

**GUIDING PRINCIPLES**  
*for* **AMERICAN VOTERS**





# GUIDING PRINCIPLES *for* AMERICAN VOTERS

*An Introduction to the Study of  
Elementary Americanism*

*By*

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## PREFACE

The Great War has left the world in an unstable condition. Bonds uniting society have been strained, if not weakened. Dangerous forces have organized for assault upon existing social order.

At this psychological moment, a radical change in the American system of Government is taking place. Millions of new women voters, it appears, are about to cast their first ballots. It is of critical importance that voters should clearly understand and loyally support the principles which constitute sound Americanism. These principles are under attack. False prophets have arisen, and, taking advantage of the world's unrest, seek to lead us from the paths of true progress into the byways of reckless experiment.

The words "Reconstruction" and "Reconstruction Policy" are heard on all sides. They have no just application to America. There can be no reconstruction until there has first been destruction. The words do apply to Northern France, with her ruined cities, leveled factories, flooded mines and shell-torn fields. They apply to Germany and Austria, where ancient political systems have been disrupted. They apply to Russia, where an entire civilization,

## PREFACE

its laws, its institutions, its traditions, have been destroyed. But America, in the Providence of God, needs no reconstruction. What she does need is Rededication—the Rededication of her people to those principles which have made America great and have kept America free.

This book, with the foregoing point of view, will, it is hoped, be of practical benefit to beginners in the study of public affairs.

A. L. M.

Indianapolis.

# CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I GOVERNMENT A NECESSITY . . . . .	13
National Differences in Political Capacity—Anarchists' Denial of Foregoing Truths—Anarchists in America—Support of Law and Order—The Principle of Authority—Famous Instances in American History—Lincoln on Reverence for Law.	
II AMERICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT . . . . .	26
Older Forms of Government—America Far in Advance—Principles of American System—Powers of Government Strictly Limited—Constitutional Checks—Further Checks on the Government—Supreme Court of the United States—Local Government—Americanism.	
III PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM .	44
Dangers of Easy Amendment—Courts and Constitutions—Our Constitutions of Slow Growth—Recall; Objections to It—Recall of Judges—Initiative and Referendum—Objections Based on Experience—Primary Elections—Abolition of the Senate—Group Government.	
IV AMERICANISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS . . . .	66
Importance of School Elections—Teaching Patriotism—Over-Emphasis of Liberty—Liberty Has Limitations—Patriotism in the Schools—History's Lessons in Patriotism—Schools Should Help Preserve Government—Sacredness of the Family—Right of Private Property—Public Libraries—Vocational Training—Military Training—The Russian Soviet and Education.	

## CONTENTS—Continued

CHAPTER	PAGE
<b>V THE BURDEN OF TAXES . . . . .</b> Who Pays the Taxes?—The Consumer Pays— Further Burdens of the Consumer—Taxation and Farm Production—Tariff—Revenue Tariff—Pro- tective Tariff.	84
<b>VI TAXATION AND POLITICAL THEORY . . . . .</b> Danger of Graduated Rates—Economic Law Lim- its Taxing Power—The Single Tax and Incre- ment Taxes—The Theory of Single Tax—Farm- ers' Objection to Single Tax—Difficulties of Increment Tax—Conclusive Argument against Single Tax—Dangers of Radical Taxation.	96
<b>VII THE MENACE OF SOCIALISM . . . . .</b> Private versus Public Ownership—Poverty of American Pioneers—Present Abundance and Its Causes—Conditions of Future Progress—Inequal- ity of Rewards Is Just—Private Property Stimu- lates Thrift—Age of Invention and Business Or- ganization—New Wealth Benefits All—Socialist Discontent—Amount of Existing Wealth—Social- ism Would Lessen Production and Freedom— Political Competition versus Industrial Competi- tion—Experiments in Socialism Have Failed— Democratic Control of Industry—The Ruin of Russia—If Russia Recovers.	109
<b>VIII THE MENACE OF SOCIALISM—Continued . . . . .</b> Religion and Socialism—The State and Socialism —The Family and Socialism—Private Property and Industry—Compensation or Confiscation— Modern Socialism Is Deceptive—The Plumb Plan for Railroads—Conclusion.	128
<b>IX GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION . . . . .</b> Government Waste—The Government as Land-	146

# CONTENTS—Continued

## CHAPTER

## PAGE

owner—Our Government Land Policy—Government Railways—Improvements and Extensions—Supply Contracts—Operation of Railroads—Facilities under Government Control—Railroad Deficits and Public Burdens—No Advantage in Government Operation—Government Ownership Is Path to Socialism—Danger of Gradual Nationalization—Government Telegraphs and Telephones.

### X SOCIAL JUSTICE . . . . . 162

Cooperation—Profit Sharing—Collective Bargaining and Shop Committees—Minimum Wage—Pensions—Unemployment Insurance—Wages in General—Wages and Natural Law—Obstructions to Supply and Demand—Other Natural Laws Affecting Wages—Farm Industry as Related to Wages—Immigration, the Birth Rate and Wages—Wage Contests—Hours of Labor—Government Control of Prices.

### XI ORGANIZATION OF BUSINESS AND LABOR . . . 188

Corporations—Supervision of Corporations—Prejudice against Corporations—Labor Organizations—Trade Unions versus I. W. W.—Abuses of Unions—The Employers' Side—The Employees' Side—Arbitration of Labor Disputes—Arbitration not Always Applicable—Employees in Public and Quasi-Public Business—Railroad Employees—Other Public Utilities—Coal Mining—The Latest Problem—The Latest Solutions—Conclusion.

### XII MONEY, DEPOSITS, PRICES AND PROSPERITY . . . 210

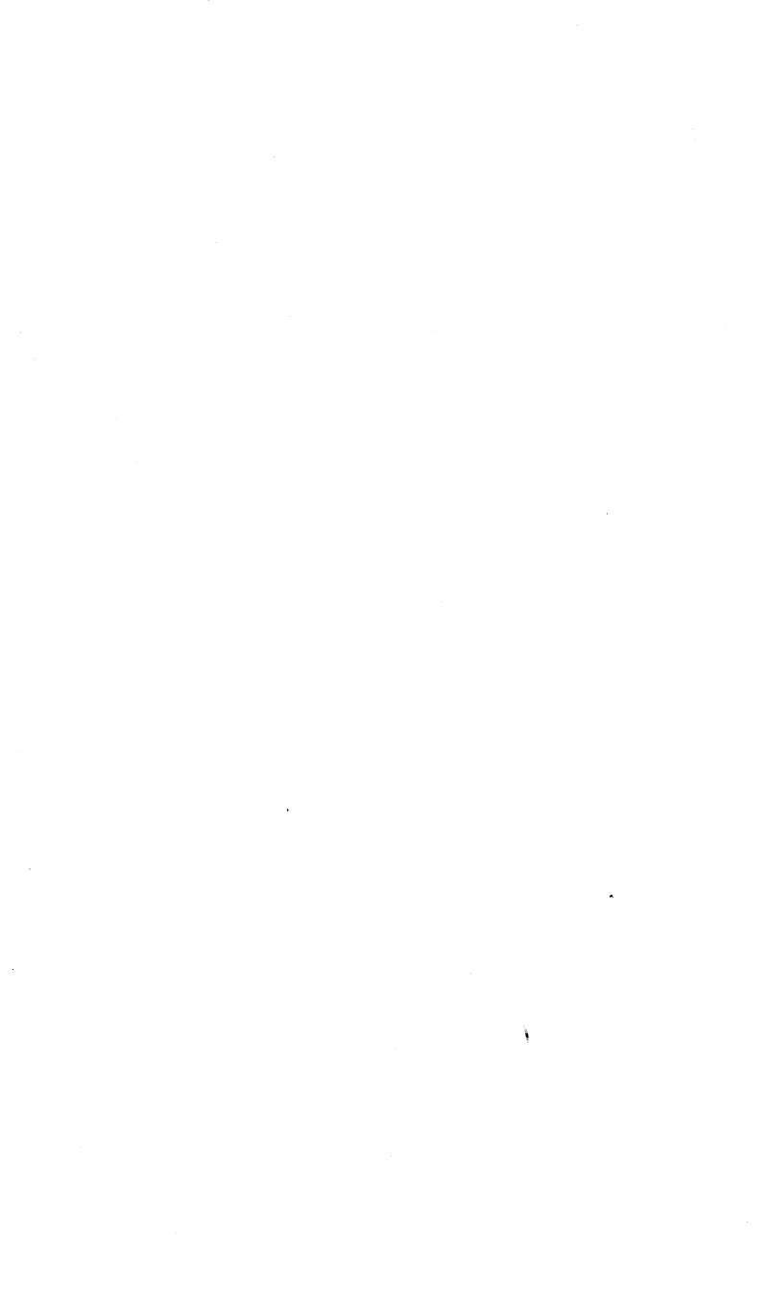
Changing Values of Money—The Silver Question—Paper Money—War Issues of Paper Money—Deposits Based on Borrowing—Effect of Inflated

# CONTENTS—Continued

CHAPTER	PAGE
Credit—Return to Normal by Paying Debts— Prices and Prosperity—What Is Real Prosperity? —Can Hard Times After War Be Avoided?	
<b>XIII AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND PREPAREDNESS . . . . .</b>	<b>225</b>
Non-Interference in European Quarrels—Exclu- sion of Europe from American Quarrels—In- stances of Arbitration—Freedom of the Seas— Immigration Question—Mexican Question—Fur- ther Complications with Mexico—Watchful Wait- ing—The Case of Cuba—The Philippine Question —The World War—America Enters the World War—Prevention of International Crimes—For- eign Policy of Other Countries—Lessons of the War—Unpreparedness—Any War May Involve America—League of Nations—Article X—Gen- eral Considerations—Universal Military Training.	
<b>XIV POLITICAL PARTIES AND PUBLIC OPINION . . . . .</b>	<b>258</b>
The Two-Party System—Exceptions to the Fore- going—The Two Leading Parties—Independent Voters—The Choice of a Party—The Paramount Issue—Public Opinion and the Choice of Leaders.	
<b>XV WOMEN IN POLITICS . . . . .</b>	<b>273</b>
Difficulties of Democracy—Difficulties No Dis- couragement—Advantages of Woman Suffrage— Women and Fundamental Issues—Other Issues— Educational Qualifications for Voters—Immigra- tion Problems—Sources of Progress—Science and Progress—Men's Deficiencies in Scientific Train- ing—Benefits of the World War—Conclusion.	



**GUIDING PRINCIPLES**  
*for* **AMERICAN VOTERS**



# Guiding Principles for American Voters

## CHAPTER I

### GOVERNMENT A NECESSITY

**G**OVERNMENT of some kind is a necessity for a civilized people. In the nature of things, it is requisite that authority be lodged in some person or persons to make and enforce rules governing the conduct and relations of human beings. If a man lived like Robinson Crusoe alone on a desert island, no Government would be necessary, but when more than one person is present, and increasingly as the population grows, conflicting interests and reciprocal duties arise. Men and women can not safely be left to decide what duties they owe one another. They can not be left entirely free to defend their own rights, for this is likely to lead to violence and the rule of might rather than of right. All human experience tends to support the statement that there must be Government, with authority to make and enforce rules of conduct for

human beings. In no other way can peace, security and civilization be attained or preserved.

#### NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL CAPACITY

Races and peoples differ greatly in their capacity to organize and maintain Government. It may truthfully be said that the rise and fall of civilizations, of nations, of states and of cities have often been determined, and have always been powerfully influenced, by their capacity for organizing Government and supporting its authority. The difference between the United States and Mexico, her nearest neighbor, illustrates the difference between a people such as ours possessing very great aptitude for the formation and maintenance of settled Government, and of a people almost without such aptitude. Mexico and the United States were discovered and settled about the same time. The Mexican Republic secured its independence from Spain as early as 1821. Since that time its constitution has, at least until lately, been very similar to the Constitution of the United States. Yet, while our nation has grown until it is probably the most powerful, and certainly the most prosperous and happy, on the face of the earth, the career of Mexico has been one succession of bloody revolutions, marked by violence and lawlessness, by robbery and murder, with only

one substantial interval of peace and prosperity. The difference between the two countries is the result of the difference between the capacities of their peoples for the formation of Government and submission to its authority.

#### ANARCHISTS' DENIAL OF FOREGOING TRUTHS

It would seem that the foregoing statements are so plainly true as to be self-evident to every intelligent person, and one would suppose that they would not be questioned. Strange as it may appear, these truths are denied, particularly in the present time, by considerable numbers of persons in every civilized country. In the first place, they are denied by anarchists, those dangerous individuals, who declare that neither Government nor law is necessary or right. They assert that every man and every woman should be free at all times to do whatever seems desirable. Now it is not strange that such distorted and dangerous opinions should be held in countries whose peoples have suffered long oppression and cruel injustice at the hands of their Governments. Russia is the country where we would most likely find anarchy cherished and praised by multitudes of embittered persons, and Russia is indeed the very source of modern anarchistic thought. Yet anarchists are found in every

country, even in America. They are usually foreigners who have suffered under their own Governments and, having come to America, have failed to appreciate its advantages or the free gifts which it offers them. On the contrary, they hold the same hatred for our republic, its Constitution and laws, which they did for old-world despotism. In their ignorance they are determined to destroy our Government.

#### ANARCHISTS IN AMERICA

Not all American anarchists are of foreign birth. Some native-born citizens of this republic have been infected with the disease, but generally the anarchist who goes about lecturing, organizing or writing in the interest of violent anarchy, of bomb throwing, of murder and of pillage will be found to be of foreign birth. But we do find a class of American anarchists of an entirely different sort. Men and women of respectable lives and positions, even professors in our great universities, are to be found who hold that the State and Government as we know them are unnecessary and evil. Some of them declare that sovereignty, which is the supreme power to make and enforce laws, exists, not in the whole people, but in different groups. It is said that the trade union may, for its members, have a

sort of sovereignty, a claim on their obedience, superior to that of the State. In other words, there is a disposition among certain intellectuals to abolish the central authority of the State, and to substitute the authority of groups. It should seem plain to every person of common sense that these groups, whether they be trade unions, churches, secret societies or any other association, will certainly fall to fighting one another, will destroy order and security, and in this way, if not by bomb throwing, reach the same result as the avowed anarchist unless they are held in check by the supreme and sovereign authority of the State.

The third source of the anarchistic movement to weaken or destroy the authority of Government is the mob spirit. We are all too familiar with accounts of brutal lynchings, race riots and acts of violence in support of strikes. All these crimes tend, and are in fact designed, to overthrow law and order and the power of Government, at least for the time being. They are therefore distinctly anarchistic. Even though the object be local and temporary, the effect of such violence and outrage, if the Government were unable or unwilling to check and control them, would sooner or later be either to overthrow the Government directly or so to weaken it that it would fall of its own weight. In fact it may be

truthfully said that every violation of law, every crime, is an attempt to overthrow public authority, and is of the essential nature of anarchy, from which it can be distinguished only by the fact that the crime of a single burglar, assailant or murderer, is limited in scope because directed against a very small number of persons.

#### SUPPORT OF LAW AND ORDER

The foregoing fundamental principles constitute the basis of Government, and have been stated in sufficient fulness to bring us to the very practical point that it is the duty of every patriotic voter to cast his ballot in favor of the authority of Government, the enforcement of law and order and the security and strengthening of the State. It is easy enough for any intelligent person to recognize the crime of anarchy when it consists of such an act of violence as the placing of a bomb in a crowded building with a view to destroying the structure and the persons who are lawfully in it. Every good man or woman will instantly resolve in favor of laws for the punishment of such crimes, and will vote for legislators who will enact such laws, judges who will apply them, governors, mayors, sheriffs and all other executive officers from president to policeman, who will at every cost, and at every peril



to themselves fearlessly seek out and punish the criminals.

It is not quite so easy to realize that the members of a mob, impatient instantly to bring swift and sure punishment to some guilty criminal, who force a jail or burn a court-house and, after securing their victim, hang him to a tree, should, in the very nature of things, be identified and punished in order to prevent other mobs. Yet this is undoubtedly true. If Government survives in spite of these things it is only because, so far, the reign of violence and lawlessness is local and sporadic. Whenever such proceedings become frequent or general, our republic will be overthrown, for it will receive neither the respect nor the support of its citizens.

Likewise, in the case of labor troubles, with acts of violence in support of strikers, it may often be that the strikers have a just cause with which our people sympathize; yet even in such cases violence and terrorism must be repressed with a stern hand and punished. The whole force of the Government, all the wealth and all the lives of this country, must be mobilized to maintain law and order regardless of whether the disturbance may be intended to aid a just cause or not.

Still another form of disguised anarchy, camouflaged with appearances of patriotism and love of

liberty, appeared in this country during the war with Germany. Agitators and pro-Germans, as well as pacifists, urged our young men not to join the army. A great captain of industry, a very able business man but a very ignorant and foolish citizen, was accused of describing professional soldiers as murderers. A great newspaper called him an anarchist. The question whether this description of the man was correct was submitted to a jury. The plaintiff, the captain of industry who had sued for a million dollars damages, received a verdict in his favor of only six cents.

#### THE PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY

The principle involved in these various illustrations of private conduct, which is subversive and anarchistic, tending to weaken the authority of Government, is plain. It is that if the right be conceded to one person or group of persons to judge whether law should be observed or not, whether the Government should be resisted or supported, then the same right must be conceded equally to every other citizen. Once admit the existence of such a right, and we arrive at anarchy itself, which is the absence of binding law and of governmental authority.

Therefore the first and highest obligation which

rests upon the voter who possesses the right to have a voice in public affairs, is to scrutinize every question with a view to determine whether it involves the strengthening or weakening of Government, and carefully to consider every platform, every principle which is being urged, in order to determine whether, openly and directly, or secretly and indirectly, their effect, if carried out, would be to weaken the principle of authority in this country. Finally, every candidate for office should be sternly judged, as to whether he will, without fear, defend the State and public order, no matter what the peril to himself.

#### FAMOUS INSTANCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Before concluding this topic, I propose to cite a few famous instances, in the history of the United States, which show the difference between the brave and patriotic exercise of governmental authority, and the contemptible and treasonable failure to exercise such authority. In 1860 James Buchanan, President of the United States, found himself facing a rebellion of the Southern States, which, if successful, meant the destruction of the Union. In such a crisis, the supreme executive, charged by his oath of office with the duty, and invested by the Constitution with the powers to defend, preserve and protect the authority of the National Govern-

ment, declared himself to be without the power to do so. He weakly submitted to the secession of Southern States, and to acts of rebellion against the authority of the nation, which had elected him president. On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office as Buchanan's successor, and, facing the dangers confronting the nation, with unflinching courage raised armies and undertook by every means within his power to defeat and overthrow the rebellion, and preserve intact the supreme authority of the National Government. Buchanan would have let the nation be destroyed. Lincoln preserved it.

Again, in 1894, at the time of the Pullman strike, Chicago was attacked by mobs, train service was interrupted, mail trains stopped and a general reign of lawless violence inaugurated in support of a strike by the employees of the Pullman Company, against a reduction of wages. The governor of Illinois, Altgeld, in spite of the fact that the police and militia were utterly unsuccessful in quelling disorder, refused to make the usual call upon the president of the United States, for Federal troops. For this infamous neglect of duty, Altgeld has been called "the friend and champion of disorder." He protested against the sending of United States troops to Chicago, and when they came, demanded

their withdrawal. In marked contrast with this failure to defend the authority of Government, President Cleveland, with instant resolution and courage, secured an injunction against interference with the mails and interstate commerce by the strikers in the Federal courts at Chicago. The president sent regular troops to the scene. In a short time order was restored and the guilty leaders of the outbreak found themselves in prison. President Cleveland is reported to have said that "if it took every dollar in the treasury and every soldier in the United States Army to deliver a postal card in Chicago, that postal card should be delivered." At the height of the disturbance a resolution was introduced in the United States Senate, directing that Federal courts should not prevent the obstruction of trains, except that part of the train which carried mails. Senator Cushman K. Davis, a Republican from Minnesota, being asked by the railway union to support the resolution replied, "You might as well ask me to vote to dissolve the Government."

American history is rich in illustrations of the courageous defense of authority by public officials of high and low station. Unhappily, it is not without incidents of the opposite kind. Hence, every voter, man or woman, must choose whether to stand on the side of authority, of law and of order, or upon

the side of those who would undermine the Government, defy its authority and destroy the peace, order and security of person and property for the protection of which our Government was founded.

#### LINCOLN ON REVERENCE FOR LAW

We conclude this chapter with the words of Abraham Lincoln, at Springfield, Illinois, spoken over eighty years ago.

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of Seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor—let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in 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, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceas-

ingly upon its altars. While ever a state of feeling such as this shall universally or even very generally prevail throughout the nation, vain will be every effort, and fruitless every attempt, to subvert our national freedom."

## CHAPTER II

### AMERICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT

**N**OTHING can so fitly begin this chapter as the reproduction of Lincoln's words at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure



of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom; and that Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

#### OLDER FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

In order to appreciate our American system, it is necessary to understand the kind of Government that prevailed in the world for thousands of years before the Declaration of Independence. It was, with few important exceptions, absolute despotism. The whole power of the State was vested in one person, the monarch. Whatever he was called, king or emperor, sultan or czar, the monarch was the State. In modern times, hundreds of wars have been fought to destroy despotism. England led the way in these struggles for freedom. In the year 1215, her great nobles succeeded in limiting the power of the king, by the provisions of Magna Charta, to which they forced King John to agree. From that date English history records a steady advance toward free representative institutions. Power taken from the monarch at first belonged to the barons, and then was gradually transferred to a larger and ever larger portion of the people. However, prior to 1776, very few Englishmen had the right to vote, and the king was not obliged to shape

his policies in accordance with the views of the House of Commons. During the nineteenth century, the basis for suffrage in Great Britain was gradually broadened. During the World War, which commenced in 1914, the British Parliament finally abolished all property qualifications for suffrage. Every male citizen over twenty-one years of age, and many women, were given the right to vote.

The story of the rise of constitutional Government and representative institutions in Great Britain is one of the most brilliant pages of history, but it stands alone. Prior to 1776 the world may have been making progress, but the almost universal form of Government was that of absolute despotism.

#### AMERICA FAR IN ADVANCE

The soil of North America has been comparatively free from despotism. American colonies for the most part had liberal charters and were far too remote from Europe to permit of any very active interference in their affairs. The circumstances of their situation encouraged the desire for independence and self-government in their territories. On July 4, 1776, thirteen British Colonies revolted, by issuing their Declaration of Independence. On that day, occurred the true birth of what Lincoln later described as "Government of the people, for the people, by the people."

At first there did exist in the colonies and states some very modest limitations of the right of suffrage, which had been borrowed from the mother country. Very early the movement for universal manhood suffrage began. By the year 1830, or over eighty-five years in advance of Great Britain, all property qualifications of the right to vote had been abolished in the United States. For generations, therefore, suffrage, the right to have a voice in Government, has belonged equally to every white male citizen of the United States, over the age of twenty-one. During the Civil War, or rather as a result of it, the right to vote was extended to colored men. Now the day seems at hand, when women, equally with men, will go to the polls and take their just share and responsibility in the conduct of Government and the choice of representatives.

#### PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN SYSTEM

Upon the broad and firm basis of the sovereignty of the people, just described, has been erected the structure of American Government. It is not within the scope of this book to describe our Government in detail. It is important for every voter to realize that certain definite political principles are embodied in our system. Many of those principles are old, many are new. The whole taken together, both old

and new, constitutes the body of political principles which we and all the world as well recognize as distinctive and different from anything which has gone before.

The principle of universal manhood suffrage came to us from France, where it was advocated by Rousseau, to be later adopted by the French Revolutionary Government. The principle of representative Government came to us from England. The two principles taken together were firmly laid by our forefathers, as the foundation stones of the American Commonwealth, held together by the cement of a written Constitution.

Representative Government is obviously necessary for the success of Democracy. The people of a country the size of ours can not meet in one great assembly and govern directly by a vote of the whole people upon every measure. This was feasible in the days of the New England town meeting. It is not so with a great nation. The history of England and of the American Colonies taught our forefathers that if the people rule successfully, they must do it through their chosen representatives. In this way Government could be made practicable and efficient, through its commitment to a small number of persons chosen by the people and charged with definite duties. Furthermore, representative Government is

in line with the division of labor. Certain persons are chosen for Government work; the rest of the people go about their business. Men do not make their own clothes in this day and generation. They select the material, decide on color, weight and general style, but the carrying out of the order is left to the tailor. So with Government; the people decide in a general way on what they want; the rest is left rightfully to their representatives.

#### POWERS OF GOVERNMENT STRICTLY LIMITED

Our forefathers not only hated despotism and tyranny in its open, avowed and unblushing forms, but they knew that it was even more dangerous when concealed under an appearance of popular Government. They realized that, even under the forms of a republic, and under the semblance of the rule of the people, tyranny, despotism and personal sovereignty, might all too easily find their way into American institutions. For this reason they determined strictly to limit the powers of their Government and of those persons whom the people should elect to office.

James Madison, fourth president of the United States, gave clear expression to one aspect of this matter when he warned against tyranny of majorities in the following words: "Wherever the real

power of Government lies there is danger of oppression. In our Government the real power lies in the majority of the community, and the invasion of private rights is chiefly to be apprehended not from acts of Government contrary to the sense of the constituents, but from acts in which the Government is the mere instrument of the major number of constituents.....Where there is an interest and the power to do wrong, wrong will generally be done, and not the less readily by a powerful and interested party than by a powerful and interested prince."

The American system of Government was the first to be based upon a written Constitution. This enabled its authors to define the extent and the limits of power of the Government, and its various officers. The Constitution, being the supreme law of the land, needs only to be enforced, in order to prevent tyranny of any form from gaining entrance to American political life.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CHECKS

The authors of the Constitution, being informed by history, knew that there were certain things which were to be dreaded at the hands of Government, and therefore such wrongs were strictly prohibited. For instance they knew, only too well, the danger that citizens might be arrested unjustly by the agents of Government. They might be held in

confinement without a hearing in court for an indefinite time, and they might, by an arbitrary decree of the executive, be sent to prison, or even to death. Complete protection against such outrages is afforded by the Constitution, for we find in it provisions which preserve the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury, while the accused has the right to know the charge against him, to be confronted by the prosecuting witnesses and to have the help of counsel.

Our forefathers also knew how the history of European states had been darkened by cruel punishments. Numbers of the wisest and best men of England had been burnt alive at the stake, by decree of court, for no other crime than heresy. Torture in a thousand forms had been resorted to, both in war and peace. Against this the Constitution safeguards us by prohibiting "cruel and unusual punishments."

So, too, the Constitution protects religious liberty, and freedom of speech and of the press. The various states of the Union are prohibited from passing any law that would impair the obligation of contracts. The Constitution of the United States, and the Constitutions of the various states are referred to, without giving more space here to this class of limitations on the powers of Government.

## FURTHER CHECKS ON THE GOVERNMENT

Besides specific prohibitions, above referred to, the American Constitution was so drawn as to prevent the vesting of too much power in any one person, or in any body of persons. Government was divided into three separate branches, possessing independent powers and duties, each intended to serve as a check against abuse of powers by the others. Legislative power, that is the right to enact laws, is vested in Congress. Congress is divided into two bodies, the Senate and House of Representatives. No measure can become law until it has passed both Houses of Congress. This procedure of course involves delay, debate and discussion. Parliamentary Government always has, in the nature of things, such characteristics. It is, as the word implies, Government by parley, or by discussion. The Senate and House have been called "the cup and saucer of the Constitution." As tea, in the fashion of olden days, was often poured from cup to saucer, in order to cool the beverage before it was drunk, so legislation passing from one branch of Congress to the other gives opportunity for excitement to cool, and for sober second thought to have its way. Under a popular Government, it is most important for the people to know what is going on if their wishes are



to influence Government policy. The 'double-chambered Congress is the best guarantee of publicity that has been invented.

The executive power of Government, the power to carry on the business and enforce the laws enacted by Congress, is vested in the president. He has a checking power against Congress, in that he may veto any act, which can not then become law unless it is again passed by both Houses of Congress, and this time by a two-thirds vote. On the other hand, as Congress has the power to levy taxes and appropriate money, it may, if it see fit, put compelling pressure upon the president. Besides this, the Senate must confirm all presidential appointments to office, of ambassadors, judges and other officers named, as well as those whose confirmation is required under statutory provisions. The president may make treaties with foreign Governments, but only "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

The president is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, but Congress alone can authorize the creation of either, and, by granting or withholding appropriations, can exercise such control over the armed forces of the United States as may serve to prevent an abuse of power by the commander-in-chief.

It must be realized that this system of dividing power between president and Congress, can only be effective in creating reciprocal checks upon the abuse of power, by either branch, where the independent judgment of the president and of Congress is actually exercised. If, through intimidation or any other improper course, the president should come to control Congress so that its approval of his policies would be automatic, without the exercise of critical judgment and patriotic courage, our Government would rapidly become one of autocratic personal sovereignty. So also, if Congress, possessing the power to withhold appropriations and even to impeach the president and remove him from office, should so coerce him that the executive ceased to exercise the full constitutional authority conferred upon him for the public good, the purpose of the Constitution would be defeated, and the country would be apt to suffer many, or all, of the evils arising from feeble administration and lax enforcement of public law.

#### SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

The most distinctive feature of the American Constitution is its assignment of judicial power to the third branch of the Government. Legislatures of the various states of the Union, and Congress

itself, may enact laws, and the Acts of Congress may have been signed by the president, or passed over his veto, but it does not follow that any of these acts constitute valid law. All are still subject to the consideration and decision of the courts, and finally of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is the duty of that august tribunal, not merely to interpret and apply the laws of the United States, but to decide whether the Acts of Congress and of the several states are in conformity with the provisions of the Federal Constitution.

This power of the courts to say whether laws are valid or in contravention of the Constitution and therefore invalid, is unique. The Constitution has been amended many times, and will be amended from time to time in accordance with the expressed wishes of the American people. While it is in force, all laws must conform to its provisions. Certain principles of Government, certain safeguards for the liberty and rights of our citizens, certain supports for the authority of Government itself, were placed in the Constitution. Those provisions are the very essence of Americanism. Whoever violates them is un-American and disloyal.

