to provide ways by which these leaders can make selections of business for consideration, limiting the amount of time which
may be consumed in debate upon each subject. These rules must enable the presiding officer of the House to prevent the consideration of any motion introduced merely for the purpose of delaying business. They must also limit, or make provision for limiting, the amount of time which may be consumed in debating any particular question. They must provide some way by which the party leaders can force the consideration of certain measures whenever they see fit.

The practice of introducing measures with the sole purpose of creating a delay in the transaction of other business is called "filibustering." Frequently it is used by the minority for the purpose of calling the attention of the country in an emphatic way to the policy of the majority. But this questionable proceeding is not put into practice as much now as formerly. Since Speaker Reed, in 1890, refused to put motions which he regarded as purely dilatory, being sustained by the House, it has become a recognized fact that the object of a parliamentary body is action, not stoppage of action, and that it is the right of the majority to refuse to have these dilatory motions entertained at the expense of regular business. Hence it falls to the duty of the Speaker, as representative of the body majority, to object to all such proceedings as soon as he senses them. But it is a very difficult matter sometimes to de-
tect the inconsistent from the consistent, as you may suppose, and therefore there are occasions when filibusters get through and perform their unchaste function of delaying important measures.

A second rule allows the Speaker to count as present those members who are physically present, but who refuse to answer to their names on a roll-call for the purpose of compelling an adjournment in the absence of a quorum.

A third rule provides a method for automatically shortening debate by prescribing that the time occupied by any member in discussing a legislative proposition shall not exceed one hour. If he choose, a member may yield a portion of his time to some other member or members wishing to speak; but only with the unanimous consent of his fellow-members may he carry over the hour; neither may he speak twice upon the same measure unless he introduced it, or is the member reporting it from a committee.

There is a fourth rule which enables party leaders to force the consideration of certain measures whenever they see fit by allowing certain committees to report on certain subjects at any time during the course of the procedure of the House. These committees and subjects are as follows: Committee on Rules—may report on rules, joint rules, and order of business. Com-
mittee on Elections—may report on the right of a member to his seat. Committee on Ways and Means—may report on bills raising revenue. Various committees having jurisdiction over appropriations—may report on the general appropriation bills. Committee on Rivers and Harbors—may report bills for the improvement of rivers and harbors. Committee on Public Lands—may report bills for the forfeiture of land grants to railroad companies and other corporations bills preventing speculation in public lands, and bills for the reservation of the public lands for the benefit of actual and bonafide settlers. Committee on Territories—may report on territorial business, bills for the admission of new States. Committee on Enrolled Bills—may report on this subject in general. Committee on Pensions—may report on general pension bills.

The Senate also has its code of rules, but it has not adopted any of the drastic methods you will find in the House. Ordinarily the method of obstruction in this body is prolonged speaking, and the member endowed with the most forcible and enduring vocal accomplishments has the best chance of preventing a measure from coming to vote, thus compelling the majority to capitulate.

This practice of unlimited debate in the Senate often has an important influence on the course of legislative business. A Senator may have
some particular appropriation in favor of his State which he wishes to insert in the general appropriation bill; and toward the closing hours of the session he may threaten to block everything by exercising his right to speak indefinitely until the Senate yields. This must necessarily bring the House to terms also; on more than one occasion the House has been forced either to acquiesce in an appropriation which it did not favor, or incur the risk of having some of its important measures held up by recalcitrant Senators.

The direction of business in the Senate is in the hands of the chairman of the majority caucus and his immediate friends. And the general direction of legislative business in both Houses is vested in an unofficial "steering committee," composed of several leading Senators and the six majority members of the House Committee on Rules.

As a part of the system by which the two Houses endeavor to deal with the enormous mass of business coming before them, there has been evolved an extensive scheme of standing committees. The legislative work of each House is largely done by committees, each of which is controlled by a majority of members representing the dominant party. Besides the standing committees mentioned, there are select committees which are appointed from time to time to deal
with specific matters, these being dissolved as soon as their business has been finished.

Since the beginning of our Government there has been an almost steady increase in the number of committees, until now there are close to seventy in the Senate and sixty in the House. Each committee has a well-furnished office, and many "perquisites" not to be despised by members of Congress. The natural pride of each member leads him to an endeavor to be assigned to some important committee, so there is always a sufficiency of men for all committees.

The committees vary greatly in importance. In the House of Representatives the leading committees are on ways and means, appropriations, rules, banking and currency, interstate and foreign commerce, rivers and harbors, military affairs, naval affairs, post-office and post roads, public lands, labor, and pensions. In the Senate high rank is taken by the committees on appropriations, finance, commerce, foreign relations, judiciary, military affairs, naval affairs, interstate commerce, and pensions.

Prior to 1910 all standing committees were appointed by the Speaker of the House to which they belonged, but in that year this system was changed in favor of an election by the House itself. Up to 1912 it was also customary to assign all of the important chairmanships to mem-
bers who had seen long service, but of late incoming new members have been more recognized. It is in the committee-room, usually behind closed doors and secure from public scrutiny, that the real legislative work is done. Every bill, important or unimportant, is first sent to the committee whose duty covers its subject-matter. Friends as well as opponents of the measure are frequently admitted to state the reasons for their positions, while hearings may even be held at various points throughout the country in case of necessity, and witnesses required to appear, very much in the same manner as in a courtroom.

On purely party measures, such as the tariff, the majority members of the committee draft the bill, and when the measure is complete, they may invite the minority members in to vote on it as a matter of form. On any measure referred to it, the committee may recommend its adoption, may amend it, may report adversely, may delay the report indefinitely, may ignore it altogether—as it wishes. In the House it rarely happens that a member is able to secure the consideration of a bill which the committee in charge opposes; but in the Senate a greater freedom is enjoyed in this respect.

The division of each House of Congress into a large number of separate committees leads to many deplorable results. These committees work
with little or no reference to one another; there is a consequent wasteful overlapping and duplicating of interests which often lead to ill-adjudged and conflicting legislation. Within recent years even very important measures have been forced through, as they have come from committee, without serious debate or a single amendment, speaking in eloquent terms of the disastrous results that must follow the present system.

At the opening of a new Congress, the House of Representatives is called to order by the clerk of the last House. He calls the roll, and finding a quorum present, announces that they are ready for the nominations for Speaker. The majority and minority put forward their candidates. After the majority's nominee is duly ratified, he takes the oath of office, which is administered by the member longest in continuous service of the House. The roll is called by the clerk, and the Representatives go forward to be sworn in. The other officers are chosen, whereupon the President of the United States, and the Senate, are informed that the House is ready for business.

The Senate differs from the House in being a continuous body. At each new Congress only one-third of its members are renewed. The presiding officer, the Vice-President, takes the chair. In case of his absence a president pro tempore
performs his duties. The newly-elected Senators are called in alphabetical order by the Secretary of the Senate, and each Senator in turn is escorted to the presiding officer's desk, usually by the colleague from his State, and there takes the oath of office. The President of the United States, and the House of Representatives, are then duly notified, and the Senate is also ready for work.

Sometimes a committee of the House cooperates with a similar committee of the Senate in the preparation of a bill. If the matter is very important, and the President of the United States is interested, he may join with some of the committee members in preparing the bill; and prominent party leaders not in office may be consulted. A caucus of party members may be held on the bill even before it is introduced.

Upon their introduction, all public bills are referred by the Speaker to the appropriate committee which, as stated elsewhere, may hold hearings and give the matter such attention as it sees fit. The committee may report the bill favorably to the House unamended, or it may amend it and report it thus, or it may report unfavorably, or it may neglect it altogether.

The important committees, which may report at any time, report from the floor. Other com-
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mitees report by laying their documents on the clerk's table.

Unless it is a highly privileged matter, a bill, when reported, is placed on a calendar for debate, according to the rules.

All public bills raising revenue or authorizing the appropriation of money or property, are considered in the committee of the whole house. In this form one hundred constitute a quorum, and the Speaker resigns the chair to some other member.

Such bills as are not required to be considered in the committee of the whole House are read a second time when they are reached on the calendar, and are then open to discussion and amendment in the House. The third reading usually takes place by title, and the question is put by the Speaker as a matter of course.

When a bill has passed either House, it is transmitted to the other body for consideration. If the second House passes the bill thus brought in, the Senate is notified; the measure is then signed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, and is sent to the President of the United States for his signature. If he approves the bill, he notifies the House in which it originated of his action, and sends it to the Secretary of State for official publication. If,
on the contrary, he vetoes the measure, he returns the bill to the House in which it originated, with a statement of the reasons for his action, unless that body has adjourned. In the latter event he holds it until the next session.
CHAPTER XX

THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY

Under the Articles of Confederation, Congress had full power to settle disputes between States as to boundaries, and to decide cases involving charges of piracy or felony committed on the high seas. But since there was no Executive to enforce these decisions, the judicial power of the old Government was a mere pretense of authority, quite incapable of inflicting punishment in the cases it tried and pronounced at fault.

The framers of the Constitution completed the machinery of the new Government by establishing a judicial department which was wholly independent of all other departments and equal to them in rank and dignity. They regarded, indeed, the independence of this third great department of Federal administration as of the highest importance. The new Federal judges were to administer justice not only between man and man, but between State and State. Even conflicts of section with section might reach a settlement in the decisions of the new Judiciary. For this reason it was quite necessary that a
Federal judge, in rendering a decision, should fear neither the opinion of the President nor Congress, that he should not be influenced by his own or any other political party, and that, in order to preserve in him as faithful a performance of office as possible, his tenure of service should be dependent upon his good behavior rather than a certain length of time. As a matter of fact, however, politics do play a part in the composition and conduct of the Judiciary, for the Federal courts are largely creations of the Legislature, and whatever has to do with this body must of necessity flavor of political influence to a greater or lesser extent.