It is to the creation and to the power of the Supreme Court of the United States, that we are indebted for the unity, the greatness and the power

of our Government. In the early part of the nineteenth century, selfish, narrow and local interests attempted to combat the supreme authority of our National Government. The various states attempted to set up powers of their own in conflict with the Constitution. Had they succeeded there would have been no nation, but a loose confederation of weak and quarreling states. The story of the struggle to solidify the national authority and to restrain the powers of the states to conformity with the Federal Constitution, is brilliantly told in Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall*. To Marshall, more than to any other man, we are indebted for the accomplishment of this great work. As Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, he turned the numerous and divergent currents of American political life into one great national channel, and he must rank among the few immortals who have been the nation-builders of the world.

The work had two aspects. On the one hand, it required the courageous restraint of the several states, compelling them to limit themselves to their own sphere of political action. On the other hand, it involved the assertion and exercise of every power essential to the preservation of the National Government. It was Marshall's assertion and firm establishment of these national powers which enabled

Lincoln to preserve the Union. It was these same powers, which, in our war with Germany, enabled the National Government to raise an army of four million men by the power of draft; to take over and operate the railroads and shipping lines; to control the prices and distribution of food and other necessities.

In the days of Marshall, there were able and influential men who tried to destroy the authority and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States. They attempted to deprive it of the right to declare laws unconstitutional. They sought to create the right of appeal from that court to Congress. Fortunately, all of these foolish efforts failed. Nothing remains of such unwisdom, except, that, now and then, some agitator, uninformed and unwise, lifts a solitary discordant voice and demands that our courts be restricted and deprived of their power to preserve the American principles of Government as laid down in our Constitution.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The concluding principle of American institutions, to be mentioned here, is that local affairs are left to local Government, while affairs which are of general concern, are placed in the hands of a central authority. This principle begins at the very bottom

of our political structure and extends to the very top. Matters which are local to a town or township are governed by the people of the locality. Matters which concern an entire county and not merely a town, township or city are controlled by the county Government. Those concerns which are of still more general interest and have state-wide importance are placed in the hands of the governor, legislature, Supreme Court and other officers of the state. Finally, those things not local to any particular state, but which are of national concern, are assigned to the control of the National Government.

The reason for such an arrangement is obvious. The central Government is less well informed than the people of a particular locality about those matters which are of strictly local importance. The central Government is left free from the encumbrance of details involved in local questions, and can therefore better devote itself to larger questions and more important decisions.

It is evident that the two principles of local self-government and of a strong central Government, have merit and both are important to the liberties, the happiness and the well-being of the American people. However, the operation of each principle must be confined to the subjects which are properly its concern. The courts, and particularly

the Supreme Court of the United States, have been charged with the duty of drawing the dividing line between a just localism and a necessary nationalism. The two principles have come into conflict many times. They did so at the time of the Civil War, when Southern States claimed the right to maintain slavery as a local institution, while the Northern States declared that human freedom was a matter of supreme national concern, and this was paramount to the wishes of the southern people.

Even within a state, questions of too much or too little centralization of power not infrequently arise. Ought trolley lines to be controlled by the city in which they operate, or by the state Government? Ought the valuation of real estate be made by local officers, or by a board of commissioners sitting at the state capital? Ought police to be controlled by state authorities, as a branch of the state Government, or by the city or town in which they perform their duties? Ought judges to be elected by the people of a locality where they hold court, or appointed by the governor of the state? These and similar questions are always with us, but good sense, self-restraint and sound judgment in the end find their way to a proper decision, even though mistakes may be made which require correction.

In general, it may not be improper to say that

the Democratic party, from the days of Jefferson, has been more inclined to exalt the principle of localism, or of the right of local self-government. The Republican party, since the days of Lincoln, has been more inclined to defend and exalt the principle of nationalism. The very course of events, beyond the control of Government, has made for increasing centralization of Government power, both in states and nation. Thus, street-car lines, originally operating cars drawn by horses, were confined to cities and their immediate locality, and were naturally under local control. Now the electric trolley line has passed beyond local operation and serves to connect all the principal cities and towns of the state. This necessarily gives rise to some state control. So with railroads. Originally they were local affairs, but short local lines were gradually consolidated, so as to afford continuous transportation from state to state, until it became inevitable that the National Government should take over the control of railroads under the clause of the Federal Constitution which gives to Congress the power to control interstate commerce.

#### AMERICANISM

We have now briefly sketched the structure of American Government for the purpose, not merely of showing its framework and the arrangement of



its parts, but of making plain the fact that it is pervaded from top to bottom by definite political principles which find expression in our form of Government, and are safeguarded by our Constitutions, national and state. These principles constitute the very essence of Americanism. They deserve the loyal support of every man and woman worthy the name of American. Nay, more, they require that support. The true bulwarks of liberty, of authority, of justice and of security, are not in the laws designed for their protection, but in the loyal spirit and devotion of our people. History shows only too plainly that the laws and governmental framework of a country may have all the appearances which characterize the institutions of a free and progressive people and yet in reality be only disguises for cruel, unjust, tyrannical Government. When, therefore, we talk about Americanism, let us understand that what is meant is not a mere glow of enthusiasm, a thrill when we sing *The Star Spangled Banner*, or see the flag carried by our troops. It is not even a fondness for the particular part of the world in which we live. Americanism means devotion to the institutions, and political principles embodied in them, which have been established in free America. If you would be American, worthy the name, stand for the laws of your country, its Government, its institutions.

## CHAPTER III

### PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

**I**T IS neither possible nor desirable for the institutions of Government in a progressive country like ours to remain unchanged. Circumstances alter cases. A growing nation will require changes in its laws from time to time to meet new and altered conditions, new and untried problems. A perfectly rigid system of Government would perish, like old bottles filled with new wine. Hence our Constitutions contain provisions by which they may be amended. The power of amendment has been frequently exercised.

But the power of amendment, contained in the Federal Constitution, like provisions of the same sort in state Constitutions, has been carefully safeguarded. An amendment to the Constitution of the United States must first receive the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and of the House. It must next be submitted to the legislatures of the various states, and be ratified by three-fourths of the states. Tedious and conservative as this process may appear to be, it has worked well. The present generation has, within recent years, seen four great amend-

ments, which had long been considered and debated by the American people, passed by Congress and submitted to the states. Of these, three—the one authorizing a Federal income tax, the one providing for the election of United States senators by the people, and the one prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors—have been adopted; and the fourth, granting suffrage to women, is now pending before the legislatures of the states, thirty-five of them having already ratified it.

Every voter ought to understand the provision in the Constitution of his own state touching amendments, as these provisions differ in detail. In recent years there has arisen a movement which has for its single object making the process of amending Constitutions quicker and easier. This movement is only a part of a larger movement for the quicker, more direct and immediate control of the Government by the people. One of the earliest problems which confronts a new voter is, what position shall he take with respect to this movement, so called, for “more Democracy.”

#### DANGERS OF EASY AMENDMENT

A good introduction to the study of this problem is to begin with the proposal to make the amending of Constitutions quicker and easier. The

root of the question is to be found in the reason for originally imposing checks on amendments. No right-minded person would deny the right of the people to alter their institutions, when it is certainly the settled wish of a substantial majority that they should be so changed. However, the founders of the republic, informed by history, with great political wisdom realized that with Democratic institutions, there is always the danger of precipitate and ill-considered action. No reader of American history can fail to be impressed by the tremendous waves of feeling, of sudden emotion, of political prejudice, of intense passion, by which the people are, from time to time, moved. Nor will the reader fail, just as frequently, to see how these storms subside, making no mark on the history of our country. Individuals are apt to get excited, and under the influence of intense feeling, make decisions which in a calmer mood they would never think of making, and which, unfortunately, they may bitterly regret. This is one of the inherent weaknesses of human nature, which to be sure does yield before the advance of civilization, of culture and of self-restraint. But it yields slowly. If this be the case with the private individual, it is far more true of humankind in the mass. Political decisions are often urged in excited assemblies and in crowded halls. Political principles

are advocated by gifted orators, and supported by vast processions of enthusiastic partisans. This is the way of Democracy, and it is not a bad way but it has its dangers. It is no easy thing to create and maintain a great and good Government, like that of the United States, when it is continually subjected to the danger of reckless, impulsive and dangerous decisions by the people themselves.

Now the safeguards in the Constitution, making the process of amendment slow and deliberate, were designed to make sure that the people had given the subject under discussion their full and patient consideration; that they had been informed, as far as possible, of all the facts and all the arguments on both sides of the case. Having done all this, and having made up their minds, it is reasonable and necessary that the will of the majority should have its way. When the majority acts in this deliberate fashion, the result will usually be a good one. It is well that it should be so, for a majority of the voters, at any given time, are not acting merely for themselves. They are acting for posterity. Upon what they do, for good or for ill, depends the happiness or the misfortune of generations yet unborn. The fathers of the republic were plainly impressed with this solemn responsibility, for, in the very preamble to the Constitution, they declare their

purpose to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

If the arguments for these safeguards at the time our fathers adopted the Federal Constitution were sound, in the light of their knowledge of history, of human nature and of political theory, they seem even more conclusive now. Again and again we have been, and are being, exposed to the tempests of political passion. Again and again our Constitution has been an anchor which enabled the ship to outride the storm. Surely no reasonable voter can, in the light of our experience, be sure that our Government would be made better if constitutional amendments were made quicker and easier.

#### COURTS AND CONSTITUTIONS

Another revolutionary proposal, which has found some earnest advocates, is that the American system of Government be changed so as to deprive the courts, and in particular the Supreme Court of the United States, of the power to decide whether laws are valid and constitutional or not. Under the English system, Acts of Parliament can not be questioned by the courts, whereas, our system makes the court, and not the legislative body, the final judge on this question. The argument in favor of the change is that the legislature or Congress, which

enacts the laws, expresses the will of the voters now living, while the court may thwart that will by upholding the will of a former generation of voters as expressed in the Constitution but which is now dead and gone.

A different form in which this proposal has been urged is, to permit an appeal from the court to a vote of the people, in cases where the court has held laws unconstitutional. The distinction between the two proposals is merely that in one case the vote of the legislature would be final, and in the other the vote of the people.

Both proposals are open to the same objections. If either proposal were to prevail, it would mean the complete destruction of our American system of Government. Our written Constitutions would become scraps of paper, without value or validity. The limitations of power, which those Constitutions impose upon public officials and upon Government itself, would perish, leaving merely an uncontrolled despotism. True, this despotism would not be that of one tyrant, but would be exercised by a majority of the people. Yet, as we have seen, even majorities may be wrong. History is full of cases where a single human being, a minority of one, had moral right and justice on his side, while the multitude who destroyed him were in the wrong, and were

animated by cruel and unjust aims. No matter what the form of Government, the spirit of Government will always be the main thing. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is applicable to Governments as well as to men. A State which is so framed as to give power to injustice, to cruelty and to wrong is unworthy and ought to perish, even though the ruler may be, for the time being, perhaps for election day only, a majority of the people.

#### OUR CONSTITUTIONS OF SLOW GROWTH

Our Constitutions were not written overnight. They embody, record and preserve the rights, the justice, the liberties, which have been achieved by the struggles and the sufferings of countless generations. Those rights have been developed and established, not by the vote at a single election but by the deliberate judgment of generation after generation of the best, the most enlightened and most progressive people known to history, the Anglo-Saxons. How foolish and dangerous it would be to risk the perpetuation of those sacred blessings of civilization, which our Constitutions are designed to preserve, to the whim, the prejudice, the passion, the interest, possibly the ignorance, of a majority of the people on a single day.

If it be urged that the people must not be made



slaves to the dead hand of the past, and that the people of to-day have a right to control their own destiny, a complete answer is found in the provisions which authorize the amendment of our Constitutions. All that is required to effectuate the settled, deliberate and informed purpose of the people, is to take the proper, orderly and prudent course of thinking, debating and considering the matter so thoroughly that the possibility of serious mistake will be reduced to a minimum. There is no valid argument in favor of the revolutionary changes, above set forth, in the American system of Government.

#### RECALL—OBJECTIONS TO IT

Another change in the American system, which has found support in some states, is the Recall. By this is meant the right of a certain number of voters, say ten per cent., by a written petition, to require any office-holder to submit to a new election, to determine whether he ought to be recalled, or compelled to give up his office. The argument for this change is that office-holders sometimes fail or refuse to carry out the will of the people, or of the majority of the voters.

The objections to this proposal far outweigh the arguments in its favor. An official guilty of mis-

conduct, or breach of duty, may be impeached, and removed from office by the courts, or in some instances by Congress, legislatures or city councils. If he be guilty of no misconduct, or violation of law, he ought not to be compelled to stand again and again in successive elections. Good men would be deterred from seeking or accepting office, if the fatigue, worry and expense of repeated elections must be undergone every little while, whenever a small body of enemies get enough signatures to a petition. The voters themselves will be harassed and excited by such constant electioneering. Public business will be neglected, and holders of office made cowards. The office-holder, instead of seeking to discharge his duty efficiently, will be hunting for popular favor, seeking to please the changing whim of the noisy and violent part of the community, whose attack he fears. The expense imposed upon the public treasury becomes a serious burden as a result of such frequent elections. Experience shows that petitions for Recall elections may contain forged signatures and that litigation is likely to result. Furthermore, as a rule the Recall election does not produce any different result from the original election, being merely an effort of the defeated side to have a new trial.

## RECALL OF JUDGES

All of these objections and many more apply to the case of Recall of judges. A Government of law requires, more than anything else, brave, honest and able men for judges. The terrors of repeated Recall elections would tend to make cowards of our judges. A judge would be encouraged to decide cases, not according to the law but according to popular passion and favor. Government by law would perish, under such a system. Laws would have no vigor or binding force. The whim of the multitude, or of the noisy and violent part of the people, would be the real source of judicial decisions, instead of the law. It has been said that prosperity rests on credit, credit on confidence, and that confidence can only exist where just laws are wisely administered and fearlessly enforced so as to give security to contracts and certainty to individual rights. These results have long been secured by our present system. To make the proposed change would be like the dog dropping the bone to snatch at its shadow.

## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Another innovation attempted in some parts of the country, is the enactment of laws by direct vote of the people. The Initiative is the name for this method, where a certain number or percentage of

voters may, by filing a written petition, require any proposed law which they may initiate, to be voted upon at an election. The Referendum is an appeal to the people, after the legislature has acted upon a bill, so that they may by their votes at an election have the final decision as to whether the measure shall become law.

The argument for this new method of making laws is that legislatures often fail to enact laws which a majority of the people desire, or pass laws which the people do not desire. It is a plain departure from the American system, which is one of representative Government, in which the people act through their chosen representatives. The business of making laws is a very serious one, requiring special qualifications, extended study and trained judgment, and our system of legislative bodies, surrounded by constitutional checks, was intended to secure these things. At the same time, state Constitutions were always voted upon by the people before their adoption, and special questions, such as building a schoolhouse, a road, a bridge or a railroad, have often been submitted to direct vote.

#### OBJECTIONS BASED ON EXPERIENCE

The objections to the Initiative and Referendum are based, not so much on political theory, as on actual experience. Voters are usually very busy in

the regular tasks of life. They have not the time to study, scarcely to read, long documents of many printed pages with technical details, which some one thinks should or should not become law. The long list of names of candidates at a general election is alone discouraging to the voter, and he often votes with little or no knowledge about the particular men. Much more is this the case where the voter finds several yards of printed matter, which constitute his ballot, on which he places "yes" or "no" to indicate whether these measures or any of them should become statutes. Furthermore, enormous expense in printing is caused by the Referendum. Elections become more and more costly, as well as burdensome. Sometimes serious delays and stoppage of public business occur, as where an appropriation bill, passed by the legislature, is referred to the people, who probably can not vote on it until the next election, while the money is needed at once. A state university was once embarrassed by lack of funds to pay its professors, by this proceeding. On the whole, while the people have the right to vote directly on their laws, the best results are obtained by leaving it to legislatures. The election of good men to these bodies is all that is necessary, and this can be secured by much less effort and expense than the Referendum involves.

## PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Primary elections, within a political party, for the choice of candidates which the party is to present at an approaching election, have long been known and resorted to, particularly in country communities. Until late years they were used only for selecting candidates for local offices. The convention was the favorite and established means for the selection of party candidates for national and state offices, and, though not quite so generally, for county offices. However, delegate conventions developed many abuses which became almost a scandal. It was urged by reformers that conventions often failed to express the will of the people; that the delegates were often influenced by unworthy motives; and that the people should introduce the more Democratic method of holding elections within the party, at which every member of the party would be entitled to express his choice. Accordingly this movement has gained great headway in the last few years in many states, although it has not yet become a nation-wide practise in the choice of candidates for president and vice-president.

Experience has shown that the maxim relied on by advocates of primary elections that "the cure for the ills of Democracy is more Democracy" was quite

misleading and, in fact, when put in practise, often did more harm than good. Primary elections, it is found, tend to keep many good men, comprising often the very best material, from making the race for office. It is necessary, under this system, for a candidate to make two complete canvasses, one for the primary election and one for the general election. The expense, thus doubled, deters many; the physical fatigue and danger to health, deter many more. The result is that voters are apt to be deprived of the candidacy of the ablest available men, and their choice must be made from inferior material.

Furthermore the primary does not even avoid the dangers and abuses of the convention, at least not in every case. Unless a candidate has a majority over all the votes cast at the primary, there must still be a convention to choose the candidate.

Again, cunning politicians have found it easy, under the primary system, to consolidate the vote of their own organization upon some particular man, and to divide the vote of their opponents, by causing a number of almost equally good men to come into the race, thus dividing the vote of the better element in the party, and infallibly losing the election to the "slate" candidate.

Whether this reform, so-called, is as good as the

regulation of conventions by careful laws, is a question about which good people differ, but it is certain that the primary election does not in actual operation yield results that are satisfactory.

#### ABOLITION OF THE SENATE

One of the most recent proposals for change coming from a small labor group, is the abolition of the United States Senate. Such a thing hardly requires serious consideration. The plan of two Chambers was adopted by the authors of our Constitution in view of the success which had been achieved by the British Parliament, with its House of Lords, and House of Commons. Furthermore, the experience of the colonies, under the single-chambered Congress, compared unfavorably with the success of the British Parliament. It was found, as has been abundantly attested in many times and places, that a single body of representatives is more apt to make mistakes and enact foolish and ill-considered legislation, than a two-chambered body, where each measure is considered separately by the Upper and the Lower House, and its passage by both Houses made necessary, before it can become law. Such an arrangement does cause some delay, except where there is practical unanimity in both Houses, but it serves to keep the people informed



as to what is going on, and gives opportunity for public opinion to be formed and brought to bear upon the people's representatives.

It has been claimed that the Senate of the United States, during nearly a century and a half, has been the greatest deliberative body known to history. Certainly it has had no superior. The talent, the aptitude for public affairs, the personal distinction and the gifts of debate possessed by its members, have given it a leading place under the American Constitution. Many of the greatest Americans have been members of the Senate, and their speeches are such models of patriotism and of oratory, that they are learned and recited by nearly every schoolboy. It is true that at times the Senate has seemed slow and even obstructive, but these defects are minor matters compared with the magnificent list of services which this body, throughout its existence, has as a rule rendered to the cause of Freedom and of popular Government.

While the House of Representatives is chosen on the basis of population, the Senate is constituted peculiarly, with two members from each state, whether the state have a large or a small population. A stranger, unfamiliar with our institutions and history, might regard it as singular for Rhode Island to have as many votes in the Senate as the state of

New York. The explanation is that the colonies were originally independent commonwealths and when the Constitution was formed they asserted their political equality, as Sovereign States. The formation of the Senate is the outgrowth of this circumstance. As a matter of fact, the arrangement has proved a very fortunate one. Usually the Upper House has been hereditary in the monarchical states of Europe. Where the hereditary principle is rejected, as in America, it has been difficult in other countries to find a basis for the Upper House, which is not merely or nearly a duplication of the Lower House. If the two bodies are exactly like each other, there seems little advantage in having two chambers. America, alone, has had the admirable arrangement of equal representation of unequal states, and it has worked well. One reason is that small states and large states are found scattered throughout the entire continent, east and west, north and south. Of course any large state might with reason have its territory divided into several states, by Act of Congress, thus increasing its membership in the Senate, but such a wish is entirely absent, alike in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Texas. Of course the small states like those of New England, and the West and South, have no cause for complaint. It is not likely that any change

will be made in the near future in the composition of the Senate. Its rules may be modernized to facilitate business, but it is safe to say that no considerable number of intelligent American voters will soon desire its abolition.

#### GROUP GOVERNMENT

The most amazing, the most recent and the most revolutionary demand for alteration of the American system, is the demand that representation of the people by geographical districts be abolished, and representation of occupational groups replace it. This idea comes to us direct from Russia, where it has been embodied in the Russian Soviet Government, of Lenine and Trotzky. John Spargo, the Socialist, advocates it in *The Psychology of Bolshevism*, page 59 *et seq.*\* He declares that the political state is unfitted for the technical work of industrial organization and management. Instead of our Government representatives being chosen from defined geographical units, they should be chosen, he thinks, upon the basis of occupational groups. Each industrial group would choose representatives from its own number. This would exclude the parasitically idle. What is now termed "Soviet Government" was outlined by DeLeon, in a speech at Minneapolis, in 1905. He said:

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\*See also *Bolshevism and the United States*, by C. E. Russell, p. 303.

"The mining, the railroad, the textile industries, down or up the line, each of these, regardless of former political boundaries, will be the constituencies of the new central authority. Like the flimsy card house that children raise, the present political Governments of countries, of states, aye, of the City on the Potomac herself, will tumble down, their places taken by the central and subordinate administrative organs of the Nation's industrial forces."

After making this quotation, Spargo says: "There will be no other Government than this. What is here described is Soviet Government pure and simple, for Soviet Government is simply the Russian term for Government by councils of labor unions."

If we assume a House of Representatives of five hundred members chosen by and from the various occupational groups, as they existed in the United States according to the census of 1910, it would be composed approximately as follows:

Farmers and farm laborers.....	170
Manufacturing and Mechanical Businesses.....	120
Trade and Transportation .....	80
Domestic and other personal services.....	95
Lawyers, Physicians and other professions....	20
Miners .....	15

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Total .....500

Spargo complains that more than half of the House of Representatives in 1919 were lawyers,

and that this is not representative. As a matter of fact lawyers are chosen so frequently because, as special students who have devoted their lives to the study of history, political constitutions and jurisprudence, they are experts in law. Their minds are trained to ascertain the old law and its evils, and to draft new laws remedying those evils. The making of laws, certainly, is as much a matter of expert knowledge as the making of a locomotive or an automobile, in which lawyers would indeed be but bunglers.

No one can carefully examine the above table and feel the slightest assurance that such a Congress would produce better laws, for the welfare of the whole people, than we have had under our American system which leaves voters of every occupation free to choose those who, in their opinion, would best represent them in Congress. At any rate we ought to be well content to let Russia try out the experiment, while we observe its results, before the great American Republic embarks on such a doubtful venture. Under the Russian system, voters would be limited in the choice of representatives to their own group, miners choosing a miner, iron-workers an iron-worker, and so on. A voter might know a hundred persons, outside his own particular group, better qualified to enact laws than any man in his

group, yet he would be compelled to choose the inferior man.

What is more important is that, under our present system, the voters of a particular locality have not only a free choice from the whole population, but the person thus chosen acts as the sworn representative of the interests of the whole people. A congressman elected by all the voters of his district represents all groups and all districts, quite as much as his own.

Under the occupational or group system, each representative, being chosen by his own class alone and under obligations to no members of any other group, class or occupation, would inevitably regard himself as the representative of his own group exclusively. That prime object of our Constitution which is defined in the preamble as being "to promote the general welfare" would go down under a welter of class conflicts growing out of the excessive encouragement of classes and of group consciousness. Patriotism, in the sense of loyal service to the entire American people, would perish.

In one instance, class consciousness has brought danger to our beloved country, and that was when the people of the Southern States became class-conscious through their adherence to slavery and pressed their own interest, as distinct from the gen-

eral interest of the whole people, until the issue was settled in the tears and the blood of the Civil War.

If we would preserve our country and hand down to posterity the rich heritage which we have received from our fathers, we must fight class feeling. We must encourage national patriotism, and learn to consider the public interest as supreme over all private interests, whether that interest asserts itself in the form of trade unions, occupational groups, trusts, capitalist syndicates or in any other form.

Socialists are for the most part un-American, either in birth like Spargo, or in feeling if, like him, they think the Russian Soviet form of Government superior to the Constitution of the United States. Let no lover of his country tolerate the notion of a Government composed of representatives of groups or classes, instead of representatives of the whole people. Should such a revolutionary change as that we are now considering ever come to pass, we can best form an idea of what our country will become by looking at what Russia is, under the Soviet system. Let us have a Government which represents the people, the whole people, and nothing but the people.

## CHAPTER IV.

### AMERICANISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

**T**HE primary purpose of our free public schools is to train American youth in the duties of citizenship; and of these, the first and the most universal is the obligation to vote wisely. That this is the first object of the State, in maintaining free schools for all children, is shown by the fact that America derived two principles from the French Revolution which were interdependent. The first was the free and equal right of all men to vote, and the second, the duty of the State to provide schools for all youths, since if the people were to rule they must be fitted for the task. Schools had previously been controlled by the church, and furnished education almost exclusively to the children of the nobility and to candidates for the priesthood. With the advent of the modern Democratic State, the State school became a necessity, as a matter of self-preservation for the Government.

The important relation of our free public schools to Government, as a place of training for the proper exercise of the right to vote, has been obscured by several causes. Girls have generally been taught in



the same schools with boys, and until recently women did not have the right to vote. Furthermore, most teachers were women, who, being deprived of any part in actual politics, took little or no interest in subjects vitally important for the training of voters. It has generally been supposed that the only object of such schools was to train children for getting on in the world, to develop their individual powers, stimulate ambition and train them in habits of study, industry and punctuality. All of these things are among the true aims of our public-school system, but they are subordinate to the imperative necessity of educating voters in the sound principles of Government, and in a sense of duty toward the State.

#### IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL ELECTIONS

School elections are usually separate affairs from other elections, and they ought to be, since by this means public schools can best be kept out of party politics. The appointment of teachers, whoever has the power of naming them, whether school trustees, commissioners or others officials, should never become party patronage. The voter should therefore always oppose candidates who can be suspected of an inclination toward using the schools for party purposes.

Even more important is the fact that at school

elections, the policy of the schools, the kind of instruction which they are to give, is determined. If school authorities are chosen who are not "one hundred per cent. American," the pupils are likely to be instructed by teachers who are not wholly and loyally American. It is of the highest importance that no teacher be given charge of pupils in an American school who is not an absolute patriot, loyal not only to the American flag but to the American system of Government; a lover not only of his country as an agreeable place in which to live but as a place where the greatest success in Government known to history has been achieved. To continue and increase that success must be the teacher's first aim, in the daily performance of school-room duties.

#### TEACHING PATRIOTISM

It has been declared by a great authority, that in the first few years of childhood more is learned than in the entire remainder of life. Certain it is, that patriotism must be taught in childhood and youth. For that, first of all, are our schools established and maintained.

The teaching of patriotism is more important to the future of our country than the teaching of grammar and arithmetic. If first voters come to the polls lacking patriotism, loyalty and judgment, it is

the fault of the schools which have failed to perform their highest duty.

Too often it is supposed that the unfurling of the schoolhouse flag, and the singing of two or three patriotic hymns, are all that can be done to awaken the love of country in the heart of childhood. Unhappily, a slight emotion such as these things produce, is neither permanent nor important. In fact it may do harm. An examination of the principal patriotic American songs discloses the fact that they give only a one-sided view of America. Nearly all of them are devoted exclusively to the idea of freedom. *The Star Spangled Banner* is to wave over "the land of the free, and the home of the brave." *America*, our next most beautiful hymn, written in 1832 by a Baptist clergyman, of Boston, is almost wholly devoted to praise of "freedom." Every stanza mentions it. God is referred to as "author of liberty."

#### OVER-EMPHASIS OF LIBERTY

It is evident that praise of freedom and of liberty, glorious as they are, can be pushed too far, particularly when teaching children. God is not only the author of liberty, but the author of law. From the time when the Ten Commandments were instituted, God has been known to every Christian

people as the Lawgiver. It is just as important that children should have law and obedience emphasized, as a part of all true Americanism, as it is to emphasize liberty. Children get an imperfect idea of their country and of their duty toward that country, if they sing only about freedom and not about obedience to authority. The mischief is not confined to our American-born children. Immigrants come to our shores in vast numbers, quite ignorant of America, of popular Government and of our institutions. One of the first things which they learn is to sing these patriotic songs. Their heads are filled with the single idea of uncontrolled liberty, and absolute personal freedom. They think that when they come to America they have the right to do just what they please. Their hearts are often filled with hatred of unjust Government under which they have lived, to escape which they have come to this country, "the land of the free." The result often is that they resent our laws, our courts, our public authorities. They think, somehow, that our Government, having been founded upon the basis of the Declaration of Independence, has been perverted by tyrants, when it is proposed to subject them to our reasonable laws. A mischief is wrought in their uninstructed minds. Many of them remain here as advocates, not of ordered freedom as we

know it, but of license, and of anarchy, which know no God, no law, no Government.

The over-emphasis of freedom, and the failure to impress the minds of the young and of immigrants with the corresponding ideas of law and of obedience, were also partly the result of our Civil War. The great achievement of that terrible war and its unmeasured sacrifices, was the abolition of negro slavery. Not only did the negro, but his white brother, naturally come to think of freedom as the one great glorious characteristic of America. *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* has the beautiful line:

“As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free.”

Here again we find emphasis laid almost exclusively upon freedom as the great controlling characteristic of the American Government.

#### LIBERTY HAS LIMITATIONS

It is true that in many ways we have more liberty than has been possessed by any other civilized people in the history of the world. Our people are free to control the making of their own laws. They are free to require those laws to be equally and impartially enforced against rich and poor, white and black, against every class and every interest.

They possess the unqualified right to freedom of opinion. Within wide limits, they possess the right to freedom of speech, but this right does not include freedom to advocate the overthrow of Government, or resistance to its laws. Our people have the right to their own religion and to worship God according to the dictates of individual conscience. But this religious liberty does not include the right to do things which are prohibited by law, even in the name and under the guise of the worship of Almighty God. Mormons claim polygamy to be a divine institution, and they may hold this opinion if they like, but if a Mormon attempts to carry his belief into practise, by having more than one wife, he is guilty of crime and is subject to punishment.

A fundamental principle of Americanism is, that we must so use our liberty, and so exercise our rights, as not to invade the liberty, or rights, of other persons.

#### PATRIOTISM IN THE SCHOOLS

Our schools should not fail to correct the error which has permitted the young, the inexperienced and the ignorant to get their minds filled with the false and anarchistic notions of unrestrained personal freedom. They should be taught the doctrines of qualified liberty. The teacher must also make it a daily concern to awaken and strengthen a true love

of country, a sound patriotism. This does not mean merely an awakening of the spirit of the soldier, by dwelling on the glories of war, the victories of our armies, the achievements of men who have followed our flag and have died gloriously in its defense. All this is necessary, but it is the easiest part of patriotism for the teacher to inculcate. What is far more important is to teach the patriotism of peace. The child should be taught to see all the advantages, the comfort, the protection, which our Government affords to the people of America. Love of country must be taught, so as to develop in our young people willingness to sacrifice personal interest for the common good, particularly when the time comes to vote. Our youth should be taught that, only by sacrifice of self-interest, of class interest, of group interest, for the common good, can our republic be preserved. Our ideal must be perfect justice to every man, woman and child. Much remains to be accomplished. Constant reform, constant study, constant effort on the part of every citizen, to improve and make our social justice more nearly perfect, are required, and always will be required.

#### HISTORY'S LESSONS IN PATRIOTISM

The love of country, such as we have been urging, the patriotism of peace, can not be instilled

into the mind of youth in any better way than by unceasing study of history. It is thus that we can come to realize the achievements of the American republic. By reading and learning of the sufferings and sacrifices, the unselfishness and the courage of those patriots who have gone before, and, as Lincoln said, "have paid the last full measure of devotion," our youth may come to know what America means to humanity. The study of history is the school of the patriot.

#### SCHOOLS SHOULD HELP PRESERVE GOVERNMENT

Our Government has the right and is charged with the duty of self-preservation. The school children of to-day will rule the State of to-morrow. What they are taught, and what they are not taught, will largely determine the character of their votes and their opinions when they reach maturity. The foundation principles on which our Government and our institutions rest must be clearly explained and advocated by teachers in every state school and college.

Our Government rests upon religion, law, the family and private property. No person who is a disbeliever in the institutions on which existing civilization is based should be permitted to teach in any institution supported out of funds raised by



taxation. One may rightfully claim the privilege of believing that our fundamental institutions are wrong, but such a person has no right to teach in our schools. The schools are intended to help preserve the existing State and the existing social order, and not to destroy them. Atheists, anarchists, free-lovers and Socialists, therefore, should be excluded from the ranks of public-school teachers and professors in state universities.

It is a great mistake to suppose that religion, law, the family and private property are matters of indifference in school instruction; that it is the duty of the teacher to ignore them, as controversial, or to encourage uncertainty and indecision in the minds of pupils, treating these as open questions. They are not open questions, so far as public schools are concerned. They are essential subjects upon which instruction ought to be given.

Under our Government, Church and State are separate. Instruction in any form of religious faith can not be permitted in our schools. But it is proper and necessary that children should be taught respect and reverence for every form of the Christian religion, including also the religion of the Jews. The child should be told of the mysteries of the universe, of stars and rocks, of flowers and sunbeams, of man's relation to nature, to the past, to the future,

and to his fellow man. No intelligent mind can fail to find in these things the basis of true religious feeling and conviction.

Those parts of the Bible which have no relation to the disputes between different forms of religious belief, may be read and taught in our schools, and should by no means be neglected. The Ten Commandments, the Psalms, the Book of Proverbs, the great prophecies which touch the course of ancient civilization, the sayings of Jesus, should be persistently presented to youthful minds, as a basis for wise and patriotic citizenship.

#### SACREDNESS OF THE FAMILY

The sacredness of the family should be taught in school. All proposals to weaken the tie between husband and wife, between parents and children, should be treated as highly dangerous, and opposed to the interests and happiness of future generations. No one thing has done more to lift humanity above the life of animals than the home, as we have it, where children spend many years in the process of being trained and developed. Animals have no such family life and no such training. The moment any creature, other than a human being, is able to find food for itself, and this takes place in a very short time after birth, its training in the family is

at an end. Children, fortunately, linger many years through the period of education in the family circle, and are fitted by such training for a life which is far removed from mere animal existence. Every movement which has for its object the breakdown of the family, as we have it, tends to break down our civilization. Many Socialists have advocated free love, the voluntary change of marriage relations at any time. This involves the break-up of the home, and the neglect of children. To meet this, Socialists have advocated the rearing of children by the State, in public barracks or asylums. No one who values Americanism can contemplate the substitution of the asylum for the home as a place for the rearing of children, without a feeling of horror. Surely the time to impress the importance of the family upon the mind is in childhood, and the public school is one place where such instruction can not be omitted, without a failure of duty,

#### RIGHT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

So, also, our civilization rests upon private property, the right to own and keep what one has earned and saved. It is true that one may rightfully claim the privilege of advocating Socialism, and the abolition of private property, in whole or in part. An American citizen may publicly argue that all

property should belong to the State, and all persons become employees of the State. But such ideas are destructive of our present civilization, which our schools are designed to preserve. Socialism should therefore be attacked and exposed, in our high schools and colleges, as an agent of destruction. If the Government has not the right to train children to disbelieve in Socialism, and to believe in the righteousness and utility of private property as an institution beneficial and necessary to the whole community, then our Government does not possess the right or the power of self-preservation.

When school elections, therefore, are held, it becomes the duty of every voter to consider carefully the opinions of candidates on these vital questions, and to vote wisely and conscientiously, with these matters, touching the character of school instruction, carefully kept in view.

#### PUBLIC LIBRARIES

It often happens that school authorities are entrusted with the management of circulating libraries, as a part of our general system of free education. Where this is the case, school elections raise the issue of what books should be placed in such libraries, for general circulation and reading. Such libraries are agencies of the State, and are main-

tained for the benefit of the general public. If one were to propose that there should be put in such a public library books which teach the art of making counterfeit money, the crime of safe-blowing, the way to commit murder by secret poison, without discovery of the murderer, every sane person would denounce it as an outrage. If it be wrong for the State to teach the art of burglary, as applied to a bank, a shop or a dwelling, is it not far worse to circulate a book which teaches the art of robbing a whole country? If to steal a little is a crime, to steal much can not be right. Therefore, books advocating Socialism, Syndicalism, Bolshevism, anarchy, free love or any other revolutionary change of the existing State and social order, should be excluded from circulating libraries. If such books are deemed to be of scientific value, they should be kept strictly for use by scientific students, obtaining a special license from the librarian after he is satisfied the applicant is not likely to be harmed himself, or do harm to others.

That this caution is not a foolish one, is supported by the interview on December 18, 1919, in New York, with Thomas Buhkanob, the seventeen-year-old anarchist, who was, a few days later, after five years' residence in America, deported to Russia. This boy declared that he had no trouble in ob-

taining the radical books he desired, printed in Russian, from the New York Public Library, although the director said he was unable to find them listed in the catalogue. Buhkanob also said that some rich men "have unwittingly aided the spread of revolutionary doctrines," by supplying free libraries in many places, which carried on their shelves and supplied to the public books advocating every form of revolution!

#### VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The latest development of educational theory requires public schools in cities of sufficient size to include courses of training in various trades and occupations. In this way the pupil learns, at an early age, the technical and scientific methods in industry, as well as acquires mere manual skill. The doctrine of equal opportunity for every child means that the child should have a fair chance to develop his best abilities to their highest point. The complaint is sometimes made that managerial talent, in big business, is greatly overpaid, in comparison with the pay of workmen. The reason is that managing talent is one of the scarcest things in the market.

It may well be that a boy who receives technical training in youth, may discover in himself an aptitude for the management of industry. He may,

therefore, be expected to reach a much higher stage and to become much more useful as a member of society if he realizes his highest capabilities. When technical education shall have made managerial talent more abundant, its great salaries will decline.

The social value of manual and technical training, in preventing the growth of class feeling, and in encouraging democratic sympathies between hand and brain workers, must certainly be of great benefit to the nation. Rousseau, who promulgated the doctrine of the equal right of all men to the ballot, and advocated popular education, also urged the advisability of every youth learning a manual trade. This, he thought, would prove valuable in maintaining sympathy and mutual respect between all parts of society.

#### MILITARY TRAINING

The World War found America without any system for the training of young men in the performance of their military duties, as defenders of their country. This question, in its relation to the subject of the general defense of the nation, is discussed elsewhere. Here it is pointed out that such training would have very high educational value. A boy should be taught that it is his duty to defend his country by going to war, if such a sad necessity

should arise. Instruction in youth in the performance of such a duty, through military training, would probably be an effective method for teaching patriotism. Furthermore, other much needed things in American life, such as respect for and obedience to law and authority, and a sense of the value of discipline, can be secured by a reasonable period in the training camp.

It is proper to say that the opposite view on this question is held by many excellent persons. It has been well expressed by a prominent clergyman, who recently said in substance that universal military training would create a love of war in the hearts of our young men. He thought that men who were trained to fight, would want to fight, and would become an effective influence in American politics, favorable to war. The answer to this view, if there be one, is that evidence is lacking to show that universal military training, for a brief period for American youths, would produce a military aspiration for aggressive war. Our people have never shown the slightest tendency of this sort. It is hard to believe that they could be induced to love war, for its own sake, by any kind of training.

#### THE RUSSIAN SOVIET AND EDUCATION

This chapter can not be concluded in a better way than by mentioning the policy of Lenine and



the Russian Revolutionary Soviet Government, in respect to education. Every kind of private school has been abolished.\* It is declared that education is a matter of such supreme importance, to the State and to the people, that the State alone must conduct the instruction of children. The courses of study established in Russian schools, as now reported, lack much of constituting sound education. They do teach the doctrine of the Revolution, with its destruction of nearly every institution that is most dear to America. While we view the Russian system with abhorrence, we should not fail to strengthen our own Government by teaching in our public schools, respect, reverence and love for those things which the children of Russia are taught to hate.

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\**Literary Digest*, February 7, 1920.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE BURDEN OF TAXES

**I**NASMUCH as it is necessary to have Government, and Government is expensive, it follows that the necessary funds must be raised by taxation. Government expenditures are usually made with extravagance. A really frugal and thrifty administration of a public office or undertaking does sometimes occur, but with discouraging infrequency. Even worse than extravagance, is the constant recurrence of official corruption. It is therefore inevitable that every election tends an issue of honest and economical use of public funds, as against their dishonest or extravagant use. From the election of president, senator or congressman of the United States, down through state, county, city, school and township elections, the financial issue is always present, and it is the prime duty of every voter to give it careful consideration.

It would seem natural for the public always to be on the side of economy and against extravagance. This is not so. On the contrary the public usually neglects this issue. Extravagance, disguised under various forms of liberal expense, often is more

popular than frugality. A city councilman of long experience and little principle, once told the writer that the majority of voters usually favored city officials who advocated large expenditures and liberal contracts for improvements. Let us first see why this is so, and then show why it is to every one's interest to favor economy.

Voters who favor public extravagance may be persons who are not thrifty and prudent in their own private affairs. It is only a minority, sometimes a rather small one, who exercise good judgment and prudent self-restraint in spending money. We should not wonder that such persons are therefore often in the minority on an issue of public economy as against public extravagance.

Again, public moneys are raised by taxation, and more often than not, a majority of the voters pay no taxes and do not concern themselves about public expenses, to which they think, erroneously, that they do not have to contribute. There are also many persons, such as contractors, laborers and those who hold or desire offices or appointments in the public service, who personally benefit from liberal disbursements. These are often reenforced by persons of generous imagination but unsound judgment, who join in a popular outcry for unnecessary, unwise or untimely public expenses, for such desirable objects

as new parks and schoolhouses, handsome boulevards, magnificent new public buildings, courthouses, coliseums and the like. One of the strongest arguments against giving votes to women, in a certain city, was that while less than one-third of the male voters paid taxes, the number of women voters who would pay taxes would be less than five per cent. of the total number of women voters.

#### WHO PAYS THE TAXES?

The wide-spread belief of our people that taxes are only paid by the persons whose names are on the list as taxpayers, and that the rest of the people pay no taxes, is an error which has far-reaching consequences. To correct this mistaken opinion, it is necessary only to consider a few of the different kinds of taxes which we have in this country. The general property tax is the one upon which states, counties and cities chiefly depend for their revenues. The usual form of this tax is a percentage, fixed each year, of the assessed value of all property, land, houses, bonds, mortgages, machinery, farm products and the like. Each property-holder pays in proportion to what he owns, and pays just the same percentage as do his neighbors. But this statement is only a half truth. In fact, while the property-holder is the person who is called the taxpayer, be-

cause he goes through the form of giving a check or cash to the county treasurer for the amount of the taxes standing against him in any current year, he is not, in most cases, the person who really pays.

#### THE CONSUMER PAYS

If a business room be occupied by a shoe merchant, who rents it from the owner, it is plain that the owner gets the money with which he pays the tax on the property from the shoe merchant. The merchant, in turn, although the tax is included in his rent, does not pay the rent out of his own means, but usually gets the money from his customers who buy his shoes; for the tax on the property is added to and concealed in the price of the shoes. The tax, therefore, while apparently paid by the property-holder, is really paid by the person who buys and wears the shoes. In other words, as the popular expression is, "the consumer pays." This illustration applies to every article that is used, whether it be clothing or hats, food or fuel, newspapers or Victrolas, automobiles or seats at the theater. Now in respect to what individuals can consume, there is much less difference than one would suppose. The poor laborer and the rich capitalist eat about the same amount of food, and wear about the same amount of clothing. At least, the difference between their

food and clothes is very slight, when compared with the difference in the value of their possessions. So we see that a very large part of the sums raised by taxation and expended by Government are actually paid by the whole community, whether so-called taxpayers or not, and the whole people pay these taxes in very nearly equal amounts, the poor man not such a very different amount from the rich man, but the man with a large family of children much more than the man with a small family. As a rule, poor men whose names are not on the books of the tax collector are utterly indifferent about taxation and public expense. If they understood the very simple truth that, broadly speaking, it is true that the consumer pays the taxes, rather than the taxpayer so-called, the poor man would see that he is much more concerned in public expenses than those who are better off, since the burden is much heavier for him than for his wealthier neighbors. It is not claimed that all property taxes are transferred to the consumer. The tax on a vacant lot, on an empty store room, or on a piece of property which is unprofitable as an investment, can not as a rule be transferred.

The rule, however, that the consumer pays, applies to residence property, flats, lodgings and the like, quite as much as to business property. The owner who occupies his own house is also the con-

sumer, that is, the one who uses and enjoys the property; but, if he rent his property to some one else, the tenant is really the person who pays the tax which is concealed in the rent.

#### FURTHER BURDENS OF THE CONSUMER

Income taxes and taxes on business profits are generally supposed to be incapable of being transferred by the taxpayer to the consumer. As a matter of fact, a manufacturer, a merchant or a banker, includes the tax on the income or profit of his business as an operating expense, which, like the wages of his employees, is to be paid for by his customers, the tax being a part of the price charged. If, however, a merchant can not sell his goods at prices which pay his operating expenses, including taxes, he must quit business. His particular establishment will disappear, as an unprofitable undertaking, while those industries which survive are merely those which are able to sell goods profitably, that is, at prices to which taxes as well as all other expenses and interest on capital, have been added.

The Federal Government, under our Constitution, can not levy a direct property tax. For over a century, it derived its income from tariffs and internal revenue taxes, so-called. It is quite plain that a tariff paid upon goods imported from foreign coun-

tries, must, in order to make the transaction profitable, form a part of the price of the goods in this country. Likewise an internal revenue tax, such as the tax on tobacco, is very plainly a part of the price of the cigar or cigarette, and is ultimately paid by the consumer.

These considerations show that every person who casts a vote must contribute to the public treasury and ought to concern himself at every election with the question of public expenses and of taxation. It is probable that the high cost of living, following America's entrance into the World War, will long remain a typical illustration of the extreme effect of taxes upon prices. While high war taxes were by no means the only cause, they added to the burden of daily expenses which every family felt.

#### TAXATION AND FARM PRODUCTION

High taxes reduce the profit of farming and tend to restrict the production on American farms. If the farm is not profitable, it can not be cultivated. In order to have an abundance of farm products, at fair prices, we need to have maximum production. This means that not merely the best farms must be worked to capacity, but medium farms, and even poor farms, must furnish all that they can produce. The inevitable effect of unnecessary taxes is to re-



duce the quantity of farm products. The best farms may be able to stand the burden, but many of the poorer sort will be abandoned, or imperfectly cultivated. This reduction of products is bound to cause an increase in price, which finally reaches the consumer. Thus we see that high taxes, either by increasing prices directly or increasing them indirectly by discouraging production, ultimately make living more expensive, for the American people. True prosperity, the greatest possible amount of comfort for the greatest possible number of people, is not to be had without incessant vigilance in safeguarding the public treasury from graft and from greed, and in resisting unnecessary taxation. The forces of plunder are always organizing to raid the treasury. They represent only a minority, though a powerful one. Patriotic voters who value the interests of their country and themselves must always be alert to defeat at the polls candidates who can not be relied on to keep the tax burden as light as possible.

#### TARIFF

No question has affected political controversy throughout the history of civilized States more than that of taxation. It was this question which lay at the beginning of both the American and the French

Revolutions. It has been the question of tariff which, more than any other, has been the chief issue at elections since the Civil War. It is not unlikely that taxation will be the subject over which the fiercest contentions will arise during the remainder of the present political epoch in America.

The dispute over the relative merits of tariff on imports and free trade, or as it has been more generally described, between a protective tariff and a revenue tariff, has raged, with more or less violence, from Colonial times to the present day. Students of politics have more than once declared that this issue was one of the best for American political parties to divide upon. At some times, and under some circumstances, the advantages of a lower tariff seem reasonably certain to a majority of the voters. At other times and under other circumstances, the reverse is true. A very brief statement of the two arguments is all that is necessary, since every political campaign, in which the tariff issue becomes paramount, furnishes the fullest information to every voter.

Both revenue tariffs and protective tariffs are designed to and do raise large revenue for the Government. Both kinds of tariff laws do, to some extent, raise prices in America, and therefore both give more or less protection to American industry. No

purely revenue tariff has been in force in this country since the Civil War, nor has any purely protective tariff been in force during that time. Yet there are substantial differences in the tariff, according to the political party and policy which for the time being prevails. Tariffs are lower and are distributed differently, under so-called revenue tariff laws, from those imposed on imports, under the so-called protective policy.

#### REVENUE TARIFF

The revenue tariff, with consequent low prices, appeals to the man who is chiefly interested as a buyer in getting low prices. A college professor is often a typical instance of a man who inclines to revenue tariff, because he wants his professional income to go as far as possible. Great numbers of people are often influenced by the same considerations. The South, with cotton as its chief product, largely sold in foreign markets, has always inclined to the revenue tariff, because protective duties do not raise the price of cotton, while such duties do raise the price of many articles which the planter daily consumes, and therefore desires to purchase as cheaply as possible. With the development of American cane-sugar business, Southern States, where that industry existed, showed an inclination

to insist on protective tariff on sugar. Beet-sugar industry had a similar effect in the North.

#### PROTECTIVE TARIFF

Protective tariffs appeal to those who are chiefly interested in manufacturing articles with which foreign products compete. The price of labor in Europe and Asia has always been much lower than in America, where our vast undeveloped natural resources create such demand for labor, and where from many causes, living cost and the standards of living are much higher than abroad. Hence the foreign manufacturer, availing himself of cheap labor, can often sell cheaper in the American market than American producers, unless the difference in labor cost is equalized by protective tariff.

Protectionists point to the great development of manufacturing in the United States since the Civil War, to the growth of cities, the development of natural resources, the demand for labor, skilled and unskilled, the constantly rising wages of working men, improvements in the general standards of living, and the growth of the country's wealth, as evidences of the benefits of protection. Revenue tariff men declare that protection raises the price, not only of imported goods, but of the competing domestic product, which is true. They say that excessive tariffs have over-developed cities, and

have tended to the creation of large fortunes, and to an excessive concentration of wealth by the captains of industry. They say that the old theory, that when the industry was firmly established protection would be unnecessary, or that competition among different concerns in the same trade would tend to lower prices, has either been forgotten, or the expected result has been circumvented by the formation of trusts and monopolies.

No absolute rule, no positive standard, has been established, by which the tariff question can be said to have been conclusively settled. It is certain that protective tariffs have done much to develop our country and to bring prosperity, both to capital and labor. On the other hand, it can not be denied that the tariff has given rise to abuses, particularly in the enactment of tariff laws. Lobbyists have secured excessive tariffs in the interest of favored industries.

There are times when revenue tariff men find a good argument in the existence of unduly high prices, which can be ascribed to protective tariffs. There are other times when prices are so low as to make business unprofitable and largely paralyze industry, throwing men out of work. At such times the people generally turn toward protection, as an aid to the recovery of prosperity, by excluding foreign-made goods from the American market.

## CHAPTER VI

### TAXATION AND POLITICAL THEORY

**I**T IS an accepted principle that taxes for support of Government should be levied according to the ability of each taxpayer to pay them. Few forms of taxation conform to this principle more exactly than the income tax. Even the general property tax, under which a uniform percentage is levied on the property of all persons, is often less equitable than the income tax, since property may yield no income whatever and may put the owner to great trouble to pay his taxes, even to the extent of having his property sold for the purpose. Not so with the income tax, since the tax is not payable unless the income is forthcoming, from which it is to be paid. Still the income tax will not serve as a substitute for all property taxes, since persons would be encouraged to leave property unimproved instead of making it productive of income, with which to pay the tax levy. Landowners would be rewarded in many cases by an increase of value on which no taxes would be paid, in the absence of a property tax. The Federal Government, through a constitutional amendment, now has the power to col-

lect income taxes, but many state Governments have not this power.

Inheritance taxes are also paid without sacrifice or hardship, since the owner is dead, and the tax is practically a fee which the State imposes on the privilege of transmitting property to others, either by will or descent.

#### DANGER OF GRADUATED RATES

As long as income and inheritance taxes are levied at a uniform rate on all incomes and inheritances, no serious controversy arises as to their merits. If a great many persons pay the tax, and pay it at the same rate, the amount varying only in proportion to the amount of the income or inheritance, it is quite certain that no injustice will be attempted against the taxpayer. However, there is a marked tendency in late years to graduate the rate of taxes on incomes and inheritances, so that while small incomes and small estates pay at a very moderate rate, the rate itself increases, more or less rapidly, in proportion to the size of the income or of the estate to be inherited. During the World War sixty or even eighty per cent. was taken in some countries from those having very large incomes. It was even urged by British Socialists, that all income over two thousand five hundred dollars per year should be taken by the State.

Furthermore, the very smallest incomes are not subject to a tax, partly as a matter of public policy, because the tax might interfere with the supply of comforts and even necessities to many families, and partly because the expense of collecting such small sums from so many persons amounts to as much or even more than the tax itself yields.

The invention of graduated income and inheritance taxes has led many wealthy persons, and many more persons of quite moderate means, to feel the danger of unjust treatment to which they are exposed. In a country where such a tax is laid on only a few persons, while the whole community possesses the right to vote, persons subject to a system of steeply graduated taxes can hardly be blamed for feeling that they are often unjustly treated, being made to bear burdens out of proportion to those carried by their fellow citizens. Socialists have seized upon the instrument of graduated taxation, as a means by which all private property may be lawfully appropriated by the Government, without compensation to the owners, thus accomplishing the Social Revolution at which they aim, and yet doing so under the forms of law and without violence.

#### ECONOMIC LAW LIMITS TAXING POWER

Aside from the injustice of an excessive tax burden on a few citizens, while their fellows con-



tribute nothing directly, or an unduly small proportion, there are definite economic laws which ought to be observed in imposing income and inheritance taxes. If the tax takes an unreasonable part of an income, the taxpayer will cease to exert himself to produce the income; and rather than submit to gross injustice will see to it, or at least through negligence bring it about, that his property yields very little. The high taxes on incomes and profits during the World War brought this truth into prominence, as will be shown by a single illustration. In a concern, where sixty per cent. of the profits was taken as a tax by the Government, there had always been extremely frugal and economical management. After the tax was imposed, the offices suddenly took on an air of magnificence. Every luxury and convenience were obtained and paid for as part of the expense. Salaries of office employees were liberally boosted, and an immense amount of alterations and expensive changes were indulged in. The reason was that the Government was paying sixty per cent. of all this extra expense. If the expenses had not been incurred and profits had been correspondingly increased, sixty per cent. would have gone to the Government, as taxes, and only forty per cent. to the owners. It was a good time to get these long desired luxuries. Had the tax been

eighty or ninety per cent. as many demagogues urged, the temptation to forego profits would have been much stronger. The economic law is simply that large incomes and large profits are mostly the result of great efforts or great self-denial, and the effort will not be forthcoming, the self-denial will not be practised, if the inducements which call them forth are destroyed.

The same principle applies to inheritance taxes. If the tax levied takes too large a part of the estate, so that the owner feels he is being unjustly treated, he will find a thousand ways to avoid that injustice, by failing to make the efforts and to practise self-denial necessary to acquire or to retain large wealth. Economic law overrides every other law.

Every voter will be wise if he stands resolutely in favor of moderation, both in the total amount of money to be raised by taxation, and in an unequal or graduated system of taxing, under which the rate is different for incomes and estates of different size. In time of war and in short periods of great emergency, popular support of Government will and ought to cause such unequal burdens, even if the inequality seem excessive and unjust, to be borne without complaint, and without successful efforts to evade them. In time of peace, only very moderate differences in the rate of taxation, should

be permitted. For the same reasons, income taxes should extend downward to fairly small incomes, in order that all, or as many as possible, should bear a just proportion of the cost of Government, in such a form that they are aware of their contribution.

#### THE SINGLE TAX AND INCREMENT TAXES

A movement for tax reform, so-called, which has come into prominence since the publications of Henry George, is known as the demand for the "single tax." The advocates of this program who follow Mr. George are now recognized as forming a branch of the Socialists, although they do not call themselves such.

The foundation principle which they assume is that there should be no private property in land, and that instead of the present unjust system of private ownership, all land should belong to the State. This proposition is also one of the main contentions of the Socialists. The followers of Henry George, therefore, propose that taxes should be levied wholly on land, it being conceived that in this way the State can measurably abolish the injustice of private ownership. The single taxpayer hopes to relieve all other forms of property from the burden of taxation, and he also aims to transfer largely, if not wholly, the value of land now privately

owned, from the owner to the State, by taking all or a great part of the annual rental value of the land in the form of taxes. It will be seen that this taking of property by taxation, for the purpose and with the result of substituting State ownership for private ownership is a central doctrine of modern Socialism.

#### THE THEORY OF SINGLE TAX

The theoretical doctrine of the single taxer is that all men are equally entitled to share in the land, which is the bounty of nature, like air and sunshine. Unhappily, human society, and the feeding, clothing and housing of its members on a basis of justice and of peace, is a very practical undertaking, which centuries of experience have shown can not be successfully carried forward on mere abstract theories of natural justice. Since the use of land requires the application of labor to the land, the practical question is, what arrangements, laws and institutions are best adapted to induce men to labor? Is private property in land or is the Government ownership of land the better arrangement, in the light of human experience?

Another argument for the single tax, which has impressed more persons than the theory of natural rights, is the doctrine of social value, or

unearned increment. Every one knows how land, which has been purchased for a small sum, at a time when the population was small, has risen in value by reason of the mere increase in population. This may happen, even though the landowner has never made the slightest effort to improve or to use his land, either for his own benefit or that of the community.

#### FARMERS' OBJECTION TO SINGLE TAX

The doctrine of the single taxers has found little support, outside of those persons who believe in Socialism. The farmers of America quickly saw the injustice of levying all taxes on land. The farmer does occasionally have times of great prosperity, but he also has bad years, when crops are poor or prices low. However, all years are alike on the farm, in that they are years of hard labor. The heat of summer can not be avoided, if the harvest is to be gathered. Short days of six or even eight hours' labor will not suffice, if hay and grain are to be harvested in time to prevent their destruction. Even in planting time, long days of plowing are necessary, if the seed is to be put in when the weather permits in time to yield sufficient crops for feeding, not merely the farmer's family, but also those who live in cities, or are employed in factories, on railroads,

in mines and other forms of industry. Now farmers, while they usually get a comfortable living as a result of their arduous toil, caring for the stock and crops, milking cows, late and early, whatever the season or the weather, do not as a rule become particularly rich. They could see nothing but injustice in the proposal to tax their property, consisting almost wholly of land, while personal property, stocks, bonds, mortgages, office buildings, hotels, dwellings, stocks of goods in ware-houses and department stores, ships, in short, every kind of property except land, escaped all taxation. Such also has been the view of nine-tenths of the American people. In his *Taxation and the New State*, J. A. Hobson, the English radical, points out the iniquity of the single tax, under which one man's savings of a thousand pounds, if invested in land, would be wiped out, while his neighbor's like investment in industrial stock would go scot free.

#### DIFFICULTIES OF INCREMENT TAX

One part of the single tax argument was not so easy to answer, namely that which pointed to the increased value of well located city property. It was said that the owner toiled not, neither did he spin, to produce this great increase of value, which had come into existence merely from the growth of

population. The most obvious answer, and a true one, was that this unearned increase of value arose in many other cases, and was not confined to land. Many industries beginning small, when the city was small, have grown to great size with the growth of the city. Banks, newspapers, department stores, groceries, in short, almost every kind of business in a growing city exhibit the element of increased earnings arising from mere growth of population.