The Constitution of the United States makes only slight reference to the structure of the Federal courts. It merely provides that the judicial power of the country shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. It is thus within the power of Congress to determine the number of judges in the Supreme Court, and to create any additional tribunals it may deem necessary.

While Congress may not remove the judges of an inferior court, except by the process of impeachment, it may get rid of them by abolishing the court altogether. This was actually done in 1802, during Jefferson's administration, when the
Republican Congress repealed the law of the preceding year creating sixteen Circuit judgeships which President Adams had filled with Federalists on the last night of his term. Of course Congress cannot abolish the Supreme Court; nor can it remove any of its judges except by impeachment, or reduce their salaries during their terms of service. But it may, by political methods, “pack” the Supreme Court very much as the House of Lords of England can be packed if it should refuse to adopt a measure passed by the Commons. It may reduce the number of judges by providing that, on the death or resignation or removal of any judge, the particular judgeship shall be abolished, as was done in 1866 to prevent President Johnson from filling vacancies. Again, it may increase the number of judges in order to secure the appointment of men known to entertain views pleasing to it in regard to certain forthcoming legislation.

Furthermore, Congress may influence, in a way, the judicial department by refusing to provide the requisite number of inferior courts or adequate processes. But with the exception of two or three instances, the Judiciary has not been controlled by any of these methods, and it therefore enjoys, for practical purposes, a high degree of independence from Legislative interference.

All Federal judges are nominated by the Presi-
dent and appointed by the advice and consent of the Senate. In the case of the inferior courts this method of appointment is a matter of practice rather than of Constitutional law. The Constitution provides that the President and Senate are to appoint the judges of the Supreme Court; but authorizes Congress to vest the appointment of such "inferior officers" as it thinks proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments. By uniform practice, however, it is settled that the judges of the inferior Federal courts are not "inferior officers" whose appointment may be taken from the President and Senate and vested in some other authority.

At the head of the Judiciary stands the Supreme Court, composed of nine judges—a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. Six judges must be present at each trial, and a majority is necessary for a decision. The salary of the Chief Justice is $15,000, and of the Associate Justices $14,500. Usually the Court holds its session from October till May in the chamber of the Capitol formerly occupied by the United States Senate. The most important business that comes before it involves questions of Constitutional law which are brought up from lower Federal courts, or from State courts, on appeal or by writ of error.

The cases are presented to the Supreme Court
CHAMBER OF U. S. SUPREME COURT
judges in the arguments of attorneys, or in printed briefs, or in both manners. As presented, a case contains a statement of the facts involved in the controversy, and the arguments of the attorneys on the law and facts. It is the duty of each justice to examine into these points, and to apply the law in settling them. After each has looked at the case independently, a conference is held at which the various points are discussed at length until a decision is reached. Thereupon the Chief Justice requests one of his colleagues to prepare what is called “the opinion of the court,” which contains the conclusions reached. This opinion is subjected to the close scrutiny of all the judges, and after a careful revision it is printed and placed on record as the solemn and final decision of the Court. Any judge who agrees with the judgment of the majority, but who bases his conclusion on other arguments than those put forward in the opinion, may prepare what is called a “concurring opinion,” in which he sets forth his own reasons for reaching the same end. Therefore, in some instances a majority of the Court may agree that a particular case shall be decided in favor of the plaintiff (or defendant), but each justice may assign different reasons for his own action.

In like manner, in all important cases, it is also the practice for the minority of the judges who
disagree with the conclusion reached by the majority to prepare a "dissenting opinion," setting forth their reasons for believing as they do. Often of recent years many crucial cases involving Constitutional law have been decided by the narrowest of margins—five to four.

The opinions thus rendered by the judges are officially published under the title *United States Reports*. The last few years these, for a single term, have constituted three and sometimes four volumes. They form the great authoritative source of information on the historical development and present status of Constitutional law.

Next in importance to the Supreme Court are the Circuit Courts of Appeal, of which there are nine—one in each of the great circuits into which the United States is divided. This type of court was established by Congress in 1891 for the purpose of relieving the Supreme Court somewhat from its pressure of business. The act did not create a new set of judges in this instance, but employed judges from the lower Federal courts to do the appeal work. By a reorganizing statute of March 3, 1911, provision however was made for separate judges for the Circuit Court of Appeals. These are now known under the title of "Circuit Judges." Those circuits having a large amount of business are given four judges; the smaller circuits are allowed two judges, and the
remaining circuits get along with three. These judges are appointed by the President and Senate. Each circuit is supervised by one of the nine justices of the Supreme Court.

A Circuit Court of Appeals has the right to review, by appeal or on writ of error, decisions in the lower District Courts, and in a large percentage of cases its decision is final. Thus it decides controversies between aliens and citizens, suits between citizens of different States, and cases arising under patent, revenue, and criminal laws.

At any time the Circuit Court of Appeals may ask the Supreme Court for instructions on any point of law; and the latter may call up the case and decide it, or may inquire by writ of certiorari into final causes pending in the Circuit Court.

The lowest Federal tribunal is the District Court. The whole country is laid out into some eighty or ninety districts, and in each of these there are appointed by the President and Senate one, two, three, or four, district judges, according to the amount of business to be transacted. Each of the more sparsely populated States constitutes a single district; other States are divided into two or more districts. The State of New York—one of the largest—is divided into four districts.

Again, each large district is usually divided
into “divisions,” and the law prescribes the dates and place for holding terms of the District Court within each division. This information is available to any person who seeks it from Federal officers in his community.

The matters which may be brought to trial in a Federal District Court are so numerous and various in character that we will not attempt to enumerate them all here. It is enough to state that the jurisdiction of this type of court embraces, among other things, all crimes and offences cognizable under the authority of the United States; cases arising under the internal revenue laws, postal laws, copyright privileges, proceedings in bankruptcy; all suits arising under any law regulating the immigration of aliens, or under the contract labor laws; also all suits and proceedings arising under any law to protect trade and commerce against restraints and monopolies.

In the closest relation to the Judiciary are the Department of Justice and the great army of United States attorneys and marshals in the judicial districts in the States and Territories. The head of the Department of Justice is the Attorney General of the United States, who is the chief law officer of the Federal Government, as we have stated elsewhere. This officer represents the United States in matters involving legal
questions; he gives his opinion and advice when they are required by the President or the heads of his Cabinet; he exercises a general direction over the United States attorneys and marshals in all judicial districts; he provides special counsel for the United States when the need exists. You will see, therefore, that the enforcement of Federal laws in general depends largely upon the activity and good purpose of the Attorney General, or rather upon the pressure brought to bear upon him by the President.

In each of the judicial districts there is a United States district attorney. This officer represents the Government in the prosecution and defense of cases arising within his district, just as the city attorney represents the municipality in civil cases. There is also in each district a marshal, assisted by a number of deputies, whose duty it is to enforce the orders of the Federal courts, to arrest offenders against Federal law, and to assist otherwise in the execution of that law. Both the district attorney and the marshal are appointed by the President and the Senate.

The Supreme Court has been called "the guardian of the Constitution." Of course the real guardians of the Constitution are the people themselves, yet the Supreme Court may do much, and has done much, to preserve our fundamental laws in all their integrity. The place of this
Court as a defender of the Constitution is seen in its power to declare as void and without force all acts which are repugnant to the Constitution. If a State law, or a law of Congress, seems to the Supreme Court to conflict with the Constitution, that great tribunal will declare the law unconstitutional, and it will be promptly squelched: An unconstitutional statute is an unlawful law—a law which should not have been made—a law which can bear no fruit—a barren, useless thing of no power itself, and, therefore quite incapable of exerting the slightest legal influence upon affairs of State or Nation.

When the Supreme Court declares an act of Congress unconstitutional we see the Judiciary undoing the work of the Legislature, and at first thought we are inclined to accuse the Judiciary of assuming more power than belongs to it. But when we look at the matter closely we find that this is not so. Courts of law, whether low or high, are established to settle disputes between litigants. They do not seek cases, but wait until cases are brought to them. And when a case is once brought into court the judge must settle it strictly according to law. His will, his prejudices, his preferences, must not enter at all into his decision. He must consider: First, the laws of the State legislature. Second, the laws of the State constitution: Third, the laws of
Congress. Fourth, the laws of the Federal Constitution. If there is a conflict between two laws, the lower law must give way. If the conflict is between a law of Congress and the Constitution of the United States, the former must give way because the Constitution is the supreme law of the land.

So when the Supreme Court decides that a law of Congress is unconstitutional it does only what a justice of the peace might do; it selects from conflicting laws the law of greatest authority, and forthwith renders a decision in accordance with this law. There is, however, this great difference between a justice of the peace declaring a law of Congress unconstitutional and a similar decision of the Supreme Court: there is an appeal from the decision of the justice, but there is no appeal from the decision of the Supreme Court.

Just because the Supreme Court's verdicts are final in this way, we should not get the idea that it has the last word on any and every Constitutional question, and that its decisions shall be binding forever and ever. The last word is always with the people. In its opinions the Supreme Court simply voices the will of the people as it is expressed in the Constitution. If the people do not care to go on in the old ways they have selected, all they have to do is to change the old
for the new, as one would discard a threadbare coat for a bright one of new pattern. In other words, their dissatisfaction can easily be erased by simply amending the Constitution themselves, to meet their present needs. Then will the Supreme Court fall in line by instantly recognizing the amendment as the supreme law of the land, and then will it render judgment in accordance with the letter and spirit of the amendment.
CHAPTER XXI

TAXATION AND FINANCE

The Constitution gives Congress a general power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises. Congress is also authorized to coin money and regulate its value, also to borrow money when the necessity arises.

Subject to certain rules, which we shall consider later, there is no limit on the amount of taxes Congress may lay. The Supreme Court has nothing to say in this regard; if the power to tax is exercised oppressively, the remedy for the wrong rests with the people who choose the Legislature.