Attempts to tax the unearned increment in land have been made in Germany and England by taking a percentage on the increase in value of the land. Germany imposed a tax of thirty per cent. and Great Britain twenty per cent.\* This seemed fair enough, but experience showed that men, under such a law, refused to sell their property, so that land did not pass freely to those who could make the best use of it, a thing most important for the public interest. Since profits on sales of land may be counted as part of the income of the seller, laws imposing taxes on incomes or profits reach the unearned increment of land, and make it yield the same proportion of tax as the rest of the seller's income. Unhappily, it has been discovered that large income and profit taxes have the same effect

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\*Abandonment of this tax was proposed by the British chancellor of the exchequer April 19, 1920, because of its failure as a revenue producer.

in preventing sales, on a large scale, of land, stocks or other forms of wealth, that the straight tax on unearned increment has. People will not sell, thereby avoiding the taking of profit in large transactions, and to that extent reduce the volume of general prosperity.

#### CONCLUSIVE ARGUMENT AGAINST SINGLE TAX

There is, however, a still more complete answer to the argument of the single taxer. Henry George held that the growth in land values operated constantly to draw to the landowner the wealth of the rest of the community, who were compelled to pay higher and higher rents for the privilege of a place on this planet. Therefore, George held that the unearned increment of land value produced an extreme concentration of wealth at one end of society in the hands of the landlord, and a constantly increasing mass of poverty at the other end of the social scale. This serious charge was, however, not based on any statistics, any scientific proof of the proposition from an actual study of the facts.

We now know that George's supposition was entirely wrong. In 1860, the percentage of rent to the whole national income received by labor, capital, land and industry, was 8.8 per cent. Since 1860 the growth in national wealth has been enormous, and the total annual income is at least ten times as



great. Yet in 1910, the percentage which rent took of the whole annual income of the nation, was precisely what it had been fifty years before, namely 8.8 per cent. In other words, land income has not grown in value any more rapidly than any other income.\* It is true we can find individual cases of excessive unearned increase in land values, but it is also true that we can find many more cases of decline in land values. Land is subject to fluctuations in value, both up and down, like everything else.

#### DANGERS OF RADICAL TAXATION

It is obvious to every fair-minded student of politics and social tendencies, that the power of taxation is one which revolutionists are attempting to seize and utilize. In other times, the one instrument for revolution was the army. In our time a new one, the tax law, is quite as much to be dreaded. In fact, the power to tax is quite as able to destroy private property, and the existing social order, as the Red Armies of Lenine. The taxing power is in fact more dangerous than military force. When a revolutionary army attempts to overthrow a Government, no argument is needed to explain to the people what is threatened. Every man, however humble, every woman, however feminine and secluded, knows at a glance that a revolutionary

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\**Wealth and Income of People of the United States*. By W. I. King. Pages 160-162.

army is about. Not so with the tax systems of the revolutionist. He comes armed with lawful authority. He uses no violence and creates no disorder. A large part of the people are not disturbed by attentions from the tax officer of the revolution. They have no property to be taxed or taken by him.

Moreover, revolution by taxation is gradual in its process. A coup d' état accomplished by an army means the sudden death of the existing Government; revolution by taxation means a slow process, like starvation. At first only a few individuals, perhaps the very rich, will see their property taken, under forms of law. Then more persons, this time those of moderate means, will suffer. Gradually the process will extend downward throughout the whole mass of society. All, or nearly all, property will have passed to the Government. Freedom will have perished. The Government will be the only property holder. Industry will be in the hands of politicians. Competition in industrial effort and skill will be replaced by competition in political effort and skill. Bureaucracy will have replaced Democracy.

Therefore, voters should watch the exercise of the taxing power with the utmost vigilance to the end that it be used for the just support of the Government, and not for a revolution in disguise.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE MENACE OF SOCIALISM

**T**HE word "Socialism" is the very attractive name for a movement which has assumed many forms, put forth many programs, and tried every method to secure its end, from peaceful election campaigns, to war, violence, bloodshed and unspeakable cruelties. In spite of these differences, Socialism, in every form, has one object, which is the revolutionary change of our institutions, the overthrow of existing social order, the abolition of private ownership of property, and of free individual initiative in, and control of, industry. It proposes the transfer of all, or nearly all, property to the State. Farm lands and mineral lands, mines and railroads, factories and steamship lines, machines and printing presses, newspapers, shops, buildings of every kind, are all to be transferred from the ownership and control of individual persons, passing into the hands either of the whole people or of some particular group. Socialism is therefore rightly named, when it is called the Social Revolution. It constitutes the paramount political, economic and social issue which confronts America. Every voter should understand the nature and the danger of this movement.

## PRIVATE VERSUS PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Private property has existed throughout the history of civilized man. Two of the Ten Commandments relate to the right of private ownership, namely, "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house.....nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's."

Private ownership of property, as distinguished from ownership by the Government, or community, rests upon the foundation of utility. It is more advantageous, more useful to humankind, than State ownership, or community ownership. Free private control of industry, subject to certain limitations, is better than public control of industry. Upon these propositions, the case against Socialism must stand or fall.

## POVERTY OF AMERICAN PIONEERS

The natural state of man is one of utter poverty. The history of America is a recent and modern repetition of human experience, in all lands and ages. The first colonists, or settlers, finding themselves in a continent of inestimable natural resources, were everywhere utterly poor. At first, they lived in tents, dressed in the skins of animals and ate such fish and game, such nuts and berries, as they could get, to supplement the small stores which they had

brought with them. Then came the log cabin, the clearing in the forest, the planting and gathering of meager crops, the weaving, in the home, of rough goods, for home-made clothing. As yet there were no roads, no schools and no towns. A traveler who went from New York to Louisville about 1820 records that he found amazing poverty in the frontier settlements. Often an entire village would lack blankets for an extra bed for the traveler, nor could they well spare bread, meat or potatoes for his meals.

#### PRESENT ABUNDANCE AND ITS CAUSES

All this has long since changed, and evidences of wealth and comfort abound in every part of the United States. What brought about this change? Undoubtedly, it was the result of human effort. It is in the human will that we find the source of all production of wealth. Whatever stimulates effort, whatever most encourages energy is what the world needs to lift itself from poverty to comfort. The existing wealth which we see all about us is the result not merely of manual labor but of manual labor directed by superior intelligence. No matter how hard the unskilled laborer may toil in the wilderness, he will not greatly improve his position unless he possesses more than average intelligence, by the light of which he directs his work. Even men of average

intelligence, left to themselves, could not have produced the miraculous transformation of America from a savage wilderness to a highly civilized and wealthy country. Such a gigantic task was for gigantic men, who, possessing extraordinary, natural gifts, were able to and did direct the work of less gifted men into the most useful lines.

We owe our present national wealth not only to human effort, mental and physical, applied to the raising of crops, the building of railroads and factories, and the like, but also to the fact that those who have gone before and achieved this amazing result exercised severe self-restraint, in that they saved a part of the product of their labor and put it into enduring form for their posterity.

#### CONDITIONS OF FUTURE PROGRESS

Therefore, improvement in the condition of humankind requires such a social system as will best stimulate effort, mental and physical, and organize that effort so as to secure the highest efficiency. There is also needed whatever will most encourage thrift, the habit of saving, the practise of consuming, from day to day, a part only of what has been produced, thus preserving as much as possible for permanent increase in the world's stock of wealth.

"Work and Save" has been the program by

which America has achieved success. Whatever encourages working and saving helps to improve the comfort, and increase the abundance which we all desire and need. Whatever discourages working and saving, helps to decrease the supply of comforts, and to lessen the available amount of the good things of life. Whenever men begin to demand an easier way of living, shorter hours of labor, fewer work days, more holidays, they choose the path which leads backward, toward the poverty of the pioneers. Working and saving, to the utmost limit, compatible with health and the right kind of enjoyment and happiness, is indeed the straight and narrow path, but it is the path that leads to more abundance. The path of ease and indolence, of less work and more play, is the path which is broad and easy, but it leads downward to poverty. This is true, not only for individuals, but for communities and nations. Our system of private property with its rewards and encouragements for individual effort and self-denial has been an essential element of American progress.

#### INEQUALITY OF REWARDS IS JUST

But Socialists, getting their ideas from European writers, particularly Marx, the German, complain that our system of private property gives very unequal rewards, and so it does. This inequality is de-

clared by Marx to be unjust, since all labor is of equal value. The answer is that this assumption of the equal value of different kinds of labor is false. The value of labor must be measured by its utility to the whole community. A farmer who uses improved implements and, as a result, raises a hundred bushels of corn, is clearly rendering more valuable service to the community than his neighbor who, without improved implements but with the same amount of labor, succeeds only in raising ten bushels.

A shoemaker, on his bench, who can make by hand one pair of shoes with so many hours of work, certainly does not benefit the community nearly so much as the inventor who designs machines which will produce a hundred pairs of shoes in the same time with the same labor. So, also, the man who directs only his own labor is of less value to the community than the man who can organize industry so that multitudes of men will be able to cooperate in production. Some will raise cattle; some will slaughter; some will tan the hides; some build machinery; some will use the machinery which turns the leather into shoes. The total result of this co-operative industry, under our present system is that in the place of one pair of shoes, produced by a certain amount of manual labor, we will have a hundred pairs, better in quality and cheaper in price.



Again, if we were to provide by law that one yard of poor cloth should sell for the same price as a yard of fine cloth, there would be no inducement to make fine cloth, and none would be made. If an inventor, or captain of industry, knew that his utmost exertion would only yield him the reward of ordinary unskilled labor, he would inevitably perform merely the work of an unskilled laborer. There might be occasional exceptions, but in a Socialist State, where every child learned from infancy that slight effort would be rewarded quite as highly as great effort, the whole average of exertion and of production would rapidly fall. A person can learn to perform the work of unskilled labor in a day or two, but it takes many years of intensive study and training to produce a great engineer or chemist. If all were to receive equal rewards, who would be willing to undergo the necessary training?

#### PRIVATE PROPERTY STIMULATES THRIFT

Our system of private property, rewarding effort according to its value, has been the greatest stimulant not only to production but to saving. The man who knows that he can invest his savings in loans which will bring him interest, in land which will bring him rent, or in business which will bring him profits, is encouraged to save for such invest-

ments, because he can then look forward, without anxiety, to the time when, from sickness or old age, he will be unable to work. Furthermore, he will be anxious to accumulate, in order that his wife and children, his parents, or dependent relatives or friends, may be protected against want and misfortune. Socialism would ignore the primary and universal elements of human nature. If private property were abolished, investment would be impossible. Rent, interest and profits would all go to the public treasury.

#### AGE OF INVENTION AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATION

The proof of the success of our system of property, in the encouragement of both production and saving, is found in the history of our country from Colonial days to the present time. But by far the greater part of our progress has been made since 1776. In that year, two events took place, the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. One was the declaration of our political freedom, the other a reasoned statement of the laws of economic freedom. Certain it is that after these two events, and particularly after the French Revolution of 1789, with its political and economic gospel of emancipation for the people of Europe, the produc-

tivity of labor suddenly leaped to heights before undreamed of. The age of mechanical invention was ushered in, to be followed by the age of creative business organization. Wealth began to be produced in amounts previously quite impossible. Machinery replaced hand labor, the railroad supplanted the stage-coach. The steam engine, followed a century later by the gas engine, came to perform the work of billions of hand laborers. Few can doubt that this amazing awakening of the human mind, and direction of its energies toward the production of wealth, was closely connected with the dawn of the modern age of political freedom. It was, without doubt, cause and effect, in that the new freedom awakened and stimulated human intelligence to a degree and kind of effort which had no precedent.

#### NEW WEALTH BENEFITS ALL

This new wealth, though so unequally distributed, because unequally produced, was shared by all. In fact, manual labor of the lowest sort receives now a far larger real wage, not only in money but in goods, than ever before in human history. The chance for talent and industry to rise from unskilled labor to the full use of their powers, was never before so freely opened and so widely enjoyed. The age of machinery and of business development has surely

been the age of an open pathway for talent. Labor has improved its condition and general standards of living, as much as, or more than, any other portion of society.

#### SOCIALIST DISCONTENT

With all this, however, the Socialist is not satisfied. He looks about with discontented eyes. He sees the unequal distribution of wealth, and loudly proclaims, without offering any proof, that if all wealth were taken over by the State, and all industry democratically controlled, by the masses, that is by votes, there would be enough for all humankind to live at ease. Edward Bellamy and others have assumed that there would be four thousand dollars a year for each adult in America, and that the surplus wealth, over and above the annual income, would be so great as to make it unnecessary for men to work more than four hours a day. He did not take into consideration, either the increased number of mouths likely to come into existence, under such a régime, nor the increased prices which would follow such increased purchasing power, unless production were at the same time mightily increased.

#### AMOUNT OF EXISTING WEALTH

But the whole assumption is untrue, and can be definitely disproved by statistics compiled by the

Government of the United States. Even with all our prosperity here in America, the richest country on earth, the total wealth of the country divided equally among all the people would yield a dividend to each person of less than two thousand dollars. The total annual income of the entire country, that is, the total wealth of every kind produced in a single year, similarly divided, would yield an income of less than four hundred dollars to each person.\* Socialist theory of this sort is no more substantial than any other pleasant dream.

#### SOCIALISM WOULD LESSEN PRODUCTION AND FREEDOM

If America should be Socialized, would the production of wealth go forward at the rate at which it now does? The answer is that men would not work so hard, nor so long, nor would they save as much if the rewards offered by our system of private property were withdrawn. But Socialism would bring other fearful disadvantages. One of these would be the loss of freedom. A Socialist State, conducting all industry, could not permit men to choose their own occupations, to any great extent. Society would necessarily be regimented, that is organized into regiments or classes under orders from official

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\**The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, King. Page 129.

superiors. Under our system, every youth is free to follow the bent of his own mind, and try to rise above the ranks of the unskilled. All the members of every generation are engaged in peaceful but strenuous competition to improve their lot in life. By this competition, which is the most severely scientific method for selecting talent that has ever been discovered, men and women, as a rule, find the places in life to which, everything considered, they are best suited. It may be that in this race of diligence in which some forge far ahead, while the multitude gradually fall behind, there is, here and there, bad luck, injustice and worse. It may be that great talent is hampered by ill health, by vice or moral weakness, by indolence, perhaps even by the very element of chance, which is in nature itself. Yet, whatever the faults of this system it has succeeded, and is succeeding.

#### POLITICAL COMPETITION VERSUS INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION

Compare such a system of selection with what Socialism offers as a substitute. It proposes to have the Government and industry alike controlled, not by those selected through industrial competition, but through political competition. Would the men who rise to political positions in our democratic America

manage the business of the country with as great success as it is now managed? Common sense, common observation, compel us to say that they would not. As a rule, office-holders are not prosperous, successful and thrifty in the same degree as men in business and professional life. But what is far more important is, that public business is performed much less well than private business.

Herbert Hoover states that the various sorts of Socialism are based on the notion that productivity can be maintained under altruism, or unselfishness, and that the selection of persons for their various jobs to which they are best adapted, can be made by an office-holding class. He declares that this "disregards the primary impulse of the human animal; that is, self-interest, for himself, or for his family and home." It fails "to take into account that there is but one sufficiently selective agent for human abilities," and that is "the primary school of competition."

#### EXPERIMENTS IN SOCIALISM HAVE FAILED

These conclusions not only fit the facts of life, as we have found them, but have received proof, by actual experiment, in many Socialist communities, including New Harmony, the Wisconsin Phalanx, the North American Phalanx and New Australia.

All failed after a number of years' trial, although some religious communities did not make quite such complete failures. Lane, the founder of New Australia, learned by this disastrous experiment in Socialism that there were three traits in human nature which he had overlooked. These were a secret but wide-spread dislike of work, a hatred of discipline and a jealousy of other people's well-being.\* Socialists have raised the cry for "Industrial Democracy," but Thomas R. Marshall has wisely and wittily said that what America needs is "Industrious Democracy."

#### DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

Another way of phrasing the Socialist demand is "the Democratic Control of Industry." The truth is, that we now have a far more democratic control of industry than we have of politics. It is the demand of the whole people, their needs, their desires, even their whims and fancies, which determine what shall be manufactured, in what fashion and quantity and the value or price of the thing. All the people, men and women and children, who have their needs and whims, have a voice in this universal democratic control of industry. Even wages and salaries are fixed very largely by the universal public will, or

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\**The Limits of Pure Democracy*, by W. H. Mallock. Page 231.



demand, cooperating with the natural supply of talent, and of persons who have had the necessary training. The various kinds of work which are performed in the world are being constantly appraised and valued by society at large. That the result must be near what is natural, reasonable and just, is apparent. Carpenters, machinists, engineers and bricklayers, spinners, weavers, designers and unskilled labor, all have much the same relation to one another, in every modern country, if the various rates of compensation be compared.

Socialists mean something quite different from all this, by the democratic control of industry. They mean that the workmen shall choose and dismiss their managers and foremen. This involves the substitution of political skill in getting votes, for industrial skill in the performance of work. Thus the world's industry, instead of being controlled and made productive by the direction of master minds, chosen by the hard processes of competition, will be controlled by the multitudes who possess no qualifications or fitness for the duties of industrial management. After the French Revolution of 1848, the experiment of Government workshops was tried, in response to popular demand. The control of the factories which were engaged in making uniforms, was placed in the employees. They chose

their own foreman and superintendents, and made their own rules. After a year or two of disorganization and lack of discipline, the shops were closed. It was proved by actual experiment that army uniforms made in the Government shops cost two or three times as much as they would cost if made by the regular manufacturers engaged in private industry.

#### THE RUIN OF RUSSIA

It seems probable that for many years, perhaps for many centuries to come, the classic example of the danger of Socialist principles, when put into practise, will be the ruin which Socialism has wrought in Russia.

A French Socialist went to Russia to observe what was taking place. He had every opportunity for studying the Bolshevik Government, and interviewed Lenine and other leaders. On his return to France he declared that "in economic and social matters Bolshevism has ended in an immense catastrophe and general ruin. Certainly, the Russian bourgeoisie is ruined, and with it the industries of the whole nation have likewise gone down..... Bolshevism has been able to engender only famine and want in this Russia which, even yesterday, fed a great part of Europe. And how could things be otherwise since the Russian peasant, worn out by

continual and brutal requisitions, is very careful not to produce anything beyond his personal needs? This country, with infinite resources, and which fruitful social reforms could have improved, is to-day nothing more than a desert and a vast cemetery."\*

Amid the conflicting accounts of what has occurred in Russia, some things seem certain. Peasants refused to sell food to the cities and take worthless paper money for it, although they were willing, it seems, to exchange for manufactured articles. The cities had nothing to exchange, because they produced nothing. Factories were seized by the workmen. Owners and managers were driven off or killed. Workmen, choosing their own bosses, making their own rules as to wages, hours and other conditions of labor, achieved nothing but failure.

To meet this, Lenine declared he would put dictators in the factories, and said the employees should have nothing to say about wages, hours of labor, or other conditions, but must work as they were ordered by the dictator. The dictator is understood to have been from the old managerial class which the Government had undertaken to banish, and, to secure him, an enormous salary was necessary. Thus the democratic control of industry came to the re-

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\**Indianapolis News*, Dec. 13, 1919, quoting the *Paris Matin*.

sult which had been predicted by the critics of Socialist theory. Under this régime it is said that millions of men, women and children have starved in the cities. This is what might have been expected. The modern world has risen from poverty to opulence, but it has done this with a system of private property and industry and the spur of free competition, in the selection of industrial managers. When these were destroyed in Russia, it was inevitable that a race backward toward famine, poverty and barbarism, must take place. The one thing which was not foreseen and predicted, was that ruin could take place in so short a time, as in Russia.\*

#### IF RUSSIA RECOVERS

One possibility ought not to be overlooked. It is not impossible that under autocratic rule, military oppression, and a system of forced labor which has no voice as to wages or hours of work, Russia may once more achieve a sort of economic prosperity. What then would become of the supposed warning, which we think is to be found in the experience of Russia?

The answer is that economic prosperity, of a sort, and for a certain number, is possible under

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\*Authority for statements about Russia—"Bolshevism, According to Lenin and Trotzky." *Nineteenth Century and After*. Feb. 1919.  
Memorandum published by Secretary Lansing, Oct. 27, 1919, on "Certain Aspects of the Bolshevist Movement in Russia."

military autocracy and despotism based on slave labor. History shows this again and again. Even with negro slavery, the South prospered, that is, certain classes in the South prospered. These did not include the poor negro, nor the poor white laborer.

The Russian Revolution would have overthrown the old autocracy. It would have stolen the wealth of a great people. It would have attempted the democratic control of industry. When that Socialist experiment brought only nakedness, cold and hunger to the people, it would have been abandoned. Intelligence would have been once more placed in the seats of industrial power. The people would have been fed and clothed, as the southern negro was. But freedom would have perished. Despotism would have returned. Humanity would once more be toiling along the same old bitter way.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE MENACE OF SOCIALISM—Continued

**T**HEORIES and practises of radical Socialism, whether known as Communism, Syndicalism or Bolshevism, have no more bitter enemies than the moderate Socialists. They justly fear that their own more conservative programs are endangered by the wild extravagance and wilful crimes of the extremists. For this very reason, moderate Socialism is more dangerous, since it finds access to the minds of many persons from whom its real dangers are concealed beneath an appearance of rational moderation and a phraseology which is almost religious. It is important for every voter to know the extremes to which Socialism may lead, and, in Russia, has already led. If a movement may have such dangerous results, can we be sure of stopping on the descent just when we want to?

It is worth while to consider a few of the subjects on which Socialism has shown itself capable of leading to great and dangerous extremes. By so doing, we may compare the position of the moderates with that of the radicals, and judge whether even moderate Socialism is likely to benefit society. May it be safely tolerated or encouraged by good

people, who view with abhorrence the outrageous crimes of radicals?

#### RELIGION AND SOCIALISM

Religion in general, and Christianity in particular, are attacked by many extreme Socialists as fraudulent devices, whereby the capitalistic system maintains itself through the deception and intimidation of ignorant masses by priests and other religious teachers. It is charged that they frighten their followers into submission to the existing social order, under threats of punishment beyond the grave. Such writers are frankly atheistic.

Moderate Socialists almost entirely avoid this abuse of religion. They have even claimed to be horrified by accounts received from Russia of a settled state policy for the destruction of all religion. Lenine has put priests in the fifth or lowest category, in respect to food rationing, they being considered of the lowest social value, while the soldier and his family are of the highest, and receive the largest rations.

John Spargo is one of the most reasonable and widely read of moderate Socialist writers. He declares that the Socialist State would probably not tolerate religious teaching of any kind, either in state schools or any other schools, for children up

to a certain age. He says, "Not the least important of the rights of the child is the right to be protected from influences which bias the mind and destroy the possibilities of independent judgment in later life."\*

#### THE STATE AND SOCIALISM

The American Republic is declared by all varieties of Socialists, from radical to conservative, to be a "capitalistic state." It therefore must be subjected to the Social Revolution. In view of the success of our Government, its achievements and its strength, it is not unreasonable to inquire what kind of a state Socialism would establish in its place. Lenine began his work of revolution in Russia by anarchistic propaganda, but he appears to have continued by establishing a military despotism, the like of which has not heretofore been seen in the world. Great numbers of people are entirely excluded from all share in the Government. This excludes every employer of labor. Trade unions have been forbidden.

The Frenchman, Griffuelhes, speaking on the program of Syndicalism in the formation of Government says, "Directly we think of definite aims, endless disputes arise. Some will say that their aims will be realized in a society without Government, others that they will be realized in a society

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\**Socialism*. John Spargo. Page 239.



elaborately governed and directed. Which is right? I do not take the responsibility of deciding. I wait to decide whither I am going, until I shall have returned from the journey, which will itself have revealed whither I am actually going.”\*

Spargo, the moderate, declares, “It would be absurd, and contrary to Socialist principles, to attempt to give detailed specifications of the Socialist State.”\*\* He goes on to say that the Socialist idea is for every individual to enjoy the greatest possible amount of freedom, with authority reduced to the necessary minimum. Liberty is declared to be a qualified right, being bounded by the like liberty of others. The Socialist State must be democratic. Nearly all legislation could be adopted by the people, but administrators must be chosen, who will use their power for the common good, without profit for themselves, and without prejudice to any portion of society.

Engels, Bebel and other Marxians have declared that the political state must disappear with the abolition of the system of private property.\*\*\* Even Spargo says, “The political state based upon geographical considerations cannot be an efficient agent for the management of industry.”\*\*\*\*

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\**Britannica Year Book*, 1913. Page 21.

\*\**Socialism*. John Spargo. Page 211.

\*\*\**The Review*, February 7, 1920. Page 126.

\*\*\*\**Psychology of Bolshevism*. Spargo. Page 64.

See also *Group Government*.

It is plain that Socialists are asking us to destroy our existing Government, and yet are in a state of utter confusion and conflict among themselves as to what is to be the new order of things. No sane person would take passage in a ship with an unknown destination.

Lenine, indeed, is definite. He has said, "I wish I had three weeks to rewrite Marxism and show its mistakes, which we found by our experience in Russia." One mistake which he discovered, was that under the democratic control of industry, the people produced so little that they went hungry, naked and cold. This state of affairs he seems to be correcting. He has substituted absolute dictatorship in industry. He has replaced the free workman by the industrial slave.

#### THE FAMILY AND SOCIALISM

Having considered briefly the differing Socialist views about the Church and the State, let us consider Socialist opinion upon the third great fundamental institution of civilized society, namely the family. From the very earliest proposals of Socialism to the latest, we find an almost universal purpose to reorganize, if not to destroy, the family and marriage as they now exist in Christian countries.\*

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\*Plato's *Republic*. Campanella's *City of The Sun*. Morris's *News from Nowhere*.

A community of property seems to suggest, or even require, some sort of community of women. No idea is more persistent in Socialist literature. One writer points out proofs that there was a time when men had group marriages, in which a family of brothers married a family of sisters. They lived together as groups, and the children did not know their fathers. This is cited as an argument to show that since marriage has changed so much in the past it may not unlikely change as much in the future.

Not only the Utopian romances of earlier and more recent times are flavored with this idea, but such contemporary Socialist writers of plays and novels as Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells continually attack the institution of marriage.

The reason for all this is not far to seek. One of the strongest bulwarks of the institution of private property is the family. Love prompts a man to exert himself to the utmost throughout life to provide for and protect his wife and children. Plainly, if private property is to be done away with and the State is to take over nearly every form of property, the family, as we have it, must go. Children must be cared for by the State, lest the father be too much interested in working and saving for their future. The marriage tie must be greatly modified, lest a man's affections lead him to want his own separate estate, for his wife.

Stories coming out of Russia about the nationalization of women have excited the horror of all good people. In time we will know more certainly whether they were true in all their terrible details, and whether they were exceptional things which were related. We do know, however, that Lenine's Soviet Constitution provides for the voluntary dissolution of the marriage tie, at any time, on the request of either party, and as often as may be desired.\* Does any sane person believe that family life as we have it in America, would fail to deteriorate, and largely disappear, under such a system?

Even Spargo admits that some Socialists would place the union of the sexes outside the sphere of law, leaving it exclusively a private matter. Other Socialists would insist upon "the maximum of personal freedom together with the minimum of social authority in the union of the sexes," but they would insist upon that minimum of legal control.\*\*

#### PRIVATE PROPERTY AND INDUSTRY

On one point all forms of Socialism are in agreement, namely, the abolition of private property and the private control of industry, although they differ in the methods by which this is to be brought about.

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\**The Nation*. Dec. 28, 1918. Page 825.

\*\**Socialism*. Page 218.

"What is property? It is robbery," wrote the Frenchman, Proudhon, in 1840. "Rob the Robbers," echoes Lenine in 1918 in Russia. Accordingly, it appears that practically all owners of every kind of private property in Soviet Russia have been violently dispossessed without compensation. Lands and houses, forests and minerals, live stock, agricultural tools, banks and their assets, railroads, telegraphs and telephones, mines, factories, all seem to have been seized by the Soviet Government without compensation to the owners.

Moderate Socialists, however, claim that by the abolition of private property, it is not meant that all private property shall be abolished. One's clothing and personal articles, could hardly be held other than by the individual. Nevertheless an American army officer returned from Russia says the school children are required to exchange clothes, lest they become attached to particular garments.

Spargo says, "There are many petty, subordinate industries, especially the making of articles of luxury, which might to be allowed to remain in private hands."\*

J. Ramsay Macdonald, the British labor leader, goes so far as to say, "Indeed some Socialists—for instance Kautsky, the most uncompromising of

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\**Socialism*. Page 220.

Marxists—have stated that people might own their own houses and their own gardens under Socialism.”\*

These exceptions only serve to emphasize the vast program of State ownership of all kinds of property, and State control and conduct of all important industries which Socialism intends to carry out. Even the most moderate Socialists demand that the State shall own all lands, all railroads and other means of communication, all mines, all factories conducting the great industries, and all banks. After briefly describing the functions of the Socialist State, the conservative Spargo makes the following candid admission, “When the Socialist State is here spoken of, it is not by any means intended to describe the full limits of socialization, the fully developed collectivist commonwealth, but rather the opposite limits, the minimum of socialization.”\*\*

#### COMPENSATION OR CONFISCATION

The Russian program for the change of property and industry from private ownership and control to public ownership and control, has been to abolish all “property right. . . . without any compensation, open or secret, to the former owners.”\*\*\*

\**The Socialist Movement.* Macdonald. Page 129.

\*\**Socialism.* Spargo. Page 221.

\*\*\*“Russian Land Law.” *The Nation*, Jan. 25, 1919. Page 143.

This has been accomplished by violence, and the military power of the Red Guards.

French Syndicalists have proposed to drive capital out of industry by "direct action," consisting at first of sabotage, and later of the general strike, which is to drive owners of industry from their property, leaving it in the control and under the direction of the workmen. Instructions in sabotage are given by Monsieur Pouget as follows:

"If you are a mechanic, it is very easy for you, with a pennyworth of some sort of powder, or even with sand, to score lines on your rollers, to cause loss of time, or even costly repairs. If you are a carpenter or cabinet-maker, what is easier than to injure a piece of furniture, so that the employer will not notice it, nor at first the customer, but so that customers will presently be lost? A tailor can quite easily ruin a garment or a piece of stuff; a shopman with some stains will make it necessary to sell off damaged goods at a low price; a grocer's assistant causes breakages by faulty packing. No matter who may be to blame, the master loses his customers . . . As the employer is an enemy, it is no more disloyal for the workman to entrap him into ambushes than to fight him face to face."\*

Moderate Socialists condemn without measure the criminal methods of Syndicalist Socialists and

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\**Britannica Year Book*, 1913. Page 21.

Bolshevist Socialists, but although the means by which the moderate program is to be carried into effect are different, the aims are the same. All aim equally at the abolition of the private ownership of nearly all kinds of property and the private control of nearly all kinds of industry. Radicals propose immediate resort to violence and criminal methods, while the moderates propose to accomplish Socialist aims by peaceful methods, through the ballot box and the forms of law. They declare that they oppose confiscation of private property, and intend to compensate owners for property taken by the State.

#### MODERATE SOCIALISM IS DECEPTIVE

The two methods on which moderate Socialists chiefly rely to secure a peaceful and lawful transfer of private property and industry from private persons who own and control it to the State, or to the workers engaged in the industry, are—

1. Abolition of the right of inheritance and of disposition of property by will.
2. Taxation in various forms and steeply graduated so as to transfer a large part of incomes and fortunes of great size.

Can the claim of moderate Socialists that they propose to compensate owners for property taken, be relied upon? John Spargo, moderate Socialist, speaking of hoarded wealth says, "The inheritance of



such accumulated property would, however, necessarily be denied, society being the only possible inheritor of property." Whether private property be taken at the death of a living owner by complete abolition of inheritance and the right to make a will, so that the whole estate would escheat to the State, or whether it be taken more slowly, by large inheritance taxes or transmission taxes, is a negligible difference. It is a question merely of confiscating all at once, or a step at a time. Lenin took the shorter process, the Russian Soviet law providing "inheritance, whether by law or by will is abolished."\*

Single taxers, led by Henry George, have proposed to transfer all taxation to land and to make the tax equal to the entire rental value of the property. Can any fair-minded person see a substantial difference between this method and pure confiscation?

J. Ramsay Macdonald, moderate, says, "The Socialist denies that he proposes a policy of confiscation. Is he not, however, to confiscate as a matter of fact? The State did not confiscate when the telegraphs were nationalised, nor does it propose to confiscate the telephone service in a few months from now. Switzerland did not confiscate the railways when it nationalised them. Neither Glasgow nor London confiscated their trams when they municipalised them. If there had been a shadow of confis-

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\**The Nation*. Dec. 28, 1918. Page 829.

cation in any of these transfers the taxpayers and ratepayers were the victims, not the shareholders."\*

The fallacy of the argument that Socialism will not confiscate, is shown in the last sentence above quoted. The property of the taxpayers was taken, in order to compensate the owners of telephones and trams. But who will compensate the taxpayers? The answer formerly was that the state or city, operating telephones, trams or railroads would operate them at a profit. This profit would go into the public treasury, and thus, by lightening the burden of taxation, in effect, compensate the taxpayer for what he had been compelled to pay in taxes. This argument would have merit, if it were true. It is not true.

Certain European states and cities, particularly in Germany, proceeded, in the lifetime of the present generation, to nationalize or municipalize some forms of industry, such as railroads, street-car lines, telephones and telegraph lines. These were sometimes operated with sufficient economy and business judgment to yield a profit to the public treasury. Thereupon, Socialist writers began to say that the people, or the proletariat, had not been benefited by the change. The cry arose against "State Capitalism."

It was said that the employees of State railroads

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\**The Socialist Movement*. Macdonald. Page 160.

did not have any better wages, or conditions of labor, than before. They did not fix their own wages, when employed by the state or city, any more than they did when employed by private persons or corporations. Everywhere it was proclaimed that mere transfer of ownership and control from private to public hands after compensating former owners, was not Socialism at all, but only capitalism in a new form.

To meet this, two remedies have been suggested by Socialist writers, either of which, if put in practice, utterly destroys the pretense that Socialism will reimburse taxpayers, who are made to pay the purchase price of nationalized or municipalized property. The first method is to operate all public undertakings, such as railroads, street-cars, waterworks and the like, at cost. In this way the profit disappears, the taxpayer receives nothing to compensate him for his special tax contributions to the purchase price, but the general public does get the benefit of reduction in rates, if there be a reduction.

But Socialist writers have found little comfort in a mere reduction of cost of service to the public, or to the consumer. Nor do they find any satisfaction in the cooperative system, because they say it benefits only the consumer. The same objection was made to it, as to the operation of public utilities by

the Government at cost. They said that employees of cooperative stores were just like the employees of any private concern. They did not fix their own wages, nor their own hours or conditions of labor, and were just as much as ever under the control of capital. In short, what Socialists really and finally demand, in the last analysis, is that the profits of every industry shall go to the workers in that industry. This was the precise plan and purpose of French Syndicalism, and of Russian Bolshevism.

We have had, as every one knows, a Bolshevik movement in this country, looking to direct overthrow of the Government. We have also had a Syndicalist movement, carried on by such organizations as the I. W. W. Few people realize that the appropriation of the profits of industry to the workers in that industry has been proposed and advocated in America under the forms of law.

#### THE PLUMB PLAN FOR RAILROADS

In August, 1919, American labor leaders presented to Congress a plan for the purchase of railroads, owners to be compensated from the proceeds of a sale of United States bonds. These bonds and the interest thereon would, of course, be a Government debt of vast proportions, and would have to be paid by the taxpayers. The interesting part of the

proposal was twofold. First, the control of the railroads, by a board of directors, was firmly fixed in the employees of the roads, since only one-third of the directors were to be appointed by the Government, representing the whole people, including taxpayers, and two-thirds by the employees. This, of course, would give railroad employees practical and effective control over their own wages, hours of labor and conditions of work. The second interesting feature was that the profits were to go to the workers, up to five per cent. of the gross income. Any profit above this should be applied to improvements, or to a reduction of rates charged the public.

It will be seen that, as no part of the profits was to go to the Government, which had paid for the roads, no part of them would go to pay the bonds or interest, out of which, or their proceeds, the railroad owners had been compensated. In other words the taxpayer would not be compensated for his special forced contribution. In the second place, the employees would prefer to fix wages so high that they would get all of the profits. This would be much quicker, surer and more advantageous than to leave something for profits. Profits would be uncertain in amount, postponed as to time of payment, and, most important of all, would go to the employees only in part.

The advocates of the Plumb Plan, although proposing no violence, and intending to observe the forms of law, and to compensate the owners of the railroads to the extent of their appraised value, actually would take the property of the taxpayers, without compensation, and give it to the railroad employees.

### CONCLUSION

The conclusion is inevitable, that while the methods of moderate Socialists differ from the radicals, their aims are the same, and are all the more dangerous because covered with a deceptive appearance of fairness, legality, order and constitutionality.

In support of the view that moderate Socialist propaganda is quite likely to lead people to more and more radical opinions, attention is called to the interview carried by the Associated Press on December 18th, 1919, with Thomas Buhkanob, the seventeen-year old Russian anarchist. This boy, who had lived in America five years, had attended New York's public schools, and said he earned twenty-one dollars a week, talked frankly on the subject of his revolutionary views. He declared himself opposed to any form of Government, even though it protected his life and property, enabled him to earn a good living and to dwell in peace and comfort. He said that a police or fire department, a street cleaning system,

water-works, a lighting system or any other public service would be acceptable to him only if they did not involve the exercise of "authority." He had no sympathy for Bolshevism even, because it represented a form of Government or authority, for both of which he professed contempt. When asked what led him to hold such views, he answered that "the first step had been Socialism, a theory favored by some of the teachers in his New York public school. It was not radical enough," he said, "and so he took up anarchy."

That the relations between mild Socialism and radical Bolshevism are much closer than many good people suspect, is shown by the statement of Doctor Michael Misleg, Treasurer of the Russian Radical Novy Mir, on which Trotzsky worked before leaving New York, to join the revolution in Russia. Misleg who was sent to jail for contempt, told the joint legislative committee of investigation that "Bolshevism and Socialism are synonymous and Socialism is the ideal Government."\*

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\**Indianapolis News*. Jan. 6, 1920.

## CHAPTER IX

### GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION

**S**OME of our best citizens who are utterly opposed to Socialism, nevertheless favor Government ownership of certain industries, as for instance, railroads, telegraphs, telephones or coal mines. They say that we may have Government ownership and operation, without having Socialism, and that the question, with regard to any particular industry, is merely one of expediency. This is true, in theory. It is impossible to say that the Government might not own and operate railways without becoming Socialistic. If the railroads were so operated, on such a basis of profit as would pay the principal and interest on the price paid for the railroads, it would not be Socialism, but has been correctly called "State Capitalism" by the Socialists themselves.

Such an ideal result, however, seems most improbable. It is true that the Government has built the Panama Canal, has constructed harbors, improved rivers, operates the post-office, light-houses, the coast guard, an army and a navy. It has, in time of war, operated the railroads, although at an enormous loss, in spite of increased rates to the public and restricted service. So also, local Govern-



ments conduct public schools, fire departments and hospitals, besides maintaining police forces, building roads, sewers, bridges and the like.

As we consider this list of Government enterprises, we notice at once that they are never conducted for profit. The post-office department is supposed to pay its own way. The Panama Canal is operated at a loss. Most public services, such as fire and police protection, the use of highways and sewers, of hospitals and schools, the security afforded by army and navy and coast patrol, are all free.

#### GOVERNMENT WASTE

The absence of profit, as an object of Government enterprise, has the natural result of extravagance. To be sure, there are exceptions, but they are few and far between. It is a pitiful fact that all our public enterprises tend to a standard of expensiveness and inefficiency, far below results obtained in private business.

Spargo, who has unceasingly advocated Socialism, Collectivism and State ownership and operation of all the means of production, transport and exchange, when confronted by this difficulty, makes the following significant assertion. "Government industrial enterprise, as we know it, has succeeded, on the whole, even less well than capitalist industrial

enterprise. It has been extravagant and uneconomical; it has developed a formidable bureaucracy; it has been marked by favoritism and other evils attendant upon political influence.”\*

[The controlling cause of Government extravagance and inefficiency, on the economic side, is the absence of the profit motive, that spur which continually urges the manager of private business to make war on waste and to fight for efficiency. Another cause for failure in public enterprise is that the men in charge are chosen for political reasons. If we add to these certain elements, the highly probable one that Government operation for profit will be assailed by the public who, already educated to having Government service free or at cost, will demand the lowest rates, we see the difficulty growing. To this must be added the demand of Socialists and trade unionists that the profits of industry should be transferred to the workers in that industry. Reasonable people should realize that profits in Government enterprise are not to be relied on.

Our experience in Government operation of railroads, which resulted in hundreds of millions of dollars' loss each year, is corroborated by like experience of the British and Canadian Governments. Aside from the railroad experiment, it must be remembered

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\**The Psychology of Bolshevism*, John Spargo. Page 60.

that practically none of the Government enterprises mentioned at the beginning of this chapter as already in existence consists of productive business. The placing of production, of the necessities of life, in the hands of the Government would be the sheerest experiment, failure in which would mean a rapid decline of the supplies of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, in short, of all that we know as essential for life and health.

#### THE GOVERNMENT AS LANDOWNER

All Socialists, including Lenine, admit that land owned by the Government must nevertheless be used by individuals. The Russian Soviet Constitution provides for allotting the use of land among the people. The fertility and amount of land, and the number of persons in the family receiving the allotment who are able to work, are all to be considered. Some such plan would have to be adopted by any Government which became the universal landlord. Let any man who has a knowledge of practical politics in an American community, reflect upon the probable distribution of land by political methods under Government control. Electioneering art, rather than business ability, would be the means by which most men would gain authority to distribute the land, and this would quickly come to be treated as patronage.

Now, the interest of society will be best served if land goes to those who are able to make the best use of it. Society is not concerned in the equal distribution of land, but rather in the really able farmer having as many acres as he can manage, because he will produce the largest crops and the most cattle.

Society needs to have persons who can not conduct successful farms left without land and placed under the direction of the able and intelligent farmer. It is plain that Government ownership and distribution of land would not secure this result. On the contrary, such a decline of production would take place as to make starvation and famine a probability.

The Russian Soviet Constitution speaks of "borrowers of land," who are the persons to whom the land has been allotted. Such a name is correct. Would not a person who borrowed land from the Government, whose tenure is uncertain, who can not transfer it to others, either in life or in death, be inclined to get as much as he can in a short time, without regard to decline in fertility? And would not the deterioration of land be another cause for scarcity and famine?

#### OUR GOVERNMENT LAND POLICY

It should not be forgotten that our Federal Government formerly owned nearly all the land in this

country west of the Alleghanies. Some of it was granted to soldiers of the Revolutionary War, as reward for services, and some was reserved for Indian tribes. Most of it went in small farms to actual settlers, under laws authorizing such grants. Since there was for a long time an abundance of land for all who wanted it, either for the purpose of actual settlement or as a purchase at a nominal price, the distribution took place rapidly and fairly.

However, it was seen, as a result of the Civil War, that railroads were a supreme necessity, both to build up the country, and to strengthen the military connection between its different parts. Accordingly, as private capital hesitated to embark in the hazardous enterprise of building railroads thousands of miles long through a country having neither cities, towns, nor settled population of any kind, it devolved upon the Government either to build the roads itself, or to procure them to be built.

The latter policy was adopted. Public lands were granted, generally in alternate sections, and for a considerable distance on either side of the route for the proposed new railroad, as an inducement for railroad construction. An empire of land was thus given away to railroad builders. It was magnificent extravagance, by no means free from official corruption. It was successful. The several railroads

to the Pacific, thus lavishly endowed, were built. But the whole chapter of our western railroad land grants is an impressive illustration of the way Government does business. Results are indeed often secured which are of noble proportions, but the waste which seems inseparable from Government activities is manifest in that chapter of American history on a scale which defies concealment. With such a record of land ownership and administration by the Government, we should hesitate before we place all the land once more in its hands.

#### GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

While few persons advocate Government ownership of land, a considerable number incline to favor Government ownership of railways. Our experience in such Government operations, during the Great War, which resulted in increased rates to the public, decreased efficiency of service, and an appalling deficit, are indeed serious warnings against such a policy in times of peace, but even such experience does not convince everybody.

Let us try to imagine what our railroads would be like if Government ownership and operation were adopted as a permanent national policy. To begin with, even at the risk of repetition, let us remember that the guiding principle of the private owner is

economic interest, that is, he is controlled chiefly by the fear of pecuniary loss and the hope for pecuniary gain. We may be sure that the guiding principle of the Government would not be economic interest, but political interest, with the result of greatly increased expenses and greatly decreased efficiency.

#### IMPROVEMENTS AND EXTENSIONS

Railroads constitute the greatest single industry in America. They use more capital, take in more revenue, let more contracts and pay out more money, than is done in any other business. They are the greatest users of steel products and the greatest consumers of coal. When in Government hands, how would the questions of building new railroads, and of improving and extending old roads, be determined? In this, we have a guide to the correct answer of much importance in the record made in Congress for many years past in the matter of legislation for the improvement of rivers and harbors. We know that this is the scandal of both parties. Political interests of members have dictated river and harbor improvements in so many instances as to make the whole matter a national joke, if it were not a national shame. Whichever party is in power has managed to secure the expenditure of large sums in the states of its influential

members. In one case, a navy yard was located on a dangerous river and a million dollar dry-dock built for very large vessels, only to have it discovered that a granite ledge in the river made it impossible to bring ships of suitable size to the dry-dock until vast sums had been spent in blowing up the ledge. This is only one of many thousand examples of money unwisely spent to promote political interest. We may be sure that the same thing would be likely to happen in respect to the improvement or construction of railroads and railroad facilities. Roads would most likely be built where they served politics rather than business.

#### SUPPLY CONTRACTS

When it came to the letting of contracts, there would likewise be an absence of economic interest, and to a large extent, the presence of political influence. Party favorites would be likely to benefit. We need only look about us and remember how the public has often suffered in the letting of contracts for building roads and bridges, court-houses, post-offices, schoolhouses and the like. Even matters of school supplies and supplies for fire and street cleaning departments, and other of the smaller but still important branches of Government work have by no means been free from waste and corruption.



## OPERATION OF RAILROADS

We can not justly close our eyes to the influences of political interest on railroad operation, in the employment of men, their discipline and discharge. The private owner, guided by economic interest, is influenced by considerations of efficiency and of discipline. He is alert to weed out the inefficient members of his force, and to discover, reward and promote the efficient ones. With Government in control, there will always be present the temptation to retain or to employ men who are good politicians, good vote-getters and party workers, even though they possess neither the qualifications nor the industry for good railroad work.

## FACILITIES UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL

In the matter of furnishing facilities to the patrons, it can not be unlikely that the Government, guided by political interests, will play party favorites. The temptation to furnish cars to a mine owner, who is a political supporter of the administration, and to withhold them from a political adversary, will always be present and will not always be resisted. If we consider the thousands of factories, mines, packing houses, mercantile houses and all other forms of industry, which are dependent on railroads for their daily supply of

cars, we can see at once the power which the administration will wield, in withholding or furnishing cars, according to whether patrons are tractable and give their support to the administration, or not. The same considerations will be likely to influence the character of service on the railroads in the various states. The temptation to favor those parts of the country which are politically friendly, and to punish those parts which have been, or are, political opponents, will always be great. In campaign years, the temptation to play favorites will be well-nigh irresistible, if we are to judge by the way that Government business, local, state and national, has been and is now conducted.

#### RAILROAD DEFICITS AND PUBLIC BURDENS

As we have seen in our chapter on The Burden of Taxes, all the extravagance, all the loss will fall upon the public. Ordinarily, it would be felt by the patrons of the roads in higher rates, but it is not improbable, that, guided by political interests, rates would be kept too low, and the loss made good by taxpayers, as it is much easier to conceal losses in this way than by raising railroad rates. The taxpayer as a rule, like the shipper, will be able to transfer his increased burden to the consumer. Whichever way the railroad waste is covered,

whether in rates or in taxation, we may be sure that "the consumer pays."

#### NO ADVANTAGE IN GOVERNMENT OPERATION

As for the advantages which are supposed to be possible under Government ownership and operation, they are either illusory, or are to be obtained through Government supervision and control of the railroad business in private hands. Tribunals, which exercise the power of rate regulation, have already been in existence long enough to show that this work can be effectively and properly done. It is to be hoped that tribunals for industrial adjustments, in case of disputes over wages or other labor conditions, may be established and have equal success. One thing is certain, and that is that the claim that Government operation would of itself avoid the danger of railroad strikes, is untrue. Strikes of Government employees in Europe and America have recently shown that such a hope is illusory. It is not likely that the American people will soon forget the strike of the Boston police force, in September, 1919, when they left the city at the mercy of a pillaging mob.

#### GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP IS PATH TO SOCIALISM

While the argument of expediency is, in our judgment, very strongly against Government own-

ership and operation of railroads, the matter has a more sinister aspect. This demand originated with the Socialists, although many who are not Socialists have been attracted by its illusory advantages. The persistent placing of nationalization of railways, mines and all other forms of industry, at the head of all Socialist programs from that of Lenine to that of Sidney Webb and John Spargo, ought to awaken thoughtful men. It is only too plain that Socialists regard the nationalization of railways as a step toward the nationalization of all forms of property. Once nationalized, the railroads can not be operated for profit, since that would be merely capitalism, in the hands of the State, instead of private persons. The employees of railroads would doubtless find working for the Government a soft job, as is the case with other Government employees. They would find discipline lax, hours perhaps shorter, pay probably greater, temporarily, and the demand for efficiency much less intense and persistent than in private industry. They would, therefore, speedily join hands with workers in industries not yet nationalized, to extend Government ownership and operation, until, as far as we can see, Socialism would, at no distant day, have triumphed over individualism. The present social order would have been overthrown.

That this is no idle dream, but a definite part of the program of the highest class of Socialists, is not left to conjecture. These men and women hate violence and confiscation, so they say, as much as they hate Lenine and his rule by murder and by robbery. They want only a peaceful revolution, by votes, and not by violence, slowly and not by catastrophe. Unlike Lenine, they have founded their ideal state upon a democratic basis, in which the rule of the majority, expressed at the ballot box, is to prevail. Yet they aim at as complete a social transformation as Lenine himself has achieved in Russia.

#### DANGER OF GRADUAL NATIONALIZATION

That the gradual nationalization of all forms of industry and property, commencing with railroads, is a definite expectation of scientific Socialists is proved abundantly from their writings. We need only cite Edward Bellamy's book, *Equality*. In that book he describes the process by which the complete socialization of industry was achieved. It is precisely what we have sketched here. At first one industry, the railroads, was taken over. Next, the same result was achieved, through the force of example, and the combination of railroad workers with those in other industries, until, a step at a time, the whole State was socialized. Individual free-

dom, enterprise and invention, the direction of his own life by every citizen, the economic spur of interest, the spiritual energy from free personal ambition, in youth, manhood and old age, must all have disappeared from Bellamy's Utopia. But this point he omits to mention. He dreams only of ideal people and affairs, and he does not correct his dream by the careful study of human nature, human life and human history.

#### GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES

Another demand for the nationalization of industry, which is closely associated with the railroad question, and has in fact preceded it in the public mind, is the taking over by the Government of telegraphs and telephones. It is not necessary to argue this at length. We know that the telephone and telegraph were invented, established and perfected in this country, by Americans, and that all this was achieved under the individualist system of society. We know that in Europe some States, unlike America, kept or took control of telegraphs and telephones. We know that State control of these means of communication has resulted in a degree of efficiency far inferior to that which we have in American cities, as well as outside of them. All of the arguments touching railroad operation apply to the telegraph and telephone systems. But

there is one other argument against State ownership and control of these means of communication. It is unquestionably the fact that the Government would, under such circumstances, be able to exercise a censorship over private communications between citizens, as well as in matters of public interest. The temptation of the administration to suppress unfavorable news, which would bring discredit upon persons in power, would be very influential. The very news which reached the people, at times of crises, when they needed to know the whole truth in order to vote wisely, might be suppressed by Government gag. A few years ago, there would have been some reasonable ground for saying that this would be a fantastic and unreasonable fear. Now, however, we know by the Government censorship of cables from Paris during the Peace Conference, that the Government is entirely able to suppress important information of a public nature through its control of the wires.

The general conclusion which we draw is that Government control of industry means the transfer of power from our people to the Government. It means that, after our forefathers fought and died to overthrow the older forms of Governmental despotism, we would by nationalization of industry, erect, above ourselves, a new despotism more deadly, more powerful, more intense, than the old.

## CHAPTER X

### SOCIAL JUSTICE

**T**HE phrase, "Social Justice," is sometimes used with the implication that there now exists wide-spread social injustice. In this sense, it is claimed by agitators that labor is oppressed by capital, that a few at the top of society embezzle the wealth produced by the labor of the multitude. No such claim can be supported by the facts, since it is untrue. Nevertheless, it is true that the present organization of society is not perfect. The mind of man has been applied to the problem of social relations and of the production and distribution of wealth, from the earliest times. Progress has been made, improvement has been achieved, sometimes very rapidly, sometimes slowly, but most rapidly of all in the last hundred years. In that time the laborer's standard of living and his real wages have risen, as at no previous time in the history of the world.

Much remains to be done, and always will remain. The progressive development of human reason and of the science of economics will, no doubt, forever work for the improvement of mankind. It is in this sense that we use the term,



"Social Justice," as a proper aim for every man and woman.

From time to time, many proposals are made, many experiments attempted, which are expected to help in the adjustment of the relations between men. Many of these prove to be only illusory. Many do positive harm. Some do a little to improve the world. A very few proposals prove to be of great benefit. We shall mention briefly some of the reforms which have been urged in recent years.

#### COOPERATION

In England and elsewhere cooperative stores have long been in existence, having for their aim the reduction of prices to the consumer. The plan was very simple. Capital was supplied at a fixed rate, say five per cent. Members of the society, buying at the cooperative store, would pay the usual retail prices. At the end of the month the profits would be divided among the purchasers, in the form of a percentage on what they had bought. The plan seems very attractive, and, in fact, has succeeded. Not only many hundreds of retail stores have been established, but wholesale buying undertaken and production attempted. The plan has not taken root in America to any extent, although the high prices following the World War

have encouraged certain labor unions to attempt it. There is no political or economic objection to cooperation, either in the form above described or in the cooperative sale of farm products, such as California Fruit Growers have attempted. The elimination of unnecessary expense between the producer and the consumer seems to be within the reach of economic science, and should be persistently studied and attempted.

Unhappily, cooperative stores in Great Britain are not so successful in solving this problem as it was hoped they would be. It was found necessary to put the cooperative shops in expensive locations, provide them with show windows and all the apparatus of the best department stores, as otherwise they did not secure patrons. The management, in order to make a show of success, was tempted to put prices a little above the ordinary retail price, in order to make a larger rebate of profits, or dividends, at the end of the month to purchasers. Nevertheless, the experiment, if made in America, will be watched with interest.

#### PROFIT SHARING

The experiment of profit sharing has been attempted in France and England by a considerable number of employers, each adopting his own

methods. The same thing has taken place in America, and is a hopeful sign of improved relations between labor and capital. Indeed, at one time, many persons thought that it was the final solution of the problem of labor and capital. Such an expectation has not, so far, been realized, and indeed is not likely to be. The fundamental causes of friction remain unchanged.

In the first place, employees may question the percentage of profit which is assigned as a bonus to labor, and insist upon a larger share. This does not differ from urging higher wages, and might become the basis for strikes. Again, the employees may question the honesty of the accounting system, or the competency of the management. Employees may feel that mistakes have been made and losses incurred, at least a portion of which results in injury to them, and that these mistakes and losses might have been avoided, particularly if the employees had been in control.

Employers, on the other hand, may say that sharing profits is neither just nor practicable, unless losses are also shared. In lean years many concerns incur deficits. Are employees to help make these good? In prosperous years, a large proportion of the profits are set aside to meet possible future losses in well-managed concerns, and the full

profits are not distributed. The employee has no interest in accumulating a reserve to be enjoyed probably by future stockholders, or even by future employees.

Mr. Schwab advocates profit sharing from the employer's point of view, but he opposes a division of the general profits of the business. He urges that the employees should receive a share of the profits of the particular unit of work upon which they are engaged. This would operate to encourage greater efficiency, on the part of the workmen. If the workmen, engaged upon a unit of work which proved to be an unprofitable enterprise, should share in the profitable contracts, or units, it would be unjust to the workmen on the successful undertaking. They would be discouraged from putting forth their highest efforts for the benefit of others. The workmen on the unprofitable job would not be stimulated to the same effort, if their reward were to come out of the general profits, instead of depending upon the commercial result of their own particular undertaking.

A similar view is taken in the *Report of Industrial Conference Called by the President*, dated March 6, 1920, in which this system is called "gain sharing." On page thirty-nine occurs the following language: "Under such plans the employees

can see clearly the immediate relation between their own efforts and the resulting return. There enter no complicating factors of gains and losses made in the purchasing and selling departments for which the productive shop employees are in no way responsible. And here also the distribution to employees can be made at such frequent intervals as to bring effort and return into more immediate relation."

Profit and gain sharing are matters of business judgment, not susceptible to regulation by law. Such experiments give hope of improved relations between labor and capital. Some trade-union leaders view profit sharing with disfavor as weakening the union, and tying workmen more rigidly to their jobs.

#### COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND SHOP COMMITTEES

In those business undertakings in which profit sharing has been most successful, it is not unusual to find that provision has been made which gives the workmen a voice in the management of the business. This has often been found most helpful, both to employer and employee. They not only come to understand each other's difficulties and hardships better, but starting with this new sympathy between master and man, a spirit of helpful cooperation develops. This does not amount to

what is called by some labor agitators "the democratic control of industry." Such control would involve the loss of direction by superior intelligence, and the management of affairs by the average judgment of employees, many of them quite unfitted for such responsibility. The control, in the last analysis, remains with the owner. It may happen, it has happened, that employees finally become the owners. In such case, it is believed their control would not be democratic, that is "one man, one vote," but in proportion to the amount of stock held by each employee.

The principle of collective bargaining in general is strongly approved, in the *Report of Industrial Conference*, above referred to, pages thirty to thirty-two. This approval extends equally to the type of bargaining in which employees act through the trade union, and to that type in which they act through some other plan of employee representation, provided the representative of the men is chosen by a majority. *The Industrial Conference Report* proposes to leave the enforcement of collective bargaining, at least for the present, to good faith alone.

#### MINIMUM WAGE

A proposed reform, which, unlike cooperation and profit sharing, does involve the enactment of law

and the formation of a judgment by voters, is the minimum wage. There has been wide-spread complaint against the low wages paid to certain classes of labor, as, for instance, to the most poorly paid class of department store employees. It was urged that girls, so employed upon wages insufficient to provide them with the necessities of life, were led, through economic necessity, to sacrifice their virtue in the attempt to gain further income. There was much in this appeal to stir the emotions, but no better illustration can be given of the necessity for critical examination of the facts before making a decision.

In the first place, it was pretty well established, by careful research, that the question of virtue depended upon considerations of training, environment and personal qualities, rather than upon wages. The poorest paid girls are by no means worse, upon the average, than those more highly paid. But a more conclusive argument is, that those whose labor is not worth the minimum wage, prescribed by law, will not be employed at all.

What is to become of them? Are they not entitled to earn what they can? Is society to lose the benefit of such labor as they can perform? Are they to be made to lose the self-respect which comes with effort, and forced to become objects of charity,

in our anxiety to see that greedy employers pay decent wages? Would it not be far better and more effective, in the case of an employer who underpays his employees, to make the facts public, and turn trade from his establishment until he corrects his unfair practises? The American people are prone to cry out for the law to remedy Social Injustice, when a quicker way to reach it is to be found in their own action. It is an evil thing to be always looking to the State to do what the people can do for themselves.