The Constitution expressly points out some of the restrictions it exercises on this power to tax. It is provided that all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States; and under an interpretation of the Supreme Court a uniform tax is one which falls with the same weight upon the same kind of object wherever it may be found. In other words, a citizen of certain possessions who is living in Florida shall
be taxed the same amount as a citizen of similar possession who is living in Maine or California; location (so long as he is within the United States), or personality, does not influence the situation in the least.

Another express limitation on the taxing power of Congress is that direct taxes (except income taxes) shall be apportioned among the States according to their respective numbers.

Still another provision is that Congress shall not lay a duty or tax on articles exported from any State, and that, in the regulation of commerce and revenue, no preference shall be given to the ports of one State over those of another. To prevent discrimination between States, it is further stipulated that vessels bound to or from one State shall not be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties, in the ports of another.

Supplementing these express limitations there is an important implied restriction of the Constitution on the taxing power. This makes it apparent that Congress is not expected to tax the instrumentalities or the property of any State. For example, during the Civil War a tax was levied on the gains, profits, and income, of every person in the country; a judge in Massachusetts refused to pay the tax upon his income which was derived from the commonwealth, and the Supreme Court upheld him in his refusal, declar-
ing that the Federal Government was thus taxing an instrumentality of a State.

Broadly speaking, there are two forms of taxes in the United States—direct and indirect taxes. At present there are three kinds of direct taxes—the poll-tax, the land-tax, and the income-tax. The latter became Constitutional by an amendment in 1913, and authorized Congress to lay taxes upon private incomes from all sources without reference to any census or enumeration.

Indirect taxes, which are subject only to the rule of uniformity, may be said to include excise taxes upon commodities, such as whisky and tobacco; customs duties imposed upon goods coming into the United States from foreign countries; taxes upon inheritances; license taxes on occupations; duties on the sale of commodities, such, for example, as the stamp tax laid upon proprietary articles during the Spanish-American War; stamp taxes such as those on checks, mortgages, and other papers; and, apparently, taxes on incomes not derived from real or personal property.

Except in time of war or stoppage of revenue, it has been customary for the Federal Government to rely upon indirect taxation as its chief source of revenue. It was the intention of the framers of the Constitution that indirect taxes should be the principal reliance of the Nation for
funds. In common with all statesmen they recognized the natural dislike of the people for any form of tax which must be paid directly out of their own pockets in lump sums to the Government. Moreover it is a much simpler task to collect money by indirect tax. Therefore, the United States now derives its revenues from two prime sources—customs duties laid upon imports coming from foreign countries, and internal revenue or excise taxes laid on spirits, tobacco, and the like.

The Sixteenth Amendment, previously referred to, and passed in 1913, lays a tax of one per cent upon private incomes above $3,000, with an increasing rate on incomes over $20,000 a year, and with certain exemptions. Any person supporting a wife or husband is allowed a $4,000 exemption; and incomes from Government bonds, Federal, State, and local, are exempt.

The Constitution definitely provides that all bills raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but authorizes the Senate to propose or concur in amendments as in the case of other bills. In spite of this the influence of the Senate in shaping revenue legislation has been steadily on the increase, until now it frankly assumes the right of initiating revenue measures.

The actual work of preparing revenue bills in the House is assigned to the Committee on Ways
and Means. Tariff measures are drawn up by the members of the committee representing the party which has a majority in the House. When it becomes apparent that the temper of the country is demanding a revision of the tariff, the House of Representatives usually authorizes the committee to gather information preparatory to the adoption of the new schedules.

It is a common practice for the committee to hold many sessions which are attended by the representatives of the various industries of the Nation, as well as by consumers and other persons interested in the tariff, who advance their respective claims for protection or for reduction, as the case may be. As soon as the majority members have gathered all the evidence they desire, and thoroughly considered it, they draw up a complete bill which is sometimes discussed in the full committee. Since a tariff bill is always a political measure, the minority members on the committee are generally not consulted at all, and may in fact know nothing about the exact provisions of the bill until it is reported to the House. They may protest in a report of their own, but it seldom is of any avail.

When a revenue bill is reported to the House by the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, it is debated in the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. At first the discus-
sion is quite general. It is then followed by a debate on details, under the five-minute rule. As the discussion proceeds, from time to time the Committee on Ways and Means will report changes, as the astute party leader, or chairman, perceives the points on which it seems to him good policy to yield. The bill, as modified under the searching debate, is generally passed by the House under "the previous question."

The measure next goes to the Senate, where it is promptly referred to the Committee on Finance, which has, as a matter of fact, been busy upon its own bill and has watched with close attention the progress of the discussion of the House. After making amendments, or substituting practically a new bill, the committee makes its report to the Senate. The debate in that body, as we have seen, is practically unlimited; and the consequence is, the tariff measure receives far more penetrating criticism there than in the House.

Following its passage in the Senate, the bill is returned to the House. The latter promptly votes, as a rule, not to concur in the Senate amendments, and asks for a conference. Thereupon the Speaker appoints the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and some other members, to represent the House, and the presiding officer of the Senate selects the chairman
of the Committee on Finance, and certain other members, to represent that body. Then the Conference Committee begins a series of sessions which always end in a compromise, the Senate yielding some of its amendments, and the House giving up some of its own. In the event of a deadlock, very often the President is called in for his opinion, which has a great influence in many cases.

When the Conference Committee has come to an agreement, its report is immediately submitted to the House, where it is passed without amendment. Then it goes to the Senate, where it is likewise speedily accepted. Last it is sent to the President for his signature.

Appropriation bills, unlike revenue bills, are not prepared by any single committee in the House of Representatives, but are entrusted to a number of committees. This is because the extensive amount of business done in this line cannot adequately be handled otherwise. At the present time there are no less than fourteen general appropriation bills to be cared for periodically, and for the preparation of these seven standing committees have been appointed.

Not only do the respective committees on appropriations have great difficulty in securing proper estimates for public expenditures, but they are under constant pressure from every
hand to increase the amounts which they recommend to the House for adoption. When a new bureau is created, for instance, it inevitably wishes to widen the scope of its work and to increase for the purpose the salaries of its employees. Army and naval officers are ever alert for larger appropriations for their service. Then there is the interminable list of appropriations forced upon Congress through "log-rolling," such as appropriations for post-offices, naval stations, docks, harbor improvements, and other public works which redound to the advantage of specific localities.

The collection of the revenue is entrusted to two branches of the Treasury Department. One of these has charge of the customs duties; the other has control of the internal revenue.

For the collection of import duties, the country is divided into customs districts, each having a port of entry and a set of officials. The latter include the collector, the appraisers, special agents, inspectors, etc. The internal revenue and the revenue from income taxes are under direct charge of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, who is appointed by the President and Senate.

The revenues of the United States in taxes, fees, postal charges, etc., are stored in Washington, and in nine subtreasuries located, respectively, in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Balti-
more, Chicago, Cincinnati, New Orleans, St. Louis, and San Francisco. In addition the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to put portions of the public funds into certain National banks (designated as “depositories”), on the basis of United States bonds or other satisfactory security.

A power of this nature in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury is an enormous one, as it makes it possible for him to give or withhold the aid of the Government in time of stringency. Secretary Shaw made it his custom to come to the aid of the money market whenever a crisis was threatened, by distributing funds among the banks whose surplus reserves had run low. This immediately relieved conditions; a large amount of Government money was placed in circulation, much foreign gold was secured from the banks as security, and the tide was turned again. In the panic of 1907, Secretary Cortelyou performed a like service to avert a threatened calamity, and succeeded. However, the intimate relation which this custom establishes between the Government and private interests is full of grave peril, and whenever possible our statesmen steer clear of it.

As has been stated, the Constitution gives Congress power to coin money and regulate its value, and also to borrow money.
Let it be observed that Congress is not expressly authorized to issue paper money in any form. In fact Congress avoided such a step until the financial stress of the Civil War finally induced it to make the venture. Thus was paper money issued and declared to be lawful tender in every way for the payment of all debts, public and private, except duties on imports, demands against the United States, and interest payable in coin.

As might be supposed the constitutionality of this law was speedily tested. In its decision the Supreme Court held that an act making mere paper promises to pay legal tender in the discharge of debts previously contracted for was not a means appropriate and necessary, and was inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution. After a reorganization of the Supreme Court the case was again presented, whereupon the verdict of the first tribunal was reversed, and the act declared Constitutional.

The power over the monetary system is virtually exclusive in Congress, for the Constitution definitely states that no State can coin money, nor can it make legal tender anything but gold and coin of the United States, nor emit bills of credit. A bill of credit has been defined by the Supreme Court as a paper medium, issued by a State on its own authority, and designed to
circulate between individuals and between the Government and individuals for the ordinary purposes of society. Later, however, this limitation was interpreted in such a way as to authorize the issue of paper money through a public corporation in which the State was the sole or principal stockholder. The order forbidding States to emit bills of credit was substantially annulled, and an enormous amount of State bank paper, often without a sound currency basis, was put into circulation with such ill results that, in 1866, Congress passed an act imposing a tax of ten per cent annually on State issues. This forced the States out of the paper money business.

The money of the United States now falls into two groups—paper and coin. The former embraces United States notes which are in circulation under the redemption act of 1879, placing them on a gold basis; treasury notes, issued under the act of 1890 for the purchase of silver gold certificates,—produced whenever the reserve in the Treasury is above $100,000,000,—and National banknotes.

A banknote is a promissory note, payable on demand, made and issued by a bank, intended to circulate as money. Whether a banknote will circulate as money or not depends upon the reputation of the bank issuing it and upon its ability to pay the note when presented. A United
States note (greenback) is a form of paper money issued by the Federal Government, and is based upon the credit and good faith of the country.

The preparation of the paper money of the United States is in charge of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in the Department of the Treasury. A special paper is used, and the notes are made up of two layers between which are laid silk threads, to make the bill less likely to tear in handling, and more difficult to duplicate on the part of counterfeiters.