*The Industrial Conference*, in its report March 6, 1920, insists on such wages as insure reasonable living conditions, and protect the community and individual from the ill effect of lack of competence. It does not give any sanction to a minimum wage fixed by law, such as has been discussed above, under this title.

#### PENSIONS

Another method, by which some reformers think that Social Injustice can be alleviated, is by having the Government grant pensions in large numbers, and on various grounds. We are all familiar with the pension for wounded, disabled, or aged soldiers. The industrial pension is of quite a different nature. It is also quite different from pensions for retiring



teachers, policemen and firemen. All these cases rest upon the theory that the pension is deferred pay.

One form of pension, or industrial insurance, which has been tried in Germany and Great Britain, and on a smaller scale in France, is a pension for very old persons, particularly for those whose income is below a certain very modest figure. This proposal has the merit that old age can not be feigned, if birth records have been carefully kept. It seems plain that such a plan is open to the objection that it discourages saving during the years when the earning power is unimpaired. Men would be encouraged rather to look to the State for support in their old age than to their own industry and thrift. Deliberately to encourage such state of mind is to undermine the morale of workers. This objection is partly met if it be required that the pensioner himself contribute throughout his life, or for a period of years, to the pension fund, and that the pension be proportioned to these savings. The whole arrangement seems much inferior to a system under which just wages are paid, and frugality made the basis of provision for old age.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Another kind of pension, which existed in Germany even before the war, is an allowance for un-

employment or disability. Students of the German system criticized it very freely. They declared that it was teaching the German people to feign sickness in order to draw sick benefits. One writer stated that they took regular instruction in feigning symptoms, so as to pass the tests. All this is most demoralizing, tending to break down individual character, instead of stiffening it by self-reliance.

Other pensions have been proposed, but have not found many advocates. Such proposals assume that other persons, who have worked and saved, who have used their strength and intelligence to the best of their ability to perform their share of the world's work and to provide for themselves and their dependents, ought to contribute to the support of those who are not merely unfortunate, but those who have failed in industry and frugality. Such a proposition seems to have less justice than injustice in it. To tax efficiency and self-denial for the benefit not merely of the unfortunate but for the benefit of the self-indulgent and inefficient, is repugnant to common justice.

These considerations do not deny the fact that there are many unfortunates who are entitled to be helped. It is believed that all of these can be generously cared for under provisions for orphans, the infirm, the aged, the sick, the widow with small chil-

dren for whom she can not properly provide. This duty is not shirked, either by private or public philanthropy. Certain it is that nothing is easier than to demand State pensions, grants, bonuses, or the like, and nothing more demoralizing to our people and the whole community than to let such a habit get fastened upon us. It should be discouraged and opposed, except where the most careful consideration of the whole subject shows that there is no other way to provide for the deserving.

#### WAGES IN GENERAL

Socialists, and some labor leaders who are not Socialists, describe the wage system now existing as "wage slavery." The words contain a false implication, and have served many an agitator in making revolutionary appeals to excited audiences. Human slavery involved the ownership of human beings, by other human beings. Slaves were bought and sold like horses. What the slave produced belonged to his owner. What he got was food, clothing and shelter. He had no right to change his owner, his work or his home. He had no voice in Government and no standing in court, any more than an ox. Can any person with an honest mind declare that the term "wage slavery" is a just description of the present system?

## WAGES AND NATURAL LAW

The first influence which affects wages is the natural law of supply and demand. Society demands a certain kind of service, in certain quantities, as for instance, the raising of wheat or making of shoes. When the number of persons in these industries is not large enough to meet the public demand for shoes and wheat, the public must pay more in order to raise the earning power of men in such work and thereby attract more men to that occupation. On the other hand, if too many men raise wheat or become shoe-makers, an over-supply will result in lower prices. The earning power of labor in that kind of work will tend to fall; and men will leave the farm and the shoe factory for other jobs where there is a scarcity of labor and wages are higher. Since some occupations are more agreeable, and some less; since some branches of industry require great natural skill, or prolonged training, while others require little skill and little training, it is but natural that wages should be higher in those lines which are unattractive or where the requisite skill or training is hard to get, and lower in those branches of industry which are over-supplied with labor.

There is yet another factor in the fixation of wages, under natural law. Capital, or saved wealth, wealth produced by former generations but not consumed by them, is necessary in many forms of in-

dustry. The cobbler requires only a bench and a few tools, but the modern shoe factory, by which shoes are produced in abundance with a minimum of labor, requires a great investment. Capital, like labor, tends to move freely under the law of demand and supply. Where profits in an industry are large, as, let us suppose, in the making of shoes, capital tends to flow into that industry, thereby stimulating a demand for labor. Wherever profits are small or uncertain, capital is anxious to withdraw from such business, and, no matter how much the business requires more capital, it may be difficult or impossible to obtain. A perfect illustration of this is our American railroads, which for some years before the World War had become to a large extent unprofitable enterprises. Government had kept the rates so low and labor had forced operating expenses to so high a point that investors refused to put money into the railroad business. As a result our country was seriously hampered when the war broke out by lack of engines, cars, switches, yards, stations, double track and the like. This condition has not been remedied. The country has grown, but railroads have not grown with it.

#### OBSTRUCTIONS TO SUPPLY AND DEMAND

The free movements of labor and capital, under the law of supply and demand, do not always take

place. Labor does not, in practise, move freely from one trade to another. For this there are many reasons. A laborer knows only his own trade, and may be unwilling or unable to master another. He may prefer to live in the locality where he has his home and friends. A laborer may be prevented from entering a trade, which is short of men, by the regulations of a trade union. He may be out of work and yet not know that there are places where labor is needed.

So with capital. One business may be over-supplied with capital, that is, there may be too many shoe factories, too many machines, so that a part are idle. But the capital is locked up in those empty buildings and those idle machines. It can not be withdrawn to supply the farmer with labor-saving machines, for raising and gathering his crops.

If it were not for these and other obstructions, or limitations, which interfere with the full operation of the law of supply and demand, it is conceivable that wage adjustments would take place naturally and easily, without struggle and without conflict.

Trade-union leaders particularly deny that the price of labor should be regulated by supply and demand. They claim that this treats labor as a mere commodity, like wheat or cattle. They say that the human element, the welfare of the laborer himself,

must be taken into consideration. In this they are right. The welfare of the laborer must be taken into consideration, but economic law itself to some extent protects the welfare of the laborer.

If wages, hours of work or conditions of living be such as to impair the health, the vigor and the efficiency of the laborer, it is inevitable that the best results in production will not be attained. Workmen would rapidly deteriorate, thus reducing their output, and increasing the demand for labor, which in turn could only be supplied by improvements in wages, hours, or living conditions. It is true that these natural laws, left to themselves, appear to work slowly and with cruelty. Hence the labor leader is right when he says the human element must be considered. Employers who are intelligent, just and far-sighted do not wait to learn the result of the underpayment of labor. They anticipate it and provide against it by reasonable, just and humane provisions.

#### OTHER NATURAL LAWS AFFECTING WAGES

If wages can not in the long run be depressed below the standard fixed by supply and demand, neither can they in the long run be raised above the level fixed by natural law. Let us suppose that the employees on American railroads succeed, either by

a strike or threat of a strike, by arbitration or decision of a Government tribunal, or even by an Act of Congress, in lifting their wages to a point far beyond the level which would be fixed by the operation of supply and demand. Suppose that railroad wages are boosted far above the level of wages for similar work, or work presenting the same general features of requisite skill and endurance, by reason of the fact that rail employees use the pressure of trade-union organization to obstruct the operation of the law of supply and demand. The question is, can such an artificial boost be maintained, or will natural law in the end have its way? The answer is, of course, that natural law will prevail, as will now be shown.

#### FARM INDUSTRY AS RELATED TO WAGES

It has been pointed out that prosperity involves an abundant supply of necessities, including farm products, at moderate prices. This depends upon abundant production by the farmer, and such a result, in turn, can not be had unless a sufficient number of men engage in farming, either as owners or laborers, or both. Furthermore, the farmer needs to be supplied with improved labor-saving machinery if he is to reach a maximum output.

But every one of these elements is, in turn, de-



pendent upon the existence of another factor, the factor of probable profit. The prospect of profit does not exist if farm wages are too high, if farm machinery can not be had, either from high interest or high prices, or if railroad rates for carrying farm products exact too large a part of the farmer's income. High railroad wages mean high rates for transporting farm products to market and encourage high wages in other industries; thus tending to raise the wages of farm labor, by reducing the labor supply on the farm. These things reduce the reward which should urge the farmer to his highest exertion and maximum risk.

We have pointed out elsewhere that we can not have abundance of farm products without the produce of poor farms and medium farms, as well as of farms of the highest grade. Artificially high wages, like unnecessarily high taxes, will inevitably cause the least profitable farms and farming industries to be abandoned. Scarcity of necessities and resulting high prices will ensue. The artificial boost in railroad wages, which we assumed, has completed the circle of its effects. The railroad man finds that his higher pay buys less than he could formerly get with his old wage. The same reasoning applies to all artificial boosts in wages, in every form of labor. They defeat themselves. Nature will have her way.

## IMMIGRATION, THE BIRTH RATE AND WAGES

Other illustrations of the control of wages by natural law are to be found in the results of immigration and emigration, and in the rise and fall of the birth rate. High wages in America, far above the general world level, tend to attract foreign laborers in great numbers. At first sight, this would seem to have a tendency to lower American wages, but this has not always been so. In fact, the most usual and obvious result of immigration has been that the immigrant takes over the unskilled work, while native Americans, and earlier immigrants, are moved up to the higher levels of labor. Thus, Irish and Germans have advanced in the social scale, their places having been filled by Italians, Russians and Hungarians. The market for skilled labor is enlarged or restricted by the increase or decrease in the supply of necessary unskilled labor.

High wages also tend to encourage early marriages and the rearing of large families, and thus indirectly accomplish their own destruction. On the other hand, low wages make for late marriages and small families, thus decreasing the labor supply, and in the end bringing about higher wages.

## WAGE CONTESTS

If these principles were generally understood, contests over wages, strikes, lockouts, the interrup-

tion of industry, bitterness, class antagonism, would seem worse than foolish. No policy, which is selfish to the extent that it is anti-social, or opposed to the general interests of the rest of the people, can, in the long run, win out. It may for a time have temporary success, though involving great loss, but finally natural justice will assert itself.

Natural justice, however, often moves slowly. There are temporary obstructions to the operation of natural economic law. Hence, it becomes advisable and necessary to provide tribunals of the highest standard for the investigation and decision of wage disputes. Such tribunals should take into consideration the whole problem, the bearing of the dispute on general industry, particularly upon the farmer and his prosperity.

When all these elements have been considered by just and wise men sitting as members of a wage tribunal, they will reach a result which conforms in general to natural economic law. They will make sure that their decision gives the workmen all to which they are entitled under that law, without lessening that degree of well-being, which is equally the just right of men in every other branch of industry. It is the office of the wage tribunal to remove the obstructions and hardships involved in the slow grinding processes of natural law. This is all

they can do. If the decision of a wage tribunal is artificial and anti-social, it will in time, though with great hardships to the people, be destroyed by natural economic forces.

#### HOURS OF LABOR

No demand of labor has been more persistent and aggressive, than the demand for a shorter working day. The ten-hour day has been reduced to nine, and even to eight hours. The forty-eight hour week has been reduced to forty-four hours. Still the demand for shorter hours goes on. Miners ask for the six-hour day. Edward Bellamy, in his *Equality*, thought a four-hour day was long enough for labor. In Moscow, under Lenine, clerks in stores, left to fix their own hours of labor, even in drug stores and food supply stores, have generally fixed the day to begin at ten A. M. and to close at three or four P. M. The rest of the time places of business are closed.\*

What is the limit to this sort of thing? Reduction of working hours, as every one can see, may go too far. Labor leaders claim that this is to be settled by humane considerations. So it must, but only so far as humane considerations coincide in substance with the inevitable regulation of natural law.

The point at which hours of labor are determined,

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\**Literary Digest*. Feb. 7, 1920.

under natural law, is the point of maximum efficiency and production. Anything less is wasteful and anti-social, and so is anything more. But the question is not merely whether a man can produce as much in one working day of eight hours as in one working day of nine hours. The real question is also one of the number of working years that the man can remain in industry, and productive. It may well be that an eight-hour day will enable a man to live and work a great deal longer than if he worked nine or ten hours a day. Natural law is humane. In the long run it is impossible to have a better guide.

But the problem of the working day in a particular industry can not be considered and decided properly if it be separated from a consideration of hours of labor in other forms of industry. It may as well be accepted, first as last, that the farmer will not see the city dweller reduce working hours by artificial pressure, without reprisal. If a factory hand works fewer hours than are sufficient for his maximum output, somebody must make good the waste of time, the loss of product, from which society suffers. The somebody who makes good will be the rest of the people in general, and the farmer in particular. No adjustment of hours of labor should fail to recognize that the farmer's working day is a

long day, under requirements of his occupation. Long before sunrise the farmer must be feeding his horses and milking his cows. Long after dark he must wade through the mud or stumble over the frozen ground of the feed lot, as he looks after his sheep and cattle.

It is useless to expect the farmer to work long hours in the heat of harvest-time or in the cold of winter, while his city brother begins work at eight o'clock in the morning and quits at four, with a Saturday half-holiday, unless the farmer and his laborers are paid for their extra labor. The people who pay for those extra hours of work on the farm, will be the rest of the community in general, and in the long run, include the very men who have the shortest working day. It will be taken out of them through increased prices of farm products.

#### GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF PRICES

The control of prices by Government has long been a favorite instrument for the prevention of Social Injustice. In former times, particularly when war or famine had brought about scarcity and want, Governments attempted to fix the prices of such articles as bread, sugar, meat and other necessities, and punish violators of such laws with great severity. As a rule such laws did but little good,

and often did great harm. In the first place they were easily evaded. The rich found methods for obtaining illicit supplies, while the poor continued to wait, cold and hungry, in long lines for many hours at the baker's, the butcher's, the grocer's, or the coal dealer's place of business. Only too often they would arrive after a dreary wait to find the supplies exhausted. But a result of price-fixing, which was even worse, was often a decline in production. If the price of wheat and flour and bread are put low enough to bring them within reach of the people, such supplies may not be produced in the old quantities, or may not be imported from other countries, on so large a scale. Thus price-fixing, as a general rule, tends to defeat itself. Government interference tends to hurt business, to do more harm than good, and is, on the whole, unintelligent, as compared with the intelligence which business men trained by experience use in the conduct of their own affairs.

Nevertheless, in spite of the opposition of orthodox economic students to price-fixing by Government, experience has shown that there is a limited area where it is necessary. A monopoly of some particular service or supply has often been regulated by Government price-fixing to the advantage of the public. Railroads and all other public utilities be-

long to this class. The people are dependent upon them, and can not go elsewhere to be served. Bungling as are often the decisions of rate commissions, they are better than none. It is essential to improve the character of such tribunals, and to work out systems of rate regulation which are fair alike to the business and to the public.

It is just possible that this method of price-fixing may be extended to other businesses. Since 1890 it has been the American policy under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to prohibit and punish the formation of trusts or industrial monopolies. Under this law many of the larger and more dangerous combinations, such as the Tobacco Trust, the Standard Oil Trust and others, have been broken up. The results have not been altogether bad, but they have been disappointing. It may be that this policy of prohibition will be abandoned, and that monopolies will be regulated by Government fixation of prices.

During the World War, the most successful attempt to control the prices of a few necessities which has ever been made took place. The farmer received a guarantee of a good price for his wheat, in order to encourage production. The miller was required to operate under a Government license, which restricted his prices and his purchases. This system was extended to the jobber and the retailer.



Finally the individual consumer was rationed, that is, he was allowed to buy only so much of the regulated article, in a certain length of time, for each member of his household. By thus controlling the article at every stage of progress, from original production to ultimate consumption, it may be said that the cause of Social Justice was effectively supported.

It should be clearly understood that Government price-fixing, though sometimes necessary, is always open to objections. The system offers great temptations, if not opportunities, for corruption of Government officials. The raising or lowering of the price of some necessary of life, by even a slight amount, often involves incalculable sums of money, which are to be made or lost by interested dealers. We should never sanction Government price-fixing except where there is no other way left to protect the people from monopoly rates and scarcity prices. Government regulation of rates and prices is like fire, a wonderful servant, but once out of control, it becomes a cruel and terrible master.

## CHAPTER XI

### ORGANIZATION OF BUSINESS AND LABOR

**W**E CAN not too often recall to our minds the primitive poverty and privation which characterized the lives of our pioneer forefathers, and the contrast between those times and the present. The moment we fix our attention upon the occupants of the log cabin which belonged to the early days of every American community, we see that their lives, though hard, were self-sufficient and self-reliant. Food and clothing, in fact nearly all necessities, were produced by the family through unremitting effort. Indeed they had but little opportunity to travel, or to obtain supplies from other places. If near a river, there might be a flat-boat for downstream transportation. On land, horseback trips were the only means of journeying, until primitive roads afforded passage for rough wheeled vehicles. In contrast with all this, we perceive that, in our time, life is characterized by dependence, and by freedom of movement. The city dweller obtains his supplies from all parts of the continent, nay from all parts of the world. Cotton comes from the South; wheat from the West; beef, coffee and pepper from South America; sugar from Cuba; tea from China,

and so on through the whole list, and this is true of every laborer's family, much the same as of the well-to-do. The farmer too, in his turn, is dependent on remote sources for supplies of implements, fertilizers, clothing, hardware and many other articles.

How did all this come about? It came through the invention of the steam and gas engines, and their use in transportation. It came through the invention of labor-saving machinery, which required the concentration of great supplies of labor, in cities, where factories were located.

Side by side with the advance of the mechanical arts in the nineteenth century went the growth of business organization. The new enterprises, so different from the old both in character and size, it was soon evident could not be carried on nor developed by individuals working alone like the pioneer working on his clearing in the forest. The individual had not the capital, nor the capacity, for such giant undertakings. There must be financial institutions, such as savings banks, to collect the savings of all the people, and invest them in these new enterprises, so that they might have the necessary capital. There were required corporations, by which the capital and the labor of multitudes of men might be concentrated under unified control, in order successfully to establish and conduct the enterprises which modern invention had made possible.

## CORPORATIONS

A corporation is an artificial person, created by law, which enables many individuals to combine and act as one man, with a limited liability for each shareholder, and with control vested in a small board of directors. It possesses the advantage of limited liability for debts incurred, thus encouraging investment in new enterprises, shares are transferable, and the enterprise is not dissolved by the death of members of the corporation. The corporation was not looked on with favor by the English law of earlier days, and there is no natural right to form a corporation, at common law. There must be authority obtained from the legislature or from Congress before a corporation can be organized, so that, from first to last, corporations are to be regarded as intended to promote the general welfare, even more than private advantage. Any corporation which fails to promote the general welfare of the community from which its authority is derived, fails to do that which was the purpose of its creation by the Government.

So rapid has been the growth of corporations, such vast amounts of capital have been concentrated under the control of a few men, that we have been disposed to fear their excessive power. Yet, no one

can observe the work which private corporations have performed in America without realizing that no such progress as we have made has ever before taken place in this world in the same length of time, nor could such progress have been achieved by private individuals without the corporate form of organization.

#### SUPERVISION OF CORPORATIONS

A properly conducted corporation is therefore not to be feared, much less hated, but, rightly viewed, it is seen to be one of the foremost agents of American progress. Unhappily, while corporations are thus capable of uses which benefit every man, woman and child in the community, increasing the supply of enjoyable comforts in every home, adding to the variety and interest of every life, nevertheless corporations have also their grave abuses. It becomes necessary for supervision and control of corporate activities to be undertaken by the Government and continually improved and made more efficient. It is not sufficient for the State to charter a corporation and then leave it to wander over the high seas of commerce, like a pirate of old. On the contrary it must be watched, supervised, regulated and controlled by the State, just in proportion as its capacity for abuses grows. It is not unnatural

that America created corporations more rapidly than she developed systems for their supervision and control. The task of developing our country was so urgent and so vast, our people were so impatient for new railroads and factories, banks and stores, that they clamored for legislatures and Congress to hurry with the grant of franchises in order that the development of American business might be rushed. No just person need wonder that railroads were built and allowed to grow to vast proportions before it was seen that they needed stringent regulation and Governmental control. No one need wonder that vast commercial combinations, such as we are accustomed to call by the name of "trusts," sprang into being, secured capital in quantities hardly dreamed of before, and, entering regions with scarcely an inhabitant, in a few years built great manufacturing cities with all the appliances of modern city life, nor that the enormous power which they thus secured over the lives of men was left, at first, unregulated, unsupervised, uncontrolled. That such power was open to abuse and was abused, in many instances, is too plain for argument.

It is not within our scope to discuss the details of corporate supervision by Government. In fact, it is a comparatively new branch of Government. It requires experts of the highest ability to work out

scientific supervision of corporations, so that they may benefit the community as they were designed to do without being led into abuses, as they have at times been. Many laws of great value have already found their way to our statute books on this subject. We need only mention the Interstate Commerce Law, designed to regulate railroad rates and prevent discrimination, the Federal Reserve Law, for the better supervision and regulation of banks, laws to prevent child labor, and laws to secure sanitary practises in packing houses. None of these laws is perfect. In fact, the whole field of legislation is new. It requires time, thought, experience, patience and skill of the highest order to perfect them. It is enough to point out that this great work is now recognized as one of the important branches of Government, just as, long ago, it was recognized that the organization of courts of justice, juries, and the whole apparatus of civil and criminal law formed one of the great and difficult tasks of Government.

#### PREJUDICE AGAINST CORPORATIONS

To sum up what ought to be the voter's attitude of mind toward the corporation problem, we think he should divest himself of prejudice against the corporation, as such, and direct his attention toward its abuses. He should realize that corporate regu-

lation is an expert and technical field for legislation, as yet comparatively new, which demands all the intelligence, honesty and patriotism of which the American people are capable. The control and regulation of corporations must not be such as to cripple them. They must be made attractive to investors, since the community will itself suffer, if capital be driven or frightened away from useful and necessary corporate investments. Yet they must not be permitted to exercise monopoly powers to the injury of the farmer, the cattle raiser, or other producers of raw materials of which great corporations may become almost the only purchasers. They must feel the strong hand of Government extended in friendly sympathy for their protection and encouragement, so long as they do good to the community and general public, but quick to punish injustice, fraud and oppression. At every step the corporation must feel that the power of Government is above it and superior to it. Corporations must never be permitted to control our Government. Government must always effectively control corporations.

#### LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

The organization of capital, by which its control was consolidated in corporations, was accompanied by the organization of labor into bodies of



workmen, formed for the protection of their interests and assertion of their rights. The labor organization was not only natural, even inevitable, but it was in a very high degree beneficial to working men, and through them to the general public. No survey of labor legislation, and of the improvement in the wages, hours and general conditions of labor, which has taken place in America since the Civil War, can fail to recognize the advantages and benefits of trade unions.

The trade union has, however, a marked difference from the corporation, because it has grown up by the voluntary association of workers with one another. The trade union, as a rule, is not incorporated, not governed by any statute, pursuant to which it has been formed. Nevertheless, these extra-legal organizations have grown to gigantic proportions in many industries. They have, in important instances, managed to get all or nearly all workers, in particular classes of labor, to join the union. These organizations have a membership extending from ocean to ocean. With this large membership they have managed to secure a high degree of discipline, and a singular submission of the rank and file to the policy and orders of the leaders.

## TRADE UNIONS VERSUS I. W. W.

The trade union has been organized distinctly as a trade body, and not as an organization of all workers of every kind employed in any branch of industry. Thus, railroad men are organized into many unions, of which the leading ones are the conductors, the engineers, the firemen and the trainmen. In this respect the Industrial Workers of the World, popularly called the I. W. W., have an entirely different method of organization. They reject the idea of unionizing the particular craft, and attempt to combine all classes of workers engaged in a branch of industry into a single organization, this being in direct opposition to the trade-union idea. The I. W. W. method necessarily tends more to the equalization of wages, as by mere numbers the unskilled or slightly skilled workers are able to out-vote the small number of the highly skilled and, therefore, to deprive the latter of a part, if not all, of their advantage as skilled workmen.

## ABUSES OF UNIONS

The fact that the trade union is not an incorporated body is a public disadvantage, because the contracts of the union are not enforceable, and the union funds, which often amount to many millions of dollars, are not available for judgments of dam-

ages, where union contracts are broken. Some of the soundest thinkers of our day favor the incorporation of trade unions under laws framed for the purpose. Such a step would give labor leaders better control of their organizations, and would probably tend to favor the election of able and conservative men to office. One of the chief dangers of trade unions in the past has been the growing tendency toward the selection of violent fighting men for leadership. The various candidates for office in the unions sometimes outbid one another, or try to do so, in the promises they make as to the increase of wages which they will secure if elected. This method of electioneering, by promising pecuniary advantage to their followers, is extremely dangerous, and contrary to the general welfare of the American people. Leaders, bound by such promises, if elected, often find themselves committed to make demands which can not be justified, either on economic or moral grounds, and can in fact have no hope of success, except through coercive strikes, and even through violence.

#### THE EMPLOYERS' SIDE

When impossible demands, or at least unjustifiable ones, are made by a union, and supported by a strike, the employer naturally seeks to protect

himself, his business and his property, by engaging other workmen to take the places of those on strike. In many instances he would be quite able to do so, except for the violent interference with, and intimidation of, new employees by the strikers or their sympathizers. Such interference with the employer's rights is intolerable from the point of view of law, order and the public welfare. A sound public opinion ought never to tolerate violence, threats, or intimidation of workmen who desire to take places left vacant by strikers. If the American Government can not make good this position, and protect non-union laborers willing to take the place of strikers, it can not survive.

#### THE EMPLOYEES' SIDE

Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that employers can hope to receive the support of public opinion, unless their own conduct toward their employees has been just and fair. The employer must be able to show that his wages are just, and, by that, we mean the highest wages possible to be paid, under the conditions of the particular business, and consistent with the profitable and successful conduct of the business. Hours of labor must likewise be reasonable; and the conditions of the worker, with regard to health, safety, convenience and comfort

ought to be the best possible. In such circumstances, where the employer is able to show a clean record on his own part, he is entitled to the support of good men and women, through their contributions to a favorable public opinion. If the employer falls short of these exacting requirements, he will not be supported by the public, and he ought not to be.

#### ARBITRATION OF LABOR DISPUTES

It may often be true that fair-minded employers and fair-minded union leaders, with the best intentions in the world, are unable to agree. Under such circumstances, arbitration by disinterested tribunals is the best known method by which just settlements may be attained. Public opinion should support demands for arbitration, where employer and employee are unable to agree. Even where arbitration has been agreed to by both sides, and after full investigation a decision has been rendered by the arbitrators, it often happens that the union fails to carry out the terms of the agreement. Sometimes the leaders of the union are at fault, but more often the men themselves break away from their leaders and get out of hand. It seems plain that the whole standard and reputation of the unions would be raised if this evil could be done away with by establishing legal methods for the enforcement

of awards of arbitrators. Awards thus made, after voluntary submission of both sides to the arbitration, are, in effect, contracts between the two parties and should be enforceable at law, equally against both sides. Employers indeed are easily reached by the law, if at fault, as they sometimes are, but the enforcement of contracts and awards against labor unions is a serious problem which requires a just and intelligent solution by the American people.

#### ARBITRATION NOT ALWAYS APPLICABLE

A more difficult, and as yet unsolved, problem is the question, are all disputes between employer and employee such as to be suitable for arbitration, and should sound public opinion insist upon arbitration in all such matters? An illustration of this problem occurs where an employer has a non-union or open shop, and his men demand the right to organize and join the general union of their trade. Trade-union leaders insist that this is a fit subject for arbitration, where an agreement can not be reached otherwise. Employers take the ground that the recognition of the union is a fundamental question to be decided by the employer, and that the question of open or closed shop can never be submitted to arbitration. There is much force in this view, in respect to businesses of a character which

do not affect the public interest in any marked degree. It is hard to see why the owner of a foundry or a furniture factory should not be entitled to run his business with an open shop, if he desires. He can quit business if he wants to, and no way exists by which he could be compelled to recognize the union and go on with his business.

On the other hand, an illustration of an employee's right, which ought not to be questioned under any circumstances, and therefore appears to be unsuitable for arbitration, is the right of the employees to bargain collectively with their employer, and for this purpose to organize in their own shop, and select qualified representatives to present their side of the case to the employer. This is indeed very different from unionizing the shop, which involves joining the general union of the trade and exposing the shop to the invasion of agitators from other places. Employers may, now and then, deny the right of collective bargaining by shop organizations, but in doing so they are opposing the best thought and most expert judgment of our time and our country.

#### EMPLOYEES IN PUBLIC AND QUASI-PUBLIC BUSINESS

A broad distinction ought to be made between the relations of labor to ordinary private employers,

and those which employees sustain to their employers, when the business is that of the Government, or serves to perform an important function of Government. It must be evident to every fair-minded person that soldiers, in the service of the Government, have not the right to strike. Such an act would be insubordination and would be followed by severe punishment. Desertion in the presence of the enemy might be followed by death at the hands of a firing squad. This results from the essential nature of the employment. Authority is the very essence of Government, and the right to resist it would be the right to destroy Government itself. So, also, policemen and firemen, when they engage in such important public service, ought to be considered as having waived the right to strike.

This question arose in Boston, in 1919, where the police formed a union and, in defiance of the rule of the department, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Certain members of the force were discharged for violation of this rule, whereupon the entire force of police quit. The result was a day and a night in which the city of Boston became the prey of its criminal classes. Governor Coolidge saw the point involved clearly and defined it, when he said that "the act of the police force was not an ordinary labor strike, but a



desertion." His firm stand in using troops to maintain order while he organized a new police force to replace the deserters, was followed in many places by a prompt surrender by firemen and policemen of union charters, which they had obtained.

It seems equally plain that postal employees ought to be regarded in the same light as soldiers, policemen and firemen, for the reason that the public interest and the proper performance of Government functions could not endure to have the mail service interrupted by a strike.

These observations involve one other point of great importance, which is, that means must be provided by which grievances can be presented and receive fair consideration. To fail to make such a provision would be inexcusable. However, the cases of trouble with soldiers and sailors of the United States Government have rarely occurred, and have never taken the form of strikes, or organized rebellion. Police and firemen have only recently shown such a tendency, and postal strikes are unknown in this country.

#### RAILROAD EMPLOYEES

Much more serious is the labor question, in the case of railroads. Railroad corporations have long been recognized by the courts as having a public or

quasi-public character. They are said "to be affected with a public interest." In a sense, they perform a function of Government, even though operated by private companies. Their duties are prescribed by law, and their rates to the public are fixed by the Government. If private capital did not supply adequate railroads, the Government would have to go into the railroad business itself. The interruption of railroad service, for only a few days, would result in incalculable suffering. The health, comfort and even the lives of our people would be endangered. It is plain that the interruption of railroad service, by strikes, would be intolerable, and the assertion of such a right on the part of railroad employees is inconsistent with the authority of Government and the general welfare of the American people.

#### OTHER PUBLIC UTILITIES

There are many other public services in which strikes appear to be equally inadmissible. City people are dependent on street-cars, electric lighting facilities, telephones and water supply to such an extent that their interruption means unspeakable hardships and danger to the whole population. Telegraph lines belong to the same category, and so do steamship lines. Public docks also play an important part in transportation, as do the various

kinds of vehicle transport in our cities. Strikes in any of these occupations are intolerable.

#### COAL MINING

It is plain that the list of industries, "which are affected with a public interest" can never be definitely closed. As our people have more experience with this wonderful and complicated way of living called modern civilization, it will, from time to time, be necessary to add to the list. Coal mining is an industry which we all see is so essential to public health and life, as well as to general business, that its interruption generally is scarcely less intolerable than a railroad strike. Hence, it seems essential that we all come to realize the necessity either of compulsory arbitration, or some other means, if any can be found, to secure the prompt and regular supply of coal to all parts of the country. Means must be found for the prevention of strikes in this business, and, to this end, employees, employers and the general public must cooperate with willing and intensive application of intelligence to the problem, until it is solved.

#### THE LATEST PROBLEM

A few years ago it would have been thought that if employers and employees could come to an agreement with each other, nothing more could

have been asked or desired. It was supposed that the employer's interest would suffice to keep down wages, so as to supply the public with his commodity at reasonable prices. We now see that this is not true. In such a necessary industry as coal mining, it has lately been realized that when employer and employee agree, the public is not necessarily protected. The people must have the coal. Mine owners are in a position where they do not have to resist wage demands. It costs the employer nothing to raise wages if he can raise the price that he charges the public. Such a threat to the general welfare of our people can only be met by the Government itself.

#### THE LATEST SOLUTIONS

I. The latest proposed solutions for the labor problem are to be found in the *Report of Industrial Conference* made March 6, 1920. Mr. Hoover and many distinguished men were members of the commission. The report declares that the right relationship between employer and employee requires the organization of that relationship, beginning within the plant. Unity of interest and organized cooperation would have the advantage of the human relationship which formerly existed when industries were smaller. Such organization is not to be a

matter of law, but of free business effort, by every employer. If disputes are not settled in a shop the parties may have recourse to a regional board, of which four members are chosen by each of the parties, and the ninth member, who presides, is a Governmental official. Failure of the regional conference to agree, gives a right of appeal to a national board. If the parties do not agree to submit the dispute to the regional board, the Government will organize a regional board of inquiry, with power to investigate and publish a report.

II. In the *American Economic Review*, of March, 1920, is an article on "The Nature of Our Economic Problem," by H. B. Gardner, which is recommended to the reader. Its view is that labor is not organized for cooperation with the employer, in increase of product, but for improvement of its own condition. The suggestion is made that laborers must be given a voice and responsibility in management, and a hope of reward for successful effort. The laborer must have a sense of responsibility for, and interest in, the establishment in which he works. He must be educated to realize that only through cooperation with the employer, in increase of production, can labor acquire its maximum earning power; that an advantage obtained by a special group, in higher wages and decreased production

per man, and the spreading out of work, is obtained at the expense of the rest of the community, and is negatived by like success of other groups.

This writer also declares that employers can not be expected to give up the management, but they must learn that there is no such thing as private industry; that employers represent the nation, and their tenure depends upon their ability to organize effectively the nation's productive resources, and maintain harmonious relations with labor. Mr. Gardner believes that this can be obtained through knowledge of the facts involved and the dominance of the spirit of reason and far-sightedness.

III. 'As a result of the miners' strike in the latter part of 1919, people of Kansas were subjected to great suffering from lack of fuel. A special meeting of the legislature was called by Governor Henry J. Allen. A law was passed creating a Court of Industrial Relations, with power to compel submission of the dispute between mine operators and their employees, and prohibiting strikes, for a limited period of time, until a hearing and decision by this court could be had. The results will be followed with interest by all students of the question. At a meeting of a branch of the American Federation of Labor, the whole experiment was recently condemned.

IV. The Act of Congress, covering the whole question of American railroads, passed near the end of February, 1920, contains provision for voluntary boards of adjustment of disputes, between employers and employees. The final decision on questions relating to wages is vested in a national body of nine members, appointed by the president. Three are to be employers, three employees, and three to represent the public. A majority is required for decision, one of whom must be from the group of public representatives. The only thing relied on, to enforce decisions, is public opinion.

#### CONCLUSION

These tremendously important and even dangerous problems confront the American people, and indeed the whole world, demanding solution, if we are to continue to exist as civilized men and women. The ancient legend of the Egyptian Sphinx was to the effect that each traveler who passed was required to read her riddle, and, failing, was instantly devoured. Surely the labor question, in the aspects which we have been considering, is the riddle of the American Sphinx, which we must solve or be destroyed.

## CHAPTER XII

### MONEY, DEPOSITS, PRICES AND PROSPERITY

**S**OME of the most exciting political questions which have arisen in America relate to money. In the primitive condition of men there was at first no money. They exchanged things with one another. He who had more wheat than he could use bartered it to him who had more wool or hides than he needed. Such exchange still takes place somewhat, but long ago money transactions were adopted as the most convenient form for business. A producer, instead of hunting for a man who needs wheat and also has a surplus of wool, sells his wheat to whoever will pay money for it, and with the money buys wool of whoever has wool to sell.

Money at first consisted of any articles which were universally used and desired, such as skins or wampum. It has been found that gold and silver have no rivals, in suitability, for use as money. Their scarcity, desirability, uniform quality, and extensive use in the arts, are among the reasons why gold and silver have crowded out every other form of real money, excepting a small amount of copper.



## CHANGING VALUES OF MONEY

Money has two uses, first as a medium of exchange, and second as a measure or standard of value. In its use as a measure of value, it is most important that money itself, which is the measure of all values, should remain stable. Often a long time elapses between making a contract and its fulfilment. A bond may run many years. A building contract may require several years. A merchant requires at least a part of the year to sell the goods which he had earlier bought. Confusion, uncertainty and risk of loss, with a general injury to business, would result from any considerable change in the value of money between the time of making a contract and its fulfilment.

Gold and silver change less than other things; but they do change, and at times with great rapidity. The discovery of new gold mines, at different times during the nineteenth century, together with revolutions in the art of mining, through chemical discoveries and mechanical improvements, all tended enormously to increase the supply of gold and silver. So great was the increase that the value of money underwent serious changes downward. A gold or silver dollar became cheaper, that is, would buy a smaller amount of necessities. Under such circumstances people are apt to think that the prices of

wheat and leather have gone up, when the truth is that the value of the dollar has gone down.

Nevertheless, in spite of these deficiencies in gold and silver they remain the best substances for money of which the world has knowledge.

The fact that the two metals have been used side by side as money gave rise to further complications. For a long time one gold dollar equaled fifteen silver dollars, but the silver supply increased until it took fifteen and a half, and later sixteen, silver dollars to buy a gold dollar. Finally the difference became much greater. To remedy this inconvenience, steps were taken, by passing laws, to abolish the use of silver as money except for small change. This was done by stopping the coinage of silver at the Government mints. Silver fell to still lower values, and ceased to be used as legal tender for more than five dollars.

#### THE SILVER QUESTION

The disuse of silver as money in all modern countries had the salutary effect of establishing a single gold standard for all values. It had been observed by economists that where two standards of value existed in a country, one silver and the other gold, the more valuable, which was gold, was sent to other countries, because there a gold dollar would buy more than where it competed with the

cheaper silver dollar. When America became, in 1893, a single gold standard country, a complaint arose to the effect that the whole scheme of abolishing the silver standard was a conspiracy by the financiers. It was charged, in Mr. Bryan's free silver campaign in 1896, that the supply of gold was too small for us to get along without silver. He charged that financiers were trying to get the money owing them on outstanding bonds paid in gold, in order to get more valuable dollars from their debtors than those actually loaned when the contract was made. The country, fortunately, decided against Mr. Bryan, partly on the ground that cheap money would quickly send up prices. All that the merchant, the manufacturer or the farmer would need to do, to offset the danger of cheap money, would be to raise his prices. On the other hand, wages would go up very slowly and would be paid in the cheaper money, if it should again become lawful to pay debts with either silver or gold. Probably more people were influenced by the moral consideration, that it would be wrong and dishonest to make old debts contracted on a gold basis payable in cheap silver money. Finally, business men saw that to have two kinds of money, gold and silver, would greatly increase fluctuations in the value of the dollar, and would injure business by increasing the risk of loss.

After the election of Mr. McKinley to the presidency in 1896, other things happened which proved the great advantage of the decision by the American people in favor of the single gold standard. Gold began to be produced in unparalleled quantities in Colorado, Alaska and South Africa. Indeed the flood of gold poured into America at such a rate as to cheapen the value of the metal, and, by raising prices, to create alarm lest the fall in gold value would cause extensive losses in business.

These events had the contradictory effects of vindicating Bryan's position when he held that the value of money decreased as the quantity increased, or, in other words, that abundant money raises prices, while scarcity of money causes prices to fall. On the other hand, the flood of gold showed that Mr. Bryan was wrong in believing that the gold supply was too small for the world's business and that, in abolishing silver money, we had increased the fortunes of financiers at the expense of the general public. At any rate, free silver disappeared permanently from American politics, and is now advocated by no one of importance.

#### PAPER MONEY

Serious as are the fluctuations in metal money, they are nothing when compared with those of paper

money issues. After all, the quantity of gold which is mined in a year has its limits, and as the gold supply becomes too abundant, its value falls, gold mining becomes less profitable, and the supply of new metal is checked. Not so with paper money. There is no limit to the amount which Government printing presses can turn out. A great enlargement of the supply of paper money, like an increase in the supply of gold, tends to raise prices of commodities, or, as it is described with equal correctness, to cheapen the value of money. In the French Revolution, in the American Revolution, in the Southern States during the American Civil War, and in Russia under Bolshevik rule, paper money was issued in such quantities that it became practically worthless. In the days of our Revolution the paper money of the republic was known as Continental money. Its abundance made it worthless, and hence the well-known expression "not worth a Continental."

Governments are always in need of money, and always find new taxes unpopular. They are, therefore, always under the temptation to fill the treasury by printing paper money and forcing its acceptance by the people.

In order to make the issue of paper money safe, it has been found that it must be convertible into gold money, which the Government promises to pay on

demand. As long as the Government can make this promise good, gold dollars and paper dollars are of equal value. The country is said to be on a gold basis. The gold reserve, which is necessary to sustain the value of paper money, does not need to be as great as the amount of outstanding paper, since only small amounts of paper would probably be presented for exchange into gold. It seems that a gold reserve of thirty-five or forty per cent. would be a safe proportion. This, in a well managed Government, prescribes a limit to the amount of paper money which can be safely issued.

#### WAR ISSUES OF PAPER MONEY

In war times the amount of money which a Government must have quickly is so great that recourse is often had to paper money issues. This was true in America during the Civil War, and in Europe and America during the World War. In the United States, which did not enter the World War until 1917, there was a great increase in the gold supply which had been drawn from Europe. This gold supply provided a greatly enlarged basis for an increased volume of paper money; but the new gold, as well as the new paper money, tended to raise prices, that is, to increase the cost of living. The total volume of all kinds of money increased during

the war so that there was nearly twice as much in circulation, for each man, woman and child, as there had been a number of years ago. The cost of living also increased, in much the same ratio. The increased cost of living, arising in part from an increased volume of paper money, is itself one of the necessary derangements of life following a great war. Such a state of affairs is unhealthy. It is abnormal and is apt, if not corrected, to produce such inflation of prices and credits as will, in turn, be followed by panic, business depression and unemployment.

It may be said that large issues of paper money in war time are a necessary evil, but it is equally true that a wise Government will make it an object to deflate the currency and bring prices and business back to normal. After the Civil War, a period of high prices and inflation of the currency was followed by the memorable panic of 1873 and a period of hard times and unemployment, which lasted until 1879. During that time the Government made a successful effort to contract the currency, to make paper dollars still outstanding "as good as gold." This sound policy was attacked by the so-called "green-back" party and by many Democrats. John Sherman, author of the policy, was bitterly assailed. The charge generally made was, that he was trying to make the

volume of money less, in order to make the remainder more valuable. This charge was true. What was not true, in the attacks of paper-money advocates, was that such a policy was not for the good of the country. Fortunately, enough wisdom and coolness existed in the minds of most American voters to support the policy of Sherman and the Republican party. In 1879 paper money, still outstanding, was worth as much as gold, dollar for dollar. Prices and industry became normal. Prosperity once more returned. With the exception of the Free Silver Campaign of 1896, currency questions have not since become political issues.

All of this experience with inflated currency shows how important it is for voters to support the Government in restoring the volume of money to normal, and in maintaining the gold standard; thus recovering as rapidly as possible from some of the evil consequences of war. There must be deflation. There must be contraction of currency. In illness, after a fierce fever, the patient must be brought back to normal health, by patience, care and severe self-denial. The experience which America has had in the double standard of gold and silver, as well as in issuing paper money, leaves no intelligent voter with any excuse for opposing such a policy, provided it be carried out with prudence.



## DEPOSITS BASED ON BORROWING

There is another kind of inflation, quite as serious as inflation of the currency, producing the same results in the way of high prices. It is the inflation of credit, by Government Act. It occurs in war time, and results from the Government's need for a great and sudden increase of its purchasing power. Camps need to be fitted up, uniforms bought, munitions of every sort are required for the army. War-ships, submarines, air-ships, all are needed. Nay, they must be had quickly, in vast quantities. Ambulances, surgical supplies and food, in shape to be transported, must be forthcoming. Soldiers must be paid, and experts must experiment in order to produce new inventions for use in war. To accomplish all this, the Government calls on citizens to purchase bonds in enormous quantities. The people have not the ready means to pay for the bonds, so they buy them on credit, which the Government requires the banks to furnish.

When a bond purchaser gives his note to the bank for ten thousand dollars of Government bonds, he thereby lends his credit, to that extent, to the Government. The Government at once receives credit, on its account with the bank, for ten thousand dollars. This deposit does not represent any money

paid into the bank, but consists only of a loan, of ten thousand dollars of credit by the bond purchaser to the Government. This transaction, repeated and multiplied millions of times, results in a fictitious increase or inflation of bank deposits. Banks, in war time, rapidly grow to several times their normal size. A bank which before the war had ten million dollars assets, may grow to have thirty or forty millions of assets. Yet no new wealth has been produced.

#### EFFECT OF INFLATED CREDIT

The effect of such an increase of deposits, by giving credit to the Government, is to give the Government a vast and sudden increase of purchasing power. Checks are drawn against these deposits to pay the Government expenses. Business men who sell supplies to the Government, soldiers, sailors and workmen, are all paid by checking upon these Government deposits. They, in turn, receive an increase of purchasing power, which they pass on to others, from whom they purchase labor or supplies.

So it will be seen that increased deposits mean inflated credit, which at first gives more purchasing power to the Government, but later is passed on to the whole people. With such an increase of purchasing power, based on credit, prices naturally rise under the pressure of increased demand.

## RETURN TO NORMAL BY PAYING DEBTS

All this is abnormal, and there is only one way, short of panic, hard times, business depression and unemployment, to return to normal prices and healthy business conditions. That way is, to extinguish the volume of fictitious credit by payment of debts. Government and individuals must, by economy and thrift, pay off their indebtedness until it has become normal. Payment must be made, not by new borrowing, but by producing new wealth and applying it to the reduction of debt. The greater and more rapid the production of new wealth, the sooner will come normal business conditions. Every voter ought, therefore, to advocate such a policy. If it is not followed, there is sure to come, sooner or later, terrible business depression. "Produce, economize, and pay your debts" should be the rule of the Government, and of private citizens, until normal prices and normal business conditions return.

The kind of deposits of which we have been speaking are based on credit, and are entirely unlike that other kind of deposits which consist of savings, paid into the bank. Savings deposits do not cause inflation. They cure it, because they furnish a volume of saved wealth, with which debts can be paid and inflated credit deposits reduced.

## PRICES AND PROSPERITY

We have seen how inflation of the volume of money and of deposits, based not on savings but on indebtedness, quickly increases the purchasing power of the Government, and a little later the purchasing power of the whole people. We know that this increased purchasing power, based on borrowing credit by the Government, rapidly increases the cost of living, by raising the prices of necessities and of the enjoyable comforts of life. Such a fact is apt to be considered by persons who are interested in keeping up prices as an argument for increased inflation, and against the sound and reasonable policy of deflation, whether of money or deposits. Terrific political agitation has, again and again, been stirred up in this country, upon this question, by agitators, demagogues, and, most of all, by honest, well-meaning persons, who do not understand that sound business principles are natural laws, which must be obeyed if we want prosperity instead of disaster. Such people say that rising prices mean prosperity and falling prices mean disaster. They therefore urge continued inflation, because, they say, this will keep prices up and insure prosperity.

The fallacy ought to be denied by every intelligent citizen. History shows that it is false, and the science of economics shows why it is dangerous.

## WHAT IS REAL PROSPERITY?

The question is, what is real prosperity as distinguished from prosperity which is unreal and fictitious? Real prosperity may be defined as that condition of business in which there is an abundance of employment at good wages for every one, and an abundant supply of necessities and enjoyable comforts at reasonable prices. At the present writing, February, 1920, we have not real prosperity. It is true there is a tremendous demand for labor, but there is a scarcity of the things which we need to buy. Profits are excessive. The way out of such a condition, whenever it occurs, is not merely by threatening business men with punishment, but by economy, restriction of demand, hard work, and more of it, in mine and factory, on the farm and cattle ranch, thereby increasing the supply of things which we need. This will cause prices to fall. It will reduce profits, but profits ought not to be reduced so low as to drive men out of business. There must be a reasonable profit for farmers, manufacturers and merchants, in order to stimulate their efforts to supply the people with what they need.

Whether prices go back to the old standards, will depend on whether wages go back to old standards. Experience shows that for the last hundred years,

wages have gone up, as a rule. When they fall back, they lose only a little of what has been gained. Wages, therefore, will not likely fall to the standards existing before the war. Under our system of private capital and private industry, we know that wages can gradually rise, without hurting business. Invention and improved business methods supply the means for increasing wages.

#### CAN HARD TIMES AFTER WAR BE AVOIDED?

When, therefore, the question of inflation or deflation, is raised, after such a period of Government borrowing as that in our Civil War, or during the World War, every intelligent voter should know that real prosperity alone can last any length of time. Fictitious prosperity never lasts long. It should come to an end by increased work and frugality, payment of debts, and cutting Government expenses. If we continue extravagance, borrowing and reduced production, the result must be bankruptcy. General bankruptcy means panic, business depression, unemployment, loss of confidence and credit. These terrible things are what is meant by the phrase "hard times."

## CHAPTER XIII

### AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND PREPAREDNESS

**B**EFORE the World War, America was guided in her relations with foreign Governments by very few and very simple principles. The first, originating in the advice of George Washington, was the avoidance of participation in European quarrels, of violent likes and dislikes for other nations, and of permanent or entangling alliances. Our second principle was the Monroe Doctrine, derivative from the first. Since we were not to interfere in the affairs of Europe, no European nation should extend its control of any part of North or South America. A third principle, originating with John Hay, was that of "the open door," or the territorial integrity of China. The Treaty of Versailles, to which President Wilson assented, probably would have amounted to our abandonment of this policy, as, under it, Shantung passed to Japan.

A fourth position assumed by America, from the War of 1812 to the present, was the freedom of the seas for neutral ships, crews, passengers and cargoes. Finally, it has uniformly been American policy to promote peace, as far as possible, in every part of the world. Pursuant to this policy, America

has led the way in advocating the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and has set an example by frequently submitting the gravest controversies with foreign Governments to the decision of arbitral tribunals.

These policies have served from the War of 1812 to the World War, which we entered in 1917, to keep America at peace with every European power, except in the case of the Spanish War in 1898. Such a record has not been equaled by any other nation in modern times. We are a pacific people. We hate aggression, and we dread war. Washington's advice, the Monroe Doctrine, in short, all of our policies, have been directed to the one end of securing peace with honor.

#### NON-INTERFERENCE IN EUROPEAN QUARRELS

There have been many times when excuse was not lacking for America's entrance into European wars. In 1866, when Prussia declared war on Austria, we had a very recent and serious grievance against Austria, and might have taken sides with Prussia. During our Civil War the Austrian Archduke, Maximilian, of the House of Hapsburg, gave his support to the French invasion of Mexico, and accepted an offer to become emperor of that country. We were in no position to resist this violation



of the Monroe Doctrine, and had a just grievance against Austria. Yet, in the war with Prussia, we remained neutral, and even permitted the export of munitions to Austria.

In 1870, when France under Louis Napoleon engaged in war with Germany, we might easily have made the French invasion of Mexico a ground for assisting Prussia, but, again, we remained neutral. During the Boer War, in 1899, the sympathies of our people were with the Boers. Yet there was no thought that we would take part in that war against Great Britain.

#### EXCLUSION OF EUROPE FROM AMERICAN QUARRELS

On many occasions, European powers have had excuses to take sides in American difficulties. During our Civil War, Great Britain was solicited by the Southern Confederacy for help against the North. The circumstances were extremely aggravating to the British. The blockade of southern ports deprived England of her regular supply of raw cotton. This scarcity wrought havoc among her people, and in her trade. Cotton spinners in Lancashire were thrown out of work, in vast numbers, for a long time. Economic and political disturbances of the first magnitude threatened the British Crown.

England went so far as to permit the Southern States to procure one or more warships to be fitted out in British ports. The situation was critical and gave Lincoln the keenest anxiety. In the end, Great Britain was prevailed on to cease her unneutral practises, and to keep out of the conflict. England's interference, in support of the Southern States, would almost certainly have destroyed the Union.

#### INSTANCES OF ARBITRATION

Our pacific policy of submitting disputes to disinterested arbitration tribunals has, again and again, served to keep us out of war, while preserving American honor. Two instances may be cited. The destruction of property of northern citizens by the warship, *Alabama*, fitted out in England, for the South, during our Civil War, gave rise to what were known as the "Alabama Claims." By agreement with Great Britain, these were submitted to an arbitral tribunal at Geneva, and a moderate judgment rendered in favor of the United States.

During Cleveland's second administration, a dispute arose between Great Britain and Venezuela, as to the true boundary between the last named country and adjoining British territory. President Cleveland, in his famous Venezuelan message, reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine, that European control could not be extended over American territory. The dis-

pute was referred to an arbitration tribunal, which met at Paris in 1899, and decided the case for the most part in favor of Great Britain.

#### FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

Another question which has brought us into collision with European powers, relates to the rights of neutral ships, crews, passengers and cargo, in time of war between foreign powers. During the wars between France, under Napoleon, and Great Britain, the rights which we asserted by virtue of our neutrality were ruthlessly violated by the British and the French. Unfortunately, the dispute involved us in the War of 1812; the wrong side of the war, that of France, being the one which we chose. The fall of Napoleon in 1814, brought the war to an end, but the question of the freedom of the seas to neutrals was not determined. The American Government still adheres to the old doctrine, although it is not accepted by Great Britain. In fact, the destruction of American life and property on the sea by German submarines involved a similar question in 1917, when we entered the World War.

#### IMMIGRATION QUESTION

The advantages of American institutions, unequaled wages for labor, freedom from war,

as compared with other countries, have all made America the land of desire for other peoples. Immigrants in vast numbers have been admitted freely to our shores. This has given rise to many intricate complications.

On the Pacific coast, it early became plain that Chinese immigration amounted to an invasion. American labor could not compete with the low wages and low living standards of the Chinese. Furthermore, China could spare enough people out of her four hundred millions to swamp us. The same thing was true, in less degree, of the Japanese, the Hindus and other yellow-skinned Asiatics. These facts led to the exclusion laws of the United States, restricting Asiatic immigration.

Nevertheless, some Chinese and Japanese have been admitted, under the provisions of our laws. They are few in number, but have raised perplexing problems in California and elsewhere. Should Japanese children be entitled to admission to California schools? Might California exclude Japanese from the privilege of owning or leasing land, while granting such a right to foreigners from nearly every other country in the world?

The Japanese are a proud, intelligent, brave and ambitious people, combative, and influenced by an intense national pride. It would seem that some

way should be found for Japanese, and other foreigners, to have the same legal status as to property rights in California. It is quite common for Eastern States to prohibit all aliens from becoming land-owners or lessees.

Not infrequently, race prejudice has brought on public disorder, resulting in injury to foreigners. In such cases our Government has found it wise to pay damages, rather than leave grievances to accumulate. This was done in numerous cases of injuries to Chinese on the Pacific coast. It was also done in the case of the death of Italians at the hands of a New Orleans mob in 1890.

These facts emphasize the importance of America keeping out of quarrels, between foreign countries, as far as possible. The presence of great numbers of immigrants, and children and grandchildren of immigrants, in this country, makes it only too probable that when we take sides in foreign quarrels the nationals of those countries, and their descendants, will themselves be tempted to conflict, within our own borders, upon questions wholly foreign to America.

#### MEXICAN QUESTION

Mexico, our nearest neighbor on the south, populated by a people partly descended from the origi-

nal Indians, and partly by descendants of the Spanish Conquerors, has long been a source of trouble and anxiety. In 1835, that part of northern Mexico which now comprises our state of Texas, rebelled against the Mexican Government. In 1836, the rebellion resulted in the defeat of Mexico and the founding of an independent Government, in the revolted territory, known as the "Lone Star State." Nine years later, a treaty was negotiated for the consolidation of the "Lone Star State," with the United States. Mexico, in anticipation of such a union, took the position that it would constitute an act of war against her by the United States. This threat did not prevent the annexation of Texas. War resulted, commencing with Mexican border aggressions. Mexico was easily defeated, and her capital occupied by American troops. As a punishment for her course of action in provoking war, Mexico lost to the United States much territory, besides losing her claim to Texas. Territory now comprising California, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, with parts of Wyoming and Colorado, was thus acquired by the United States. Under the peace treaty Mexico received fifteen million dollars and was released from three million dollars of American claims.

The slavery question was mixed up, in the

minds of the northern people, with the Mexican War. It was charged that the Democratic Party, itself dominated by the slave states, brought on the war of conquest, in order to extend slave territory. That the motive for extending slave territory was present can not be doubted. On the other hand, leaving slavery out of the question, it is hard to see any reason for Mexico's interfering with the annexation of Texas, considering that the territory had been independent and self-governing for nine years, and Mexico had practically ceased any energetic attempt to reconquer it. Furthermore, the transfer of the magnificent region, so lightly populated as the conquered territory was, from Mexico to the United States has been justified as a benefit to the whole world. Not until the World War, and then by Germany, was it ever suggested that Mexico had any moral or political right to reconquer her lost territory. The taking of territory, as a punishment for international crimes and the commission of acts of war, is often the only way, and the best way to discourage a repetition of such offenses.

#### FURTHER COMPLICATIONS WITH MEXICO

After many years of bloodshed and violent disorder, Mexico, in 1877, under the great Diaz, secured a settled Government, which lasted until

Diaz was driven from power in 1911. During that time, Mexico invited American capitalists and other citizens to enter Mexico and aid in the development of her marvelous natural resources. These invitations were accepted. American capital was invested in Mexican mineral lands, oil lands, railroads, fruit ranches, banks, cotton mills and other factories. It was natural and necessary that Americans should enter Mexico to carry on these undertakings, and remain in charge of them. Indeed, without American support and supervision, such assistance as Mexico needed could not have been obtained.

With the fall of Diaz, in 1911, dangerous elements in Mexico came into prominence. A period of disorder began, which was largely directed against American property and American lives. This state of affairs still continues at the present time.

#### WATCHFUL WAITING

The general policy, under the latter portion of Taft's administration, and throughout that of Woodrow Wilson, may be aptly described in President Wilson's own words as "Watchful Waiting." Two sorts of opinion exist in this country on this perplexing question. The Wilson view is that Mexico must be allowed to work out her own political destiny. If she prefers blood and disorder, it is



not the duty of America to intervene in internal Mexican affairs for the purpose of establishing, by force, a régime of law, order and general security. Those who hold this view are apt to say that Americans went into Mexico at their own risk. They went to make money and took their chances. They can not now look to our Government to support them by force, so as to make their lives and their property secure.

The other view is, that Americans went into Mexico, not merely for profit but upon the invitation of the Mexican Government, which desired the development of Mexican resources for the good of her own people, pursuant to the laws of that country. It is no fault of Americans, if Mexico has become the scene of constant internal war. The American Government was founded to protect the life, liberty and property of its people, alike at home or abroad. It was well enough to give Mexico a reasonable time to work out her own internal problems, but the policy has been tried long enough. It gives no promise of better success in the future than in the past. The constant reports of the murder of Americans in Mexico, the destruction of American property, even the confiscation of it by the new Mexican Constitution, without compensation to the owners, are all violations of international right and

duty by the Government of Mexico. There is no reason why Americans should be worse treated in Mexico than the citizens of other countries, but it is claimed that it is so. Even Japanese receive quite different treatment, it is said, as do Germans, British, French and South Americans.