The coins made include gold pieces in denominations of $20, $10, $5, and $2.50. The silver coins at present coming from the mints are: In silver, the 50-, 25-, and 10-cent pieces; in other and baser metals, the 5-cent piece (nickel), and the cent. The dollar is no longer coined.

These coins are made at three United States mints—Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans,—and the initial letter of each mint appears upon every coin it produces. Visitors are welcome at the mints, accompanied by guides, to witness the production of metallic money. During the St. Louis Exposition, in 1904, the Government made a public display of its currency making procedure which was very interesting.

In 1783—an important date in our coinage history—Congress discontinued the free coinage of
silver, and established as the unit of value the gold dollar weighing 23.22 grains of fine gold, with one-tenth of alloy to prevent excessive wear. About this time immense quantities of silver were discovered in Nevada, and the production of silver increased while the demand for it at the mints lessened. The result was that, in the years following 1873, there was a marked decline in the value of silver as compared with gold.

In 1878 Congress, to rejuvenate silver, passed an act providing that the Government should buy several million dollars' worth of silver bullion each month, and coin this into silver dollars which should be full legal tender. Under this act a great deal of silver was coined. For twelve years this law continued in force, when it was repealed and a law known as the "Sherman Act" passed. The latter provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should each month purchase at its market value 4,500,000 ounces of silver, and pay for the same with treasury notes. Under this law 36,000,000 silver dollars were coined and $156,000,000 of treasury notes issued.

In 1893, owing to the government of India holding back its own issuance of silver, the value of the latter was lowered all over the world. The same year the gold reserve, which the United States Government kept on hand to redeem the treasury notes and the greenbacks, began to di-
minish alarmingly. This and other discouraging factors produced the impression that the Secretary of the Treasury would not long be able to redeem the treasury notes and greenbacks in gold. Almost frantic at the thought, the holders of these kinds of currency presented them in large sums for redemption, always demanding gold, as a silver dollar was then worth but sixty-seven cents. The "run" on the treasury was successfully met, but the financial world was in a tremor of fear that the gold reserve would become exhausted. As a consequence the clause of the Sherman Act dealing with the periodical purchase of silver bullion was repealed, and thus the issue of the treasury notes ceased.

Coinage has been on a gold basis since 1893. No silver bullion has been purchased at the mints, although a considerable portion of that remaining on hand at the time of the repeal of the Sherman purchasing clause has been coined as Congress has directed from time to time.

Under a law of 1900 gold was made the standard unit of value, with no provision for the coinage of silver from bullion other than that which was already in stock, except in the case of subsidiary coins. Silver dollars and silver certificates, however, are still legal tender, and the Government has declared itself as desirous of keeping them on a parity with gold.
CHAPTER XXII

THE REGULATION OF COMMERCE

Generally speaking, commerce may be said to consist in the exchange of goods, merchandise, or property, of any kind. All governments find it necessary to regulate commerce. In the United States power in this respect is divided between the State and the Federal Government. Congress regulates foreign commerce, interstate commerce, and commerce with Indian tribes. The State regulates all commerce carried on within its own boundaries.

Before taking up the matter of foreign commerce, let us consider domestic commerce, or that within our own country. This is made up of interstate commerce and intrastate commerce. The distinction between these is not easy to indicate. Broadly speaking, when a commercial transaction begins in one State and ends in another, that transaction is a subject of interstate commerce. But when a commercial transaction ends in the same State in which it begins, it is a subject of intrastate commerce. As a further
illustration, if a merchant ships his goods to a point in any other State than his own, he indulges in interstate commerce; if, on the other hand, he ships his goods to a point within his own State, he is operating under intrastate commerce conditions. A railroad which has the whole length of its tracks within a certain State, cannot be regarded as being engaged in interstate commerce; but a railroad whose tracks enter other States must be so regarded.

Again, a river lying wholly within a State, and having no connection with bodies of water outside of that State,—something that seldom occurs,—can be used only for intrastate commerce. Should the river communicate navigably with other navigable bodies of water in other States, it is, of course, an instrument of interstate commerce.

INTRASTATE COMMERCE

The power of the State over commerce which concerns its own people is unlimited. All the States make it a custom to permit great freedom in commercial transactions in order to promote the growth of commerce, without which no community could thrive long. Since commerce is largely a matter of transportation, the State does everything it can to keep up and improve its lines of travel.
Thus highways in county, town, and city, become an important factor; the broader and smoother they are, the better wagons, trucks, and other merchandise-carrying vehicles can pass along them. The farmer must get to town with his produce in the easiest and quickest way; the manufacturer and merchant in town must have well-paved streets in order to move his goods to the wholesaler, jobber, retailer, or consumer. So important are good roads that in some States the State government has taken the control of them out of the hands of local authorities. In other States, a certain percentage of the cost of constructing new roads and repairing others is met by the State, the county bearing the rest of the cost. This policy of State-aid is having a stimulating effect in the rapid improvement of highways, and is coming into wider and wider use every year.

Next to the highways themselves, steam railroads and electric railroads are the most important instruments of State commerce. Ordinarily railroads receive their charters from the State in which they originate, although several transcontinental lines have been chartered by Congress, owing to their National character. There are times when the State assists with money in the construction of a railroad. But as a rule it keeps away from the practice, allow-
ing private enterprises to furnish the capital and operate the roads.

Still the State cannot well let these corporations have everything their own way in the conduct of so powerful a public utility as a railroad. If the private owners chose they could tie up the lines and stagnate the business of the whole State, if not the whole Nation. So, in two-thirds of the States, there are controlling bodies known as State railroad commissions. These commissions see that the railroads do not favor one locality or one individual over another; in other words, that fair play is dispensed not only in service but in fares and rates. They also insist upon adequate service at all times for all communities, demand the publication of carrier rates, and the strict adherence to the laws of the State constitution. In some States the railroad commission even determines where and when new stations are to be located, and supervises the construction of crossings. Municipalities themselves usually are given the privilege of making laws regulating the speed of trains, their obstruction of crossings, whistling, and menace to life at street crossings.

It may surprise the average person to know that the sending of a telegraphic or telephonic message is considered by the Government as an act coming under the head of commerce, but such
it is. The mails also are included. Should a message by wire or air be sent to a destination within the State, it is a matter of State control; but when it is sent from one State to another it is an affair of interstate commerce and comes under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. Thus, although the telegraph or telephone company operating the system may be a private corporation, their methods have to conform to the laws of the branch of government under which they operate.

As for the mails, we have already treated of this subject in a foregoing chapter, and further reference is unnecessary.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE

During the period of the Confederation, commerce between the States was subjected to many burdens as well as inconveniences. There was so little distinction in the different classes of commerce, and so much rivalry between States that goods brought into one State from another were treated as if they were goods from a foreign country. When the New Jersey farmer carried his produce to the New York markets he was compelled by the tax-collector of New York to pay a tax before he could sell. When a vessel from Philadelphia sailed into the harbor of Bos-
ton, its master was likely to be asked to pay tonnage before he could unload his cargo.

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 gave to Congress its first complete power to regulate commerce between the States. This meeting resulted in laws being passed which forbade a State to lay tonnage or any export or import duty without the consent of Congress, confining its power in regard to commerce wholly within its own boundaries.

The power of Congress over interstate commerce is complete and decisive. It extends to every means of carrying on such commerce—to railroads, rivers, lakes, canals, even the air, and to persons themselves, and the articles constituting the shipment or exchange. Within its boundaries a State can regulate its commerce in its own manner, but goods and passengers that are on their way from one State to another come under the supervision of the Federal Government.

Furthermore, under the provisions of the interstate commerce clause a State is not permitted to discriminate by taxation or otherwise against residents of other States, or against business carried on by them in the State. A State can interfere with interstate traffic only so far as it may be necessary to carry on the work of its police in criminal cases.

In order to remedy evils that had been creep-
ing into interstate commerce for some time, in 1887 Congress established a body known as the Interstate Commerce Commission. This was given very substantial powers with regard to the regulation of railroads. The law which created this body requires that freight and passenger rates shall be just and reasonable, that there shall be no discrimination between persons and localities, that there shall be proper facilities for the interchange of traffic between connecting lines, that no free interstate passes shall be given out, that all railroads print and make public their freight and passenger rates. There is also a supplemental law, passed in 1903, which forbids rebates, or the giving of discounts to large shippers.

The powers of the Commission were enlarged in 1906 by an act of Congress which permits the Commission to annul a rate which it regards as unjust or unreasonable, and to fix a new rate which it regards as just and reasonable. Again, in 1910, Congress empowered the Commission to make investigations upon its own motion.

FOREIGN COMMERCE

Under the Confederation, commerce with foreign nations was in a confused and disordered condition. Each State had its own custom-house,
and levied such duties and imports as it took a notion. Of course under these conditions there was no uniformity in the custom rates; this promoted a feeling of intense rivalry, if not jealousy, resulting in a veritable commercial war between the several large ports along the seaboard, which proved very disastrous to all parties concerned.

To remedy these evils, the Convention of 1787 placed the regulation of foreign commerce wholly in the hands of the National Government. It may have been asking a good deal of a great port like New York to give up all its custom-house receipts, but patriotism was a strong feature of that Convention, the law was passed, and, be it said to their credit, not one State grew sullen over the loss of its former revenue.

The power of Congress over foreign commerce is limited in only two particulars: First, it must deal fairly with all ports of the country, and not give one port a preference over another. Second, it must not lay any tax or duty on articles exported from any State.

The power of the Government to regulate commerce is construed very broadly. It extends not only to the goods exchanged and to the agencies of transportation, but also to the movement of persons. As a consequence, in the exercise of its constitutional power Congress can prohibit foreign commerce altogether. This was actually
done in 1806, when, by a non-importation act, no foreign goods were allowed to enter an American port. The following year an embargo act prohibited vessels leaving the harbors of the United States with merchandise for other countries.

There are many regulations of Congress in respect to foreign commerce. The most important of these refer to the tariff, to shipping, and to immigration.

It has always been the policy of the United States to raise a large part of the National revenue by means of a tariff or duty laid on imported goods. Such questions as the following would quite naturally occur to us were we ourselves planning receipts of this kind: On what principle shall the tariff be laid? Shall every imported article be taxed at the same rate? or shall there be a difference—some taxed low and some taxed high? Shall some kinds of goods come in free of all tax?

Since the beginning of our first taxation of imports, there has been a great difference of opinion among the people as well as statesmen in regard to these very questions. In fact so important has the tariff matter appeared that it has become one of the leading party issues in politics. Out of all this controversy has come two opposing elements—the "Free-traders" and the "Protec-
tionists.” The adherents of the free-trade policy believe that there should be duties imposed upon foreign goods coming into this country, but that such duties should be levied solely with a view of raising the necessary revenue, not for the purpose of keeping the goods out of the country by prohibitive tariffs, that domestic goods may be without foreign competition. The adherents of the protective policy believe, on the other hand, that duties should be levied more for the sake of protecting home trade than for purposes of acquirement.

The first act that was passed by Congress relating to foreign commerce imposed moderate duties on the commerce of all nations. Its main design was to raise revenue, which was then greatly needed, although it had mild protective features in addition. Following the War of 1812 English manufacturers rushed their products upon our markets in great quantities. To shut out some of these goods and protect American manufacturers a duty of twenty-five per cent was placed upon woolen and cotton articles, and thirty per cent upon certain other commodities. These relatively high duties were not imposed, of course, for the sole purpose of raising additional revenue, but rather for the protection of the domestic market.

In 1824 the tariff rates were again increased,
this time to an average of thirty-seven per cent. This jump was occasioned largely by the rapid growth of the iron industry in Pennsylvania, by heavy crops in the agricultural districts of the West, and by the expansion of manufacturing industries in New England. The producers wished to dispose of these goods in the home market at as high a price as possible, and saw no way to do this unless similar products from abroad, evolved under cheaper labor conditions, could be kept out by a more threatening tariff than had heretofore existed. Their appeal to Congress was a forcible one, and resulted in the favorable way for them which we have stated.

By four years later politics had gotten a good hold of the tariff situation, and Congress passed a new act bringing the average rate on manufactured goods up to forty per cent, and raw materials also received a boost. This act did not please the South, which from the first had opposed the measure as one likely to injure its large export trade with England in cotton, hemp and tobacco. In 1832 the influence of the South was largely responsible for an overhauling of the tariff, and an effort was made to appease these States by increasing the rate on woolen goods and some other articles needed on the plantations.

However, this did not satisfy the planters. South Carolina even threatened to secede from
the Union if the tariff on cotton, hemp and tobacco were not reduced. Congress effected a compromise in 1832, passing a bill which provided for a gradual reduction of the tariff. By 1842 the average duty was not more than twenty per cent.

The Civil War brought renewed increases in the duties until, in 1864, the highest rate ever reached had been attained. This was forty-seven per cent. But in 1890 the McKinley bill added more duty still. A slight reaction occurred in 1893, when the Democratic party was restored to power, and the Wilson bill removed all duty on wool.

In 1897 the Republican party again came into prestige and passed the Dingley bill, which again placed wool on the duty list and went even further in regard to some other goods than the McKinley bill had done. In 1909 the Payne tariff bill slightly reduced some of the schedules of the Dingley law, which was followed by yet greater reduction in 1913 under the Underwood measure.

In its regulation of foreign trade Congress has always done all it could to protect and promote American shipping interests. Only vessels which have been built in the United States, and which belong to citizens of this country, have any right to be registered as American ships. Moreover,
no vessel except one officered by Americans is privileged to fly the American flag.

All ships engaged in foreign trading must pay a tax on every ton of cargo their vessel can carry, according to rating. Foreign-owned craft must pay a higher rate than domestic-owned craft. The latter type of vessels cannot engage in coasting trade, nor trade with any insular possessions of the United States. The primary purpose of the light-house and life-saving services is to assist shipping by preventing wrecks and rescuing those who are unfortunate enough to have been wrecked. The Weather Bureau, and Coast and Geodetic Survey,—by contributing weather forecasts and charts, respectively,—also do much toward promoting commerce by sea.

As we have stated, immigration is also looked after by Congress, since passengers as well as trade are included under the head of commerce. During the greater part of our history we have encouraged people coming into this country from other lands, for in the development of our country it seemed wise to secure all the brain and muscle we could get. If we had not allowed immigration, the greater part of America would still be a wilderness.

But there are drawbacks to nearly all things. So with immigration. Many diseased foreigners began to come among us. Some were insane.
Some had vicious habits. Some were escaped criminals. Some came only for the purpose of preying on the thrifty. Others were so wild and lawless they began at once to work secretly to overthrow society and all peaceful, contented conditions.

So bad did the situation become that, in 1882, Congress defied a treaty with China and prohibited Chinese laborers from coming to the country. In the same year Congress ordered that the character of all immigrants be looked into upon their landing, and demanded that all convicts, idiots, lunatics, beggars, anarchists, and others not able to care for themselves properly, should not be admitted. To further discourage the poverty-stricken and incapable, a tax of fifty cents a head was placed upon every immigrant. Later this was increased to four dollars a head.

These measures have had some influence in checking immigration, but they have apparently relieved the problem only a little. Many undesirable foreigners still come to our shores every week; the country, especially during the trying period of the late World War, suffered greatly from their depredations, and it would seem that much stronger measures to regulate their admittance among us must soon be taken by our Government if our beloved land is to thrive and prosper as it has done in the past.
CHAPTER XXIII

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Every nation has its enemies, those without and those within. A foreign power, impelled by avarice, ambition, revenge, or envy, may take a notion to wage war upon us at any time. Or right in our midst a lawless element may suddenly threaten the security of our lives and property.

There is only one way to preserve peaceable relations with these would-be enemies. That way is to keep so strong and so ready that they will be afraid to assail us.

The Boy Scouts of America have a good motto in this respect. It is "Be Prepared." Once fully prepared, an individual, or a nation, is ready for anything. Preparation does not necessarily insure against defeat, but it surely goes further toward placing a combatant or a combatant-to-be on the side of victory than any other single agency in the whole wide world. The doctrine that we should passively fold our arms and not resist an attack upon our persons, or an invasion of our country, is contrary to the teachings of experience and to the needs of human happiness.
and existence. Glad will we be when the day comes when there shall be no lawlessness and no wars, but until that time all nations must be prepared to meet force with force at short notice.

Only is a nation's defense complete when it has reached that stage of perfection that makes it possible for it to hurl its whole strength against the enemy in the most telling manner. Congress looked at the situation in this way long years ago; had it not done so America would probably be a colony of some other nation to-day.

In order to secure the strength which comes from united and harmonious action, the Constitution gave to the Federal Government the power to raise and support armies and navies, and make rules for their control. Under these provisions a State may not engage in war with a foreign power, except in case of actual invasion, Congress having sole power to declare a condition of hostilities. Prior to 1787 the declaration of war had been left entirely with the President.

The instruments of National defense are the Army and Navy.

THE ARMY AND MILITIA

The Department of War and the office of the Secretary of War were created by an act of Congress in 1789. The first regular army consisted of only a few thousand men—a force just suffi-
cient to keep the Indians in order. As time went on the army was increased. In 1920 we had an army of 15,974 officers and 201,511 enlisted men. Two years before, we put into the field, by special enlistment and conscription, as many as three and a half million men; but in times of peace our army has always been small, in fact ridiculously small as compared with the immense standing armies of the great powers of Europe, where compulsory military training has long been in vogue. But Congress has always, in this respect, held the idea that it is best to maintain a regular army no larger than is consistent with National safety. It is held that since the army is always under the sole control of the President, if it were unusually large it might be used—as the German army was recently used by the Kaiser—to crush out popular rights and establish a tyranny.

Moreover a standing army is maintained at an enormous expense. The soldiers as a class produce nothing themselves, in time of peace, which is helpful to their country, and, worst of all, consume a large portion of what the civilians create, thus laying a heavy burden upon the latter.

Congress has the power to provide for a large army or a small one, as it sees fit; but this privilege cannot extend over a period of more than
two years, as then new appropriations have to be voted. In placing this limitation upon Congress the Constitution makes it impossible for a large standing army to be imposed permanently upon the people without their consent.

The regular army is recruited by volunteers, mostly through recruiting stations located in various large cities of the country. These men enlist for a period of seven years. The first four years are put in in active service with the colors. The remaining three years finds the volunteer in the reserve army—out of service and uniform, a private citizen in all respects save that he is liable to call at any time.

The army is distributed among several departments and divisions. Each of these great departments has its headquarters, its fortifications, barracks, and homes for officers, at various points in the country, and is in command of either a brigadier-general or a major-general.

When the regular army is found to be too small for an emergency, or too far removed, the Federal Government may call the militia to its aid. This body of soldiery is the largest of all. The fact of the matter is it consists of practically every able-bodied man in the United States who is between the age of eighteen and forty-five. The militia at large is divided into two classes: the organized militia, known as the
National Guard, and the Reserve Militia, which is composed of citizens in general. Enlistment in the National Guard is purely voluntary, the members serving without pay but being provided as State expense with uniforms, weapons, and other service paraphernalia, also an armory or barracks in their home town. Members join largely for social purposes. They are under no restraint except during drill, parades, etc., and may live in their homes and work and earn the same as any citizen.

The ordinary man would be surprised if you told him that he belonged to the Reserve Militia, but such is the fact.

Congress further provides that the Secretary of War may provide for the participation of the organized militia in the maneuvers and field practice of the regular army. To this end, the Federal authorities detail officers to attend encampments of the State militia; and in 1907 they inaugurated a plan of having the militia participate with the regular troops in their exercises at certain places. Thus we have had established a combination of a regular army, always on duty and ready for service, with a State soldiery which may not be quite so well trained but which are far more skilled in the art of war than the ordinary citizens, and which in case of emergency could do much in the way of bolstering up the
National defense as well as taking care of State troubles.

Another branch of the army of the United States in war time has been composed of special volunteers. Most of us know that, in the War of 1812, and the Mexican, Civil, Spanish, and World wars, great aid was given the country by citizen soldiers who responded to the special call of the President for additional men to fight. In this call, the President requests from each State a number apportioned to its population; that is, a large State like New York would be asked to furnish more men than a small State like Rhode Island. When still more men are needed than the regular army, the National Guard, and the special volunteers can equal, there must be a draft. This means that certain of those able-bodied citizens (the Reserve Militia) who have not offered to serve their country in uniform, must be forced to do so. The names of those fit for military service are secured, and from these the required number are drawn, usually by lot.

Although the President is officially commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, he has never personally directed the movements of armies in the field. The real management of war falls upon the Secretary of War himself, who has supervision of all soldiers in time of war as well as in times of peace. One of this official's
most important duties is to care for the material welfare of the army. In direct charge of this work he has placed the quartermaster-general, who attends to the clothing and transportation of troops; the commissary-general, who supplies the food; the chief of ordnance, who furnishes the arms and ammunition; the surgeon-general, who provides medicine, physicians and nurses; and the adjutant-general, who conducts correspondence. The tactical side is in charge of a Chief of Staff, who is the commanding general.

THE NAVY

It has been figured that not less than ten per cent of the population and wealth of the United States lies along the seacoast, exposed to the first attacks of a foreign foe. Not only are the lives and property of these people threatened, but more than all else, these sections are the gateways which, once conquered, will admit an enemy from over-seas into the very heart of our Nation.

Naturally, to defend this property, these gates, is an important consideration with the Federal Government. To provide the most vulnerable spots with garrisoned forts and heavy guns is not enough. The enemy must be given as little opportunity as possible to get within range of the coast defenses; warships must be equipped to go out and meet them on the high seas, and
either cripple or defeat them summarily; and, furthermore, such warships must be ever ready to sally forth to other lands, to take up the gage or threat of battle there should the need exist.

The affairs of the navy were managed by the War Department until 1798, when Congress established the Navy Department and created the controlling office of Secretary of the Navy. As with the army, the President is commander-in-chief, but he delegates his authority in all but emergency cases to the Secretary of the Navy. Up to twenty-six or seven years ago our navy had been very small, but then it began to grow in earnest, until now it has become a power of high rank. In its service there are more than four hundred thousand officers and men. Either built or building, we have fifty-two heavy battleships, six battle-cruisers, eight armored cruisers, four first-class cruisers, eleven second-class cruisers, fifteen third-class cruisers, seven monitors, more than three hundred destroyers, almost two hundred submarines, and more than three hundred submarine-chasers. Besides this there are many more lighter and less important warships, such as coast torpedo-boats, gunboats, patrol vessels, tenders, mine-sweepers, transports, supply-ships, hospital-ships, fuel-ships, etc.

The vessels of the United States are distributed among several divisions called fleets.
Thus we have the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Asiatic, fleets. Each fleet is under the command of a rear-admiral, and each vessel under a captain. Some of the larger battleships have a crew of more than fifteen hundred, cost over two million dollars to build and equip, and take almost three years to complete.

The Marine Corps and the Coast Guard are two branches of the navy which should not be overlooked here. The Marine Corps has an authorized strength at present of 1,093 officers and 27,400 men. This class of sailors has been a distinct corps as long as there have been navies. The United States Marine Corps was authorized by Congress in 1775. Its purpose is to furnish trained seamen for shore service wherever needed by conditions of emergency. Commissioned officers are appointed from graduates of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and from worthy non-commissioned officers of the Corps itself.

The Coast Guard was created by an act of 1915, succeeding the United States Revenue Cutter Service. The authorized personnel is 270 commissioned officers, and 6,544 warrant officers, petty officers, and men. The Guard is divided into thirteen districts. Its cadets are educated at the Coast Guard Academy, at New London, Connecticut. Candidates for cadets must not be less than eighteen years old nor more than
twenty-four. They are appointed through competitive examinations given by commissioned officers of the organization.

MARTIAL LAW

Doubtless you have noticed that in the United States those who wield the sword are under the control of civil officers. Thus the general of the regular army obeys the President, the officers of the State militia take their orders from the governor, and the police of a city are controlled by the mayor or citizens.

This bringing of the military under the thumb of the civil power is in exact accord with American notions of government. We have no place in our system for martial law, the kind of law which is administered by soldiers, and which is totally at variance with the principles of civil liberty. But suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* temporarily deprives citizens of their civil rights, and places them under military law. However, this can be done only in the case of emergency, where the safety of lives or property seem to demand it.

A State cannot maintain armed troops in time of peace, and thus threaten the permanency of civil rights. Neither can the Federal Government in times of peace harass the people by quartering
soldiers in the homes of citizens, without their consent; and even in time of war such quartering must be done with the permission of the civil authorities.

This goes to show that, while we have made ample provisions for the proper defense of the Nation and State, we have taken every precaution to prevent these instruments of defense from becoming a menace to the people they are designed to protect.
CHAPTER XXIV

INTERESTING BUREAUS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND INSTITUTIONS

Much of the most interesting of Uncle Sam’s work is carried on by his bureaus, organizations, and institutions. Considering the Federal Government as a great throbbing body, full of life and energy, and its ten great departments as its powerful arms and legs, we may very nicely continue the analogy by liking its bureaus and smaller branches to the hands and fingers and feet and toes of its structure. While these do not as a rule make as strong a showing as the larger limbs, their dexterity and usefulness is quite amazing when we once see them performing.

THE BUREAU OF MINES

The United States Bureau of Mines is a branch of the Department of Labor. One of the main purposes of this Bureau is to teach safety to the more than one million men who dig in the mines, and to one other million of men who are in some other way connected with mining.

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Mining in this country is growing very fast, so fast that each year several thousand new men must be added to the ranks of the miners in order to keep up the supply of minerals and ore. Many of these men are foreign-born and do not understand mining when they start in, having worked on farms in their native countries. For this reason they do not in the least know of the dangers that are found underground, and therefore are likely to do something to cause accidents which may result in the injury or death of themselves and comrades.

To teach such ignorant men how to be careful, the Bureau of Mines does much experimenting, and sends out to the men in the mines little pamphlets called "Miners' Circulars," which plainly tell the underground workers how to avoid unnecessary risks and at all times keep in the best physical condition. In order that those who cannot speak or read English may understand these directions, the pamphlets are printed in foreign languages as well as English, all on the same sheet. Italian, Polish, and Slovak, are the foreign languages used at present, as the great majority of the miners who are not Americans come from one or the other of these countries.

Since the Bureau began sending out these circulars the accidents and deaths in mines have become much fewer. The example has served to
awaken the mining companies to its own neglect in these matters in the past, and now practically all of them also issue instructive reading matter to their employes, and give them talks at every opportunity.

The rules for mines are made by the States in which the mines are located. These States employ special mine inspectors whose duty it is to go down in the mines, look them over very carefully, and then report to the mining company any condition which they think is not right for the welfare of the miners. If the mine owners do not at once make the changes recommended by the inspectors, the latter have the power to bring them into court for punishment.

When the new miner learns more about his work, the Bureau of Mines has some papers which tell him more difficult things about mining. By studying these directions it is not long before the new man is able to take good care of himself, and earn more money as well, because he soon gets a better job.

The Bureau does a great many more things than this for the mining industry, however. Not only does it help the mine-worker, but it helps the mine-owner. Its exhaustive experiments, conducted often at great cost and time and trouble, lead to new discoveries in mining. These are communicated to the company, and the latter
turns them over to their engineers and operators, who seldom have time for experimenting, and the new methods are tried out, and used if found good. This saves waste, and that which prevents waste is very beneficial to the people in general, who need every ounce of coal they can get, at the lowest possible price. Prosperity increases always as waste decreases. Like a teeter-totter, as one goes down the other goes up.

THE WEATHER BUREAU

Man had been on earth but a very short time before he began to take notice of the weather. When the first heavy rainfall caught him shelterless and drenched him to the skin, he tried to remember just how nature looked a few minutes before the downfall so that he might recognize the approach of the next storm and escape its violence. Thus he began to study the sun, the moon, the winds, the tides, the clouds, the atmosphere, even vegetation and the animal world, in order to foretell the coming of changes of weather and save himself discomforts by being prepared for them. After a time his ingenuity had made it possible for him not only to prophesy with a fair degree of accuracy various vagaries of the weather, but he was also able to make comparative records of them. For he had
invented a thermometer for measuring heat, a barometer for measuring the pressure of the air, an anemometer for measuring the velocity of the wind, a rain-gauge for measuring the amount of rainfall, and various other instruments to assist him in his calculations.

From a study of many years' records of these instruments, he discovered certain laws governing the changes in weather which he had never dreamed of before. And when the telegraph was invented, the importance of his inventions was greatly increased. For then, if a bad storm were occurring in a distant part of the country,—traveling, we will say, east,—messages sent in that direction would warn towns along the way, as much as forty-eight hours ahead of time, to be ready for trouble. In this way do our local papers get the weather news twice every day. It is handed to them by service stations of the Bureau which are located in various large cities in every State. These stations report on local conditions as well as interstate conditions; their reports give warning of storms at sea and induce wise shipmasters to seek shelter; they also go into the rural sections by telegraph, telephone, and mail, and prepare farmers for what is coming; they tell shippers of perishables when it will be wise to send fruits, vegetables, and meats without danger of damage; they advise coal dealers
when a cold snap is expected so that they can get in plenty of coal and wood; they hint to ice-cream and fan manufacturers when a hot spell is due, so that good supplies of their product will be on hand. In fact there is scarcely any sort of industry or profession or activity in life which has not been benefited by these reports of the United States Weather Bureau.

THE BUREAU OF FORESTRY

On account of the immense value to our country of its forests, the Bureau of Forestry has been organized to take care of this subject. American forests supply the material for lumbering, which is our third greatest industry. More than that, these forests protect and regulate the flow of streams necessary for irrigation, power development, navigation, and domestic water supply. They lessen floods, prevent the soil from washing away, afford places for recreation to people, provide shelter and homes for animals, birds, and flowers.

When forests mean as much as all this to us, you can see that we would be indeed very foolish to leave them entirely to themselves and the vandals who might destroy them. Vast wooded areas have been laid waste by fire in years past, improved land and settlers' homes have been de-
voured by it also. Besides, we have wasted, in cutting and in use, twice as much wood as we have used. Worst of all, we have been felling about three trees for every tree that has grown up while we were doing it. Between this waste by fire, waste by use, and natural consumption, our timbered area is growing smaller and smaller every year; and, startling to say, our needs for wood have greatly increased.

What does this mean? If this condition should go on until the boys of to-day are tottering old men, where will they find wood from which to make their canes? It must not go on—so says your Uncle Sam. To make sure that everything possible is done to eliminate forest fires, to prevent waste in cutting and manufacture, the United States Government has established this Bureau of Forestry. Its members are experts on trees and all that is connected with the use of trees. Under their advice most of the wooded area of the Government—which consists of about one-fifth of the country’s whole—has been set aside and made into National forests. These National forests, which are not the same as the National parks, are under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Forestry, an adjunct of the Department of Agriculture.

There are now more than one hundred and fifty National forests, consisting of as many
million acres. For the most part these forests are rough mountain lands, unsuited to farming, and most of them are in the far Western States. Every year between fifteen and thirty thousand young trees are planted on treeless mountain sides in an effort to keep pace with the cutting of grown timber. These saplings, as well as the older trees, are carefully looked after by young men called "Rangers," who are sent to these districts by the Bureau. The Rangers lead a rigorous, adventurous life. They are all expert foresters, and must perform a wide extent of duties. They must patrol the forests constantly, prevent human thieves from stealing valuable timber, trappers and hunters and tourists from leaving smoldering campfires, locomotives from setting fire to them, insects from ravaging them; and in case of fires, the Rangers must fight them to the uttermost. These hardy fellows also measure trees, and record their growth and species, to keep Uncle Sam informed at all times as to just what condition his forests are in.

The Bureau of Forestry also carries on investigations for the purpose of improving stock ranges in the National forests. Thus more than ten million head of sheep and cattle, belonging to the public, are allowed to graze on these ranges at a small cost per head. Should the public find mineral deposits in these forests, they may be
developed as freely as on any other Government land. Waterpower may also be developed by citizens for recreational use; and bridges, trails, roads, telephone lines, and other improvements, are constructed in them. Close to one-half the revenue from these privileges is given by the Government to promote schools and roads in the States where these National forests are located; the rest of the money goes into the National treasury.

The Forest Service tries to keep the public informed of the work which it is doing, and of the important facts concerning forests, their protection, and uses, which it finds out by its investigations. Free publications are issued frequently and mailed to all who ask for them. Traveling exhibits of wood, charts, maps, photographs, lantern slides, motion pictures, and lecture outlines to accompany them, are gladly loaned to schools, libraries, clubs, and other educational agencies.

THE PATENT OFFICE

It is nothing more than right that every person who finds some better way of doing a thing than it has ever been done before, should be protected by law so that he can get the full benefits of his idea, and not be robbed of it by those who have not devised it or bought it from its originator.
If there were no laws to protect inventors, there would be far less progress mechanically, scientifically and commercially. For, knowing that others would be sure to skim off all the cream from the cup of their genius, inventors would cease to try to create new things of beauty and usefulness, and the world would almost stand still. So but for the fact that practically all civilized governments have been wise enough to weave a shield of law about inventions, it is doubtful if to-day we would know anything about telephones, electric lights, automobiles, airplanes, submarines, motion pictures, wireless telegraphy, and the like.

Although the patent-right system first came into use in England, it probably has rendered its greatest service in the United States. When the First Congress passed a law creating a patent commission, the commissioners waited for three months before the first applicant for a patent appeared. Samuel Hopkins had invented a new process of making pot and pearl ashes, and was granted a patent thereon on July 31, 1790. Three years later the Secretary of State became the head of the system. Since that day the American inventions have led the world. More than thirty thousand new ideas a year are now being brought out by Americans. About an equal number are refused letters patent for various reasons.
The Patent Office is located in a building of its own in Washington, D. C. There are forty-three different divisions, each of these caring for business related to some certain art. The divisions are broken up into sub-classes, as there are many thousands of subjects upon which patents are issued, and the business done is so enormous that it must be handled in the most scientific manner. The heads of divisions and the examiners are all college-graduates, with the very highest training in their respective lines. These men, as a whole, must know the ins and outs of every business, trade, profession. They must understand astronomy, chemistry, science, and every fundamental law of the physical world. They must not make errors, be unfair in their treatment of applicants, or consume unnecessary time in rendering reports.

In years gone by every applicant for a patent had to submit a small working model of his idea with his application. Soon the spare rooms of the Patent Office began to fill rapidly with these clever little devices, many of which were marvels of craftsmanship aside from the idea they were intended to convey. There were tiny little locomotives which would steam up and run just like a large one; there were beautiful miniature steamboats with steam and electrically propelled driving gear; there were cute little clocks that
gained their power from various sources, some very queer; there were odd-looking bicycles and velocipedes, as well as some which were not odd at all; there were hundreds of the strangest little machines you ever saw, machines whose purpose you could not even guess; there were, in fact, so many curious constructions that it would have made your head swim to look at them.

Of course all these models, some of which were quite large, took up a great deal of space. As time went on those in the Patent Office began to wonder where they would put the next day’s batch. Finally there seemed no more room at all. Then Congress got busy and passed an act which did away with the model nuisance, and inventors who had had to make the models breathed a great sigh of thanksgiving. This act substituted working drawings in place of the models—something that could be stored much more readily, and which gave just as good a clue to the character of the applicant’s idea. But the models of ye olden tyme are still kept by the Patent Office, and to this day form a most interesting exhibit for all visitors who care to look at them.

There are two ways in which we may apply for a patent if we think we have a clever idea. One way is to go to a patent-attorney in our town, give him all the details (if possible a model), and engage him to handle all the corre-
spondence with Washington. Of course for this he will ask a fee, which, inclusive of the Patent Office fee, may amount to seventy-five dollars or more.

The other way, and the less costly, is for the applicant to be his own attorney, making his own drawings, drawing up his own specifications and claims, sending in his own application, and answering all correspondence till the case is settled. In this way he is only put to the expense of the Government fee, which is fifteen dollars with application, and twenty dollars additional when the patent right is issued, or thirty-five dollars in all. But in order to do this the inventor must be a good draftsman, a concise writer, and understand how to word his claims so that he can prevent competitors’ lawyers from dodging around them legally and acquiring the benefits of his invention by slight modifications. Every inventor who intends to apply for his own patent should send to the Patent Office for its "Rules of Practice." This pamphlet is sent free of cost to those who ask for it, and is invaluable, as it gives would-be applicants detailed information along the very lines they need.

THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

The United States owns its own printing and binding plant, which is located in Washington,
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D. C. It is under the direction of the Public Printer, who is appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. This is the largest printing office in the world. It employs more than five thousand persons, and occupies several buildings which have a combined floor space of almost fourteen acres.

In this office is done the printing and binding of all publications for Congress. Each member of Congress is entitled to a certain number of copies, which are mailed free of cost to persons selected by him. In this manner an immense amount of information is printed and disseminated to the public. In fact during the sessions of Congress it is not at all unusual for as many as twenty-five thousand bills and resolutions to be introduced, all of which must be printed in addition to a vast quantity of miscellaneous work. The latter includes stationery for the President and his department heads, postage stamps, postal cards, money orders, many varieties of report blanks, Civil Service documents, Federal subpoenas and warrants, licenses, revenue stamps, maps, charts, and bonds.

Any one who desires to secure a copy of any document of a public nature can do so by communicating with the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. These copies are sold at actual cost price,
a mere pittance. The proceeds go toward meeting the expenses of the Printing Office.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Nearly everybody in the United States, as well as in other civilized nations, has heard of this famous Institution in Washington. James Smithson, an Englishman, bequeathed his fortune to the United States “to found, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.” This knowledge was not to be dispensed in books, nor by lectures; it was to be passed on chiefly by an immense graphic display, showing by implements and set figures of persons, animals, birds and fishes, etc., the past and present customs of America, and the characteristics of her life.

The Smithsonian building was erected in 1847-1855 on land given to the Institution by the United States. The original endowment of $541,000 has been increased by other bequests and gifts to the amount of about one million dollars. The annual income of this permanent fund is devoted to the maintenance of the property, to exploration and research, and to publication and distribution of new information.

Among the members of the Smithsonian Insti-
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tution are the President, the Vice-President, the Chief Justice, and the President’s Cabinet.

The Institution has charge of administration of six branches, which have grown out of its early activities, and which are supported by appropriations by Congress. These branches are: the National Museum (including the National Gallery of Art), the International Exchange Service, the Bureau of American Ethnology, the National Zoological Park, the Astrophysical Observatory, and the United States Bureau of the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS

The American National Red Cross is a philanthropic organization. It is incorporated by the Congress of the United States for the purpose of furnishing voluntary aid to the sick and wounded of the army and navy in time of war, in accordance with the treaty of Geneva, and to carry on a system of National and international relief in time of peace, and to apply the same in reducing suffering caused by pestilence, famine, fire, flood, and other noteworthy calamities, and to devise and carry on measures for preventing the same. The governing body of the American Red Cross is a central committee of eighteen members, six of whom are annually appointed by the President.
This is undoubtedly the largest society with a paid membership in the country. During the World War, when its activities meant so much to America and her Allies, the Red Cross membership increased with leaps and bounds. Nearly every family had at least one member, which is a most remarkable record. Most of these took a deep interest in the organization, and continued to pay dues when the initial dues had expired. Any resident of the United States or its exterior possessions is eligible for enrollment as a member of the American Red Cross.

Since January 5, 1905, the date of its present charter, this society has conducted relief operations in the United States and foreign countries for more than ninety disasters. These include famines, earthquakes, fires, cyclones, floods, mine explosions, epidemics, volcanic eruptions, shipwrecks, and war. It has raised and expended in the foregoing relief operations, including the campaign against tuberculosis, over fifteen million in cash, besides several million dollars’ worth of supplies. It conducts a first-aid department which has been the means of instructing and furnishing comfort to hundreds of thousands of people employed in industrial pursuits. It also has classes for women in elementary hygiene, and home care of the sick, in every section of the country; and it supervises a Town and Country
Nursing Service, which has made possible the benefits of trained nursing in rural communities.

A very important auxiliary of the American Red Cross is the Junior Red Cross. This, composed of school children throughout the United States, came into existence during the late war. The avidity with which the children joined the organization, and the wonderfully helpful work they did by making things of comfort for our soldier boys and sailor boys, is one of the most remarkable features of the many notable services rendered by young Americans during the absence of their brothers and fathers.
In early times war was a common condition. People thought it perfectly right to do as much harm as possible to a foreign country, for the people of one land looked at the people of all other lands as their deadly enemies. In this light a weak nation was regarded as fair prey for a stronger nation. Quarrels were always breaking out between neighboring peoples. Prisoners taken in war, if not butchered, were held as slaves. Private property was the booty of the victors. Men went about armed at all times, and even then they were not safe in foreign lands.

These animosities quite naturally led to a very restricted immigration; nobody cared to travel in another country, or go there to live. To widen the breach still further heavy taxes were put on foreign trade; it was believed that neither money nor goods ought to be sent out of one's own country into another. In short it was the custom to shun neighboring countries as much as possible, letting them depend entirely upon their own resources.
Now all this is changed. The transformation came about gradually, very slowly, as the result of many different causes; but back of all these was that indomitable, irrepressible force, Intelligence, which grew with the nations of the world as it grows with children and the fathers and mothers of children—slowly, very slowly; but grew always, until the day came when Intelligence began to warm cold hearts toward hearts in other lands, and now conditions between foreign countries are much nearer a state of universal brotherhood than ever before in the world’s history. Rather than regarding the prosperity of one country as the injury of the other, now nations are beginning to regard themselves largely as one big family, and to think that harm befalling any one of them will be a loss to all. Instead of keeping aloof from one another with their trade, they are doing everything they can to stimulate commerce between them; they are finding out that it is to their own advantage that foreign customers should be prosperous, for then they will have money with which to buy elsewhere the goods they cannot grow or manufacture.

During these changes in sentiment of nation toward nation, there has been gradually established, partly by the precedents of usage, certain rules or laws governing the behavior of nations toward each other, exactly as the laws of a State
regulate the behavior of its citizens. These observances are called international law. International law is simply an agreement among nations for the common good of all. It is built upon justice and humanity, first, then upon convenience, as so great an influence should be. There are courts in each nation to-day which have the important duty of considering questions of international law.

International law began with the same three fundamental purposes of general government: protection from enemies, protection from the injustice of fellow citizens, and the public convenience.

In the first place it united different nations in an alliance against common enemies. At one time it fought piracy and the slave trade. It also made rules for giving up murderers and other arch criminals to the country where they belonged, that they might be brought to trial and punished if found guilty.

In the second place international law has always aimed to secure fair dealing among neighboring nations. There are certain important mutual rights and duties between nations which international law attempts to define. In this way treaties and custom fix and preserve the sacredness of boundary lines, upon which no foreign nation has a right to trespass. Again, interna-
tional law seeks to lessen the frightfulness of war by making rules which make it difficult for nations to engage in hostilities, and once in, other rules which will control the kinds of weapons and the fighting methods employed in such a way that the death toll will be kept down to the minimum, and wounds robbed of their worst features, and women and children and old men and property spared from the hands of a ruthless enemy.

In the third place, international law aims at the general convenience of mankind. For instance, we now have a wonderfully efficient universal postal service, which makes it possible to send a piece of mail into almost any foreign country, at our own rate of postage in some cases, and a slightly advanced rate in others. Treaties and usage also serve to protect travelers and foreign residents, as well as the goods of foreign merchants, in all civilized countries. Lighthouse and coast surveys are maintained for the interest of not only the country erecting and operating them, but for the interest of the commerce of all nations.

The management of these international affairs is a service, as you can see, of the very highest importance; and the power to direct foreign relations is a sovereign power. In the United States all power in respect to matters of an in-
ternational character is lodged in the Federal Government. International affairs have never been regulated by the State, the Constitution prohibiting this.

The international political affairs of a country are conducted by its diplomatic representatives. Of these the ambassador is the highest in rank. The ambassador represents the person of the chief executive of the country from which he comes, and for this reason he is splendidly housed and given the highest consideration by officers and citizens of that country. On the other hand, a minister, who is next to the ambassador in rank, represents the government from which he comes, but not the personality of the chief executive.

In foreign courts an ambassador, being a personal representative of a ruler, is admitted to an audience ahead of a minister. For a long time a minister was the highest diplomatic representative of the United States, but when it was found that a minister of this country was sometimes kept waiting for an official audience, while the ambassador of some petty kingdom was being received, Congress (in 1893) created the rank of ambassador. Thus we now have ambassadors for Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Japan, Spain, France, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Mexico, Peru, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and Turkey. In
other countries we are represented by ministers only.

The property and households of ambassadors and ministers are exempt from the laws of the country in which they are serving. According to international law, the residence of a foreign minister is a little patch of territory under the dominion of the country which the minister represents, although it is really owned by the nation in which he is acting. Thus if the Chinese minister at Washington should commit a crime, Chinese and not American authorities must try his case and administer punishment, the country in which his crime was committed having power only to ask his recall and the substitution of another official.

The duties of a diplomatic representative depend upon the powers which his government has conferred upon him and upon the relations which exist between his government and the one to which he is sent. In general he represents and defends the interests of his nation. He keeps the home government informed upon topics of public interest, especially those of a political nature; but he must be careful not to interfere in any way with the politics of the country wherein he temporarily resides. When a citizen of his own land has been injured by a violation of a rule of international law, he seeks a remedy from the
foreign government involved; and when a treaty is about to be made, he usually serves as the go-between or channel of negotiation.

Another type of foreign representative is called a consul. A consul is a business agent of a country who has been sent to a shipping center, either inland or at a seaport, to look after the commercial interests of his fellow citizens. He does not represent his government politically; he is not a diplomatic agent, in other words, having none of the honors and immunities of either an ambassador or a minister. His chief duty is to aid his countrymen in securing their commercial rights, and promoting demand for home-made goods in the land where he is placed. Among his other duties may be enumerated: placing his seal upon official commercial acts of the foreign government; certifying marriages in which one or both of the principals are from his native shores; certifying births and deaths of his resident countrymen; officiating as administrator of the personal property of deceased countrymen where they have no relative or other representative at hand; also receiving applications for, and issuing, passports in the absence of the regular diplomatic representatives.

The President nominates picked men for the posts of ambassador, minister, and consul. Such nominations go to the Senate and, if confirmed,
the men so nominated are appointed. They are directly connected with the Department of State, which is our only Department concerned with foreign affairs. Their reports to this Department are of a most confidential character and aid it not a little in directing its foreign policy.
CHARTS

ILLUSTRATING PHASES OF OUR GOVERNMENT

The succeeding pages of charts are planned to illustrate in a graphic way the ground plan of our Government, as already discussed. The young reader is invited to turn back to the chapters containing these subjects, and note how carefully our lawmakers have planned and built the present structures of nation, city, and state; and how closely each office or department hinges upon every other.

These charts serve to show, perhaps better than many pages of text, the wonderful mechanism of our administrative affairs. As we study them we may well understand why this Government has been the pattern and the envy of nearly every civilized nation—why such a Government “of the people, by the people, for the people, should not perish from the earth.”
MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT
COMMISSION FORM

VOTERS OF THE CITY OF DES MOINES
INITIATIVE REFERENDUM RECALL

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& PROPERTY
S UPT.

DEPT STREETS
& IMPROV'TS
S UPT.

DEPT PUBLIC
AFFAIRS
MAYOR

DEPT OF FINANCES
S UPT.

POLICE
FIRE

CEMETORIES
PARKS

ENGINE'RS
UTILITIES

LEGAL
POLICE
COURT

TREASURER
AUDITOR

SAFETY
HEALTH

PUBLIC
BUILDINGS

PAVING
BRIDGES

CITY
CLERK

MARKETS
ASSESSOR

LIGHT'S
SEWRS

LIBRARY

GRADING
SIDEWALKS

CURBLING
STREETS
ALLEYS

CULVERTS
STREET
CLEANING

KEY:
○ ELECTIVE OFFICES
□ APPOINTIVE OFFICES
MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT
CITY-MANAGER PLAN

VOTERS OF THE CITY OF DAYTON
INITIATIVE REFERENDUM RECALL

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DEPT. OF LAW DEPT. PUBLIC SERVICE DEPT. PUBLIC WELFARE DEPT. PUBLIC SAFETY DEPT. OF FINANCE
CITY ATTY DIRECTOR DIRECTOR DIRECTOR DIRECTOR

ENGINEER'S LIGHTS STREETS LEGAL AID CORRECTION POLICE FIRE ACCOUNTING TREASURY

WATER LANDS PARKS PLAYGRUNDS WEIGHTS BUILDINGS PURCHASING

DOG POUND RECREATION HEALTH CHARITIES HOSPITALS

KEY:
○ ELECTIVE OFFICES □ APPOINTIVE OFFICES