An eloquent pulpiteer recently declared that the Mexican question was almost wholly about oil lands, and he said, "I would not like to send my boy to Mexico to protect anybody's oil wells." The audience loudly applauded. This is one view. There is another. If American boys ought not to protect American oil wells in Mexico, ought they to protect American steel mills at Gary, or coal mines in Pennsylvania, or department stores in Boston? Should they have gone to Europe, to punish Germany for sinking American ships, and destroying the lives of American citizens on the high seas?

The Mexican question has many angles, is more or less mixed up with party politics, and the facts are by no means clear. It is said that the Mexicans themselves suffer from internal violence, quite as much as American citizens; that the controversy is really about a law question, as to whether the Mexican Government or the surface landowner is entitled to minerals beneath the surface. It is urged that any resolute attempt to protect Ameri-

can life and property in Mexico means war, and our people abhor the thought of it. Even successful war would not transform the Mexican character, and order could only be maintained by the permanent policing of the country by United States soldiers, a dreary and dangerous job. Individuals will honestly differ on this complicated question. To the author, it seems that a resolute and vigorous policy of protection to American rights will in the long run yield the better results.

#### THE CASE OF CUBA

Long after Mexico became independent of Spain, Cuba continued to remain under the control of the Spaniard. In other respects, the history of Cuba, down to 1898, resembled that of Mexico. Rebellion, bloodshed, disorder, destruction of property, terrible and cruel repressive campaigns of the Spaniards, constitute the story. Not only the interests of America, but of other countries having commercial relations with Cuba, suffered seriously. Much of the world's supply of sugar and tobacco came from Cuba, and this was subject to constant interruption. In February, 1898, the climax was reached, when the American battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana Harbor.

Three months later, the American Government

demanding that Spain abandon her control of Cuba, and retire from the Western Hemisphere. In the event of refusal, America would enforce her demand. A brief war ensued. The Spanish forces were soon defeated, and their navy sunk. Cuba became independent, except that we reserved the right to direct her foreign relations, and to assume temporary occupation of the country, whenever internal disorders made it advisable. Thereupon Cuba entered upon a period of peace and prosperity.

The intervention in Cuba rested largely upon the duty of neighborhood. It was urged that if a man hears of a crime being attempted in another part of the country, remote from him and his home, he can not be expected personally to interfere. If, however, he learns that in a neighboring house a drunken man is threatening to kill wife and children, it becomes his duty, at every peril to himself, to go to the help of the threatened family. Cuba was our next-door neighbor, and her people had long cried aloud to heaven for help to rid them of Spanish misrule.

#### THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION

Dewey's destruction of the Spanish fleet, in Manila Bay, made it necessary for American troops

to land in order to take possession and establish security among the inhabitants. This occupation became permanent, under the peace treaty with Spain. The Spanish rule of the native population was ended, and we succeeded to the task. Since that day the islands have enjoyed a degree of peace and prosperity previously unknown.

A question has been raised as to whether we should continue in control of the Filipinos or grant them independence. President Wilson's view is reported to be favorable to granting independence. The opposing view is based on the claim that the people, as a whole, are utterly unfit for self-government. It is said that they have neither the natural aptitude, nor the political training for such a task. Their weakness would make the islands an object for ambitious nations. Without the continuance of American protection, they would soon fall into disorder. Excuse for foreign intervention would rapidly follow and result in their acquisition by Japan, or some other ambitious Government.

#### THE WORLD WAR

In August, 1914, Germany and Austria-Hungary, making an excuse of the Servian question, and the murder of the Austrian crown prince, entered upon a war of aggression and conquest, in

which they were opposed by France, Russia, Great Britain, and later, by Italy and Roumania. Turkey and Bulgaria joined Germany. President Wilson announced the American policy to be one of neutrality, and from time to time stated publicly that the causes of the war were obscure and did not concern us. Belgium was overrun and seized by Germany, without any reason whatever, except that it gave access to the weakest frontier of France. Our policy of neutrality entitled our people to export supplies to and maintain communication with, all the warring powers. Command of the sea was obtained and kept by the British navy, making access to Germany impossible.

In May, 1915, the *Lusitania*, a British, unarmed, passenger ship sailing from New York to Liverpool, was torpedoed by a German submarine off the Irish coast and sunk. Hundreds of American passengers lost their lives in this disaster. The American Government made peremptory demands for assurance from Germany that the offense would not be repeated. Positive assurance was not given, but for a long time there was no further interference with ships engaged in ordinary commerce between New York and Liverpool. In the English Channel and elsewhere the Germans later renewed their submarine attacks, and other unarmed vessels, with

Americans on board, were sunk, causing further loss of American lives.

In February, 1917, Germany notified the American Government that only one American ship each week would be permitted each way between New York and Liverpool, and then only if painted in a prescribed manner, and sailed by a designated route.

#### AMERICA ENTERS THE WORLD WAR

America thereupon entered the war against Germany, in defense of her rights, and the rights of her citizens, to the use of the high seas. If Germany had not caused the death of American citizens, there is no reason to suppose we would have entered the war. We did not do so when Belgium was outraged, when France was invaded, nor when anything else happened, until our own rights were invaded. President Wilson was a pacific man. He had sought by every means to keep us out of war, and he was reelected president, in November, 1916, upon his record.

Many people seem to think that a defensive war is one which is in defense of our territory. They think there must be an invasion of territory, actual or threatened, before a case is made for defensive war. This is wholly fallacious. The invasion which defensive war is to resist and punish, is not an

invasion of territory. It is an invasion of rights. American rights can be invaded upon the high seas, and even in foreign territories, quite as much as on our own soil. Furthermore, let it be remembered that defensive war has two objects. Of these, the first is to stop the invasion of American rights; and the second is to prevent a repetition of the crime.

#### PREVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL CRIMES

What way has been found best for preventing crimes, by individual criminals? The answer is, arrest and punishment of the guilty person. We do not send a criminal to prison or to the electric chair for revenge, but for punishment. The object of punishment is not to get even with the criminal, but to prevent the commission of future crimes, by setting an example of what will follow. This is the simple essential truth which underlies the whole system of criminal law, courts, jails and executions. It does not entirely prevent crime, but, more than anything else, it is effective in reducing the number of crimes. The relations between nations are like those between individuals, in that international crime demands punishment of the guilty, not as a matter of revenge, but to prevent a repetition of the crime by the guilty nation, as well as to discourage similar crimes by other nations.



We entered the war in defense of American rights. We prosecuted it, in order to punish Germany, not for revenge, but to show Germany, and the whole world, what will follow if American rights are transgressed by criminal nations.

#### FOREIGN POLICY OF OTHER COUNTRIES

The brief statement which we have made of America's policy in critical times shows that it is very simple, and easily understood by our people and the whole world. It is not so with the foreign policy of any other Government. Every other great nation has a vast body of definite principles, which have been adopted through centuries of national existence, and which have definite aims and definite methods for their accomplishment in every part of the world. Many of these policies are secret, some are known. Many of them are legitimate, some are not. Thus, Great Britain has for centuries had for her policy, the acquisition of territory in nearly every part of the world. Look at a map with the British possessions marked in red. Read *The Expansion of England* by Seeley. These are enough to show that Britain did not come by her possessions by accident, but by design. This does not mean that England has engaged in wars of conquest, in recent times. It only means that, outside of Europe, her policy has been to

gain territory, whenever it could be done legitimately. So, too, England has a Mediterranean, a South African, and a North African policy, a Persian policy, and an Indian policy, a Far Eastern policy, and a Near Eastern policy, and so on, for every quarter of the globe. Germany too wove her web of intricate policies. Japan has hers. So it is with every other country.

These policies of other countries are practically continuous. Parties change, Governments rise and fall; even revolutions overturn the State, but the foreign policies are pursued continuously, whoever may be in power. A great many experts are trained from youth, in these various policies, in their development and their enforcement.

America is like a child among its experienced elders, when it comes to foreign affairs. Our ambassadors and ministers have no training for their positions. They get only the most superficial knowledge of the intricate dealings going on around them. Our State Department, according to Mr. Lansing, was the only one which was entirely uninformed as to the actual approach of war in 1914. To us, it came like a bombshell. These facts should be carefully considered by those who incline to favor American participation in all world problems.

## LESSONS OF THE WAR

It is too soon to read the story of America in the World War, so as to learn everything that it teaches. Yet some things stand out very clearly. We appear to have misled Germany into reliance upon such persistent pacifism among our people as to make it seem a moral certainty to her that we would not fight. We were utterly unprepared for war, in 1914, and we deliberately allowed that state of affairs to continue until the spring of 1917, which found us in the actual conflict.

Pacifism is a true safeguard, which can be depended on to keep our people from undertaking aggressive war. On the other hand, it constitutes an encouragement to a hostile country, and invites attack, thus tending to involve our country in defensive war. It is a dangerous thing to allow an ambitious foreign Government to think that we love peace so much that we will not fight. Such a course tends to bring on the very thing which we most wish to avoid, and that is war. It is probable that some historian of the future will say that the pacifist policy of America, which reached its climax with Mr. Wilson's reelection in November, 1916, on the issue, "he kept us out of war," invited German aggression, and helped to involve us in war.

## UNPREPAREDNESS

Hoping that America could keep out of the war, President Wilson, in his message to Congress, December, 1914, made it plain that we would make no preparations. Our tolerant attitude toward Mexico and the futility of our expeditions to Vera Cruz, and south from the Rio Grande, under Pershing, may have served to impress Germany with a belief that we were easy game. When, in December, 1915, Secretary of War Garrison presented a plan for raising an army of five hundred thousand men, it was disapproved by the president and Congress, and Garrison resigned, as a protest against the persistent policy of unpreparedness. These things must be taken into consideration with regard to the impression they made on Germany. There were other signs of unwillingness to fight. It was proposed in Congress to keep Americans from traveling on ships of belligerent countries. This was known as "the stay off" resolution. Other proposals were to prohibit the loan of money to the combatants, and the export of munitions to France and England. These measures did not prevail, but, taken in connection with Wilson's reelection, it was quite plain that the country was still pacifist, had not prepared, and would not prepare for war; and in that state of af-

fairs, Germany found encouragement to renew her submarine campaign.

#### ANY WAR MAY INVOLVE AMERICA

Another lesson of the Great War was that America is liable to be drawn into any great conflict, no matter how remote from her interests and concerns it may at first appear to be. The lesson is, in effect, that we are concerned, vitally concerned, to do our utmost to discourage aggressive war in every part of the world. This is not only our moral duty as the possessor of great resources, but it is to our interest. All of these lessons, which have been brought home to us, tend to emphasize the same practical consideration. It is of prime importance that we enter upon a policy of systematic military and naval preparedness, and continue it permanently as a part of our regular national policy. It will cost something, perhaps a great deal, but it will be cheaper in the long run. Had we entered the war, or begun preparation to enter, when the *Lusitania* went down, millions of lives would doubtless have been spared. Europe would have been measurably saved from wreck. We dare not encourage a pacifist spirit which opposes reasonable preparedness any more than we would encourage a spirit of aggression and conquest.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

For many years America has favored the creation of an international tribunal, for the arbitration of disputes and the prevention of war. The creation of a World Court for the nations was urged by America, and nearly accomplished at the two Hague Conferences. The League of Nations, proposed at Paris as a part of the Peace Treaty, is an entirely different thing. It proposes among other things a Council of nine representatives from nine different nations, of whom five are from Britain, France, the United States, Italy and Japan. This Council is not a court, but a political body, representing the executive branches of the various Governments. It is given great powers for the investigation and determination of disputes, between nations, whether in or out of the League. One of the greatest debates which has ever taken place in America is that which has arisen concerning the League of Nations covenant. On the one hand, President Wilson, supported by many good Americans, earnestly advocated the adoption of the League covenant, as it was framed at Paris and agreed to by him. This support was based upon the claim that such a League would greatly reduce the chances of war in any part of the world, and would enable the nations to reduce their armaments. On the other hand, the League

was opposed in its entirety by some of the ablest experts in international law and some of the greatest men in American public life.

Between these two extremes there has grown up a body of opinion favoring a compromise, and these more moderate views appear to be held by a great majority of the people. In deference to the public opinion calling for compromise, the Senate of the United States adopted a considerable number of reservations, which were to become a part of the resolution of ratification. In nearly every case, these compromise reservations were agreed to by a very substantial majority of the Senate. On Friday, March 19, 1920, the resolution for ratification of the Peace Treaty, including the covenant for a League of Nations, came up for passage. In its final form this resolution embodied the compromise reservations, which had previously been adopted by the Senate. On the final vote, the Treaty and covenant for a League of Nations failed to secure the Senate ratification, which, to be effective, required a vote of two-thirds of the senators present. Forty-nine senators voted to ratify, while thirty-five voted against ratification. Of those who voted to ratify, twenty-eight were Republicans and twenty-one were Democrats. Of those who voted against ratification, twelve were Republicans, and twenty-three were

Democrats. Had the absent senators, who were paired, all voted, the vote would have stood, fifty-seven for ratification, of whom thirty-four were Republicans, and twenty-three were Democrats. Thirty-nine senators, would have been against ratification, of whom twenty-four were Democrats and fifteen were Republicans.

#### ARTICLE X

The Tenth Article of the covenant was the one which caused the final failure of the effort to compromise the differences of opinion, so as to secure ratification. By this Article America undertook "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." The reservation to Article X substantially altered it, so that, while America bound herself "to respect" the territorial integrity and existing political independence, of other nations, she would not be bound to "preserve" them, unless Congress should so decide, in any particular case, when it should arise.

The argument in favor of this reservation seemed convincing to most people. Without the reservation, America would pledge herself, her resources, her people, to go to war, in any part of the world, where territorial boundaries, or political inde-



pendence, of any nation, member of the League, should be threatened or attacked. While, under our Constitution, Congress alone has power to appropriate money and to declare war, Article X, without the reservation, would have imposed a moral obligation, which is the strongest possible kind of an obligation, upon Congress to vote supplies and declare war, in support of territorial and political rights of foreign nations, regardless of whether or not Congress, and the American people, should believe at the time and under the circumstances that it ought to be done. It was said, with force, that the Constitutional power of Congress to vote supplies and declare war would be the merest sham, if, in fact, Congress was bound by the moral obligation of the covenant to act in a particular way. It was further urged that America ought to be governed by the will of the American people, freely expressed, and Congress could not act in accordance with the public will, if it were under a moral obligation to do something directly opposed to the wishes of the people.

On the other hand, President Wilson and his supporters held that Article X was the very heart of the covenant, and that the reservation was a nullification of it. It was never made quite clear why this was so. It is possible, that, when the article was written, it was thought if America executed an ob-

ligation to protect the territory and independence of every other nation, such a document would probably prevent aggression. Unhappily no one knew, and no one could prove, that this would be so. It may have been the president's judgment, but then President Wilson might be wrong. Furthermore, history shows that paper obligations do not prevent war and that the existence of greatly superior force does not always prevent the weaker party from acts of war and aggression.

#### GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

As we have said, the debate in the United States Senate was one of the greatest which ever took place upon its historic floor. In fact, it is probable that this debate will rank second only to that which raged over the question of negro slavery. Statesmanship, scholarship, patriotism, all combined to lift many of the speeches to the highest levels of eloquence. The great issues under consideration related to other portions of the Treaty besides the League of Nations covenant.

While not entering into the argument at length, it seems proper to state the author's view, on a few points. The strongest point made in favor of the covenant was that the formation of the League, with its council, its assembly, its place of meeting, and

Its permanent officers would afford a valuable means for the interchange of information and opinion. It opened the way for the moral judgment of the world more quickly to find expression, so that it might be brought to bear more promptly in any crisis which should arise. Its provisions encouraged delay in the commencement of war, and the substitution of discussion for conflict.

On the other hand, the details of the Treaty were such as to involve America in disputes all over the globe upon matters which did not concern us, of which we were not qualified to judge. We appeared to surrender the advantages of our geographical position, and to make ourselves participants in the quarrels of Europe and Asia, quite as much as if our territory immediately adjoined, or was a part of, those continents. By becoming a member of the League, it was urged, with force, that America would be bound in many cases to adopt dangerous and unwise courses of action. In some instances, we would be bound by the pressure of circumstances to agree to arrangements which violated the moral and political standards of our Republic. Such an instance was that when the cession of Shantung to Japan was agreed to by the Supreme Council at Paris, of which President Wilson was a member. By intervening in quarrels, which were not our business

other than as a mutual friend or arbitrator, it was urged we would make enemies of old friends in cases where it was quite unnecessary to do so. Our stand on the controversy between Italy and Jugoslavia was an illustration of this. It was said that such disputes might draw us into conflicts with nations such as Italy, France or Great Britain, with which we would otherwise be at peace.

In the author's opinion, the formation of the League would not change the world as much as its authors hoped and believed. Causes for world conflict would still exist. Human nature would be the same. National policies, national interests and national ambitions would remain unchanged. Excessive pacifism in America, together with military and naval unpreparedness, would invite competitors to encroach upon our rights just the same, whether such encroachments were through votes in the League Council, or through subtle or open interference with the rights and interests of our citizens. In fact, many believe that, in its original form, the League under Article X, would compel us to a much greater degree of preparedness than would otherwise be necessary.

#### UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

The question of the size and character of our army and navy is one to be settled by experts. The

people can only listen to the arguments and exercise their best judgment. In respect to the army, there is one point on which sound opinion is important. If we trust wholly to a regular army until we can improvise a new army, in the very hour of war, as we did in 1917, the regular army must be very large, and might be a menace to our own internal liberties. It would seem better, in a Democracy, to have a smaller standing army, and to have the young men of our country pass a reasonable time in a military camp as a preparatory training. In the event of war, they would be in a position to become efficient soldiers much more quickly. It has been stated that young men recruited during the war with Germany, were sent into the trenches, ignorant and untrained, in many cases, within a very few months. Such a policy has been called murder. Since our young men may be called on to fight for our country at any time, it is our duty to give them all the training possible for the discharge of such a task. It is needless to say that the mere existence of such a body of trained men would lend great weight to American influence in questions of world peace or world war. The "balance of power," unhappily, seems almost to be a law of nature. The old saying, "God is on the side of the heaviest battalions," still has an undoubted element of truth, which it is not common sense to ignore.

The power of Government to draft men for the army is like its power to compel the payment of taxes. In fact, the power of draft might not inaptly be called a part of the taxing power. In one case citizens are required to pay money; in the other they are required to fight or render other service; in both cases the object is the same, the support of Government. It may be said that the obligation to fight does not rest equally upon all citizens. This is true, for women and children, the aged and infirm, as well as those physically disqualified, are not subject to the obligation to enter the army or navy. It is much the same with the obligation to pay taxes. It rests only upon certain persons, those with property, those receiving a certain income, and the like.

The raising of an army by draft is a fairer method than by volunteering. The duty rests upon all young men physically qualified. As the saying goes, "Old men for counsel, young men for war." Volunteers are usually the bravest, most patriotic and unselfish of our younger men. The burden ought not to be carried by them, while the more timid, the more selfish, the least patriotic are left at home. The burden of fighting, like the burden of taxes, should be distributed in the most equitable way that can be devised. In any event, if the American Republic is to endure, it must be able to

command the services of soldiers, just as it commands the money of taxpayers.

An unprotected treasure, an unwatched valuable, is evidence of carelessness on the part of the custodian, and is a temptation to the worst and weakest people to become thieves. It is a breach of moral duty to offer such a temptation to others. America is not only in a material sense, but in a political and moral sense, the greatest treasure-house in the world. Have we the right to leave such a treasure unprotected? Is it not our duty to avoid leading the world into temptation, by leaving the door unbolted and unguarded?

## CHAPTER XIV

### POLITICAL PARTIES AND PUBLIC OPINION

**P**OLITICAL parties are more important in a country like America where the people rule through their chosen representatives, than under any other form of Government. We have in America about a hundred million people. Among them are to be found individuals holding almost every conceivable kind of opinion and urging upon the Government every imaginable sort of policy. How are we to get order out of such a Babel of conflicting tongues? What system will most encourage the success of sound opinions, and the defeat of unsound and dangerous ones?

Experience has shown that party Government works best in the solution of these problems. A party is an organization of voters who agree that certain policies ought to be adopted or rejected by our Government. They further agree that certain candidates ought to be chosen in order that the policies advocated or opposed by the party may be adopted or rejected, as the case may be, by the Government. The result of forming such an organization, is that there takes place, within the party, general debate and discussion as to the adoption of



platforms and principles and the choice of candidates. This friendly struggle within the party goes on alike among its highest and its humblest members, throughout the country. People are everywhere awakened and interested by consideration of Governmental problems and policies, and if free institutions and popular Government depend more upon one thing than upon others, that thing is the alertness, the interest and constant concern of the whole people in the conduct of their Government. Besides awakening the interest of voters at election time, political parties serve to carry on the education of their members and to keep them interested between elections.

The formation of a national party is a work requiring such tremendous labor by such great numbers of party workers, as to make it natural and necessary for these organizations to last over from election to election. They become permanently a part of our Government system. They identify themselves with more or less continuous systems of political ideas. They afford the means for effectively compelling the adoption by the Government of policies which, no matter how good, would never get anywhere if advocated only by unorganized and scattered individuals. So it is that political parties become our greatest instruments for the education

of voters as well as the direction of Government policies.

#### THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

The moment one realizes the need in our country for political parties, the question arises, how many parties ought there to be? Our people have, for generations, mostly held the view that two, and only two, great national parties, are best. There are exceptions, to be considered later, but, as a rule, the two-party system is preferable to a larger number of parties, no one of which could get a majority of the voters. Under the two-party system, we do get majorities. Under any other system, what we usually get is the rule of a minority. It is not necessary, and under ordinary circumstances it is not even desirable, to have a separate party for every kind of political opinion. In general, all opinions, all proposed policies, can be advocated or opposed inside one or both of the two great national parties. If such a proposal is rejected by both parties, it could hardly have any prospect of success in the hands of a new and separate organization. European countries show the dangers and the weakness arising from a number of rival political organizations. They combine with one another in the national parliaments to make and to overthrow Governments, often for personal and other petty

reasons, and produce a degree of instability both in personnel and policy, which is measurably absent from American Government. In critical times, such intrigues, plots and more or less discreditable behavior of the different political groups in a European parliament often endanger the State itself, and certainly weaken it.

#### EXCEPTIONS TO THE FOREGOING

It is said that exceptions prove the rule. Certain it is, that there have arisen situations in American party politics where a third party was justifiable, if not necessary. In 1856, the Republican Party was founded because the two old parties, Democrats and Whigs, had alike failed to prevent the spread of negro slavery. The election of Lincoln in 1860, and the events of the Civil War, were followed by such success of the Republican Party as to have left no doubt of the wisdom of its founders in 1856.

During the last generation the advocates of prohibition were unable to get either of the great national parties to adopt their policy. The Prohibition Party was formed, and was kept alive for many years by the zeal and devotion of its members. It never succeeded in winning any important elections in national politics. Nevertheless, prohibition arguments convinced the American people

to such an extent that this policy finds itself embodied in the Eighteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution.

In 1896, the gold Democrats formed a third party in order to defeat Mr. Bryan and his free silver policy. In 1912, Theodore Roosevelt organized the Progressive Party, thus insuring the defeat of Taft, the Republican candidate. Many other third parties have been formed, but, with the exception of the Republican Party, organized in 1856, no third party has had control of the Government.

It can not be said that no more than two parties ought ever to exist. On the contrary, there have been times when the two leading parties both failed to express the wishes and purposes of the American people. Then new parties were necessary for the good of the country. Yet, it amounts almost to a national misfortune when this happens. The two-party system, with its capacity for ascertaining the will of a majority of the voters, has so many advantages that the presumption is usually against additional party organizations.

#### THE TWO LEADING PARTIES

It is not within the scope of a non-partisan book to state in detail the policies of the Republican and Democratic Parties. History shows that neither

party has always adhered to its own policies; that each party has, at times, under the pressure of circumstances, abandoned its own principles and adopted some of those advocated by its opponent. Party policies are influenced both by public opinion and by the personality of leaders who happen at any particular time to have controlling influence. Public opinion changes and so do leaders. This is not of itself necessarily bad. A Dutch Socialist was assailed for inconsistency because in 1914 his party voted against an appropriation for mobilizing the army of Holland, while in 1915, after the ruin of Belgium, they voted for such appropriations. His answer was, "If we can not learn from events, in God's name what can we learn from?"

Both parties hold many of the same principles. At times there has been little difference between them; at other times, they advocate policies which are in extreme opposition to each other. The country needs two great parties, so that the one in power may be constantly under the open criticism of its opponent. In no other way can corruption be exposed and inefficiency denounced with equal effectiveness.

If certain leaders of the Republicans of to-day were asked to state wherein their party differed from its opponent, they would probably say that the

Republican Party is guided more by the principles of sound business; that its ranks contain a much larger proportion of successful and well-trained business men; that it holds sounder views on public finance, and is more successful in promoting general prosperity, in which all of the people share, employers and employees alike. They would say that Republicans are more dependable, when it comes to maintaining law and order at home, as well as when questions arise as to the safety, security and just treatment of American citizens who are in foreign countries for proper and lawful purposes.

If a similar question were put to Democratic leaders, they would probably say that they had the interests of the plain people more at heart than their opponents; that general prosperity chiefly benefits capitalists; that the laboring man does not get his share; and that it is up to the Government to see that labor gets larger rewards. They would say that the general public is more interested in low prices of commodities, than in encouraging the growth of home manufactures by a protective tariff. They would say that the use of force to prevent violence, during labor troubles, as well as the use of court injunctions is apt to defeat meritorious strikes and thus help the capitalist and hurt the laborer. They would say that if American citizens go abroad

to develop mines or markets, they do so at their own risk and have no right to expect our Government to protect them against unjust treatment either as to their persons or property.

To this Republican leaders would answer that Government and business and the general welfare of our people all reach high standards just in proportion as the highest intelligence controls the conduct of affairs, and that their opponents allow themselves to be guided, not by intelligence and trained judgment, but by sentimentalism. Republicans would say the issue is "Mentality Versus Sentimentality." They would further say that the strength of the Democrats is in the old Slave States, where the negro question is always paramount; and that Democratic leaders shape their policies so as to get enough votes in Northern States to help the South control the Government; that Democrats are, therefore, apt to sacrifice the general welfare, for the ultimate purpose of maintaining white ascendancy over negro majorities in the South. Democrats might answer that the whole country would suffer from negro domination in Southern States; and that the greed of northern Republican capitalists, for special privileges from the Government, was their controlling motive, politically speaking. This argument might be carried on to great lengths.

It is sufficient to say that neither side states the whole truth. People will differ as to which offers the better program, being influenced by what they think is to their own interest, by individual temperament, by their associations, by the thoroughness of their education, the extent of their reading and the scope of their experience.

#### INDEPENDENT VOTERS

Since we believe in parties, and that two parties are better than a larger number, ought every one to join a political party? Is there no proper place for independent voters? We answer that most voters should belong to one of the two great parties. The average man has not the time properly to investigate all political issues. He should accept the leadership of others, and this he gets within his party. If every one voted independently, there would be no parties at all. Even if very large sections of voters did so, party Government would be weakened, if not destroyed. Nevertheless, it is a good thing to have a small number of citizens who are able to vote with real independence, and to cross No Man's Land, which separates Republicans and Democrats, whenever the general welfare of the republic demands it. Such people rarely hold office. They are usually unorganized and act



from individual conviction. They often turn elections and help to punish corruption and incompetence in high places. They do not break up the great parties, because their numbers are too few, and so they ought to be. As a rule, they suffer for their independence, but time and again when crises have arisen in public affairs, the independent voter has done great service for his country. There is need for him, but it is not a course which ought to be followed by many, nor is it likely to be.

#### THE CHOICE OF A PARTY

When an American citizen is about to cast a ballot for the first time, which party should be chosen? The answer we would make, is: "Vote with the older and more experienced members of your own family. There will be time enough to change your party later, when you have had more political experience, and when judgment has attained greater maturity." It may be objected that this means letting things go on, in the same old rut; that there would be no improvement in social conditions. To this we reply that America has not done so badly. We have outstripped every other country. With all our shortcomings, our people are the happiest, the freest, the most prosperous in the world. Immigrants are constantly leaving their old homes and

coming to America to obtain a share in our blessings. Many more would come, if they could. What other proof is needed to show with regard to America that "The Lord hath not dealt so with any nation"?

Furthermore, let it be remembered that within one's own party there may be found full scope for one's energies in supporting sound policies and the best candidates. Neither party always achieves its best, and both often fall far below it. The surest way to improve our Government is to improve our parties.

Nevertheless, all that has been said is subject to one great qualification. If a party deliberately decides to advocate a false, unsound, or dangerous program, which is contrary to the principles of sound Government, as laid down by our greatest patriots and proved by our past experience, then one should avoid that party. It needs to be rebuked. It must be drawn back into the right path by the chastisement of defeat.

#### THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE

One of the great difficulties of Government by the people through political parties is that an election nearly always presents a number of important issues to be settled. Tariff, currency, the enforce-

ment of law, the use of the army and of injunctions in labor disputes, questions of foreign policy, even of war and peace, all may arise at once. A conscientious voter who places his country's good above every other consideration, may find that the Republicans are right on some questions, and the Democrats right on others. He may find one party better on national issues, and the other on local issues. Under such confusing circumstances, it is of prime importance that the voter ascertain what is the paramount issue, and, disregarding or postponing minor questions, cast his ballot for the right policy upon the most important issue.

It is probable that Mr. Bryan first gave us the true significance of "paramount issue." Before a campaign closes the people see pretty clearly what is most important. In 1896 Republicans tried to make tariff the issue, but by election time every one knew that the gold standard was the principal thing at stake.

#### PUBLIC OPINION AND THE CHOICE OF LEADERS

A book might be written about Public Opinion in a Democracy. A. Lawrence Lowell has, indeed, written a good one, called *Public Opinion and Popular Government*. In such a country as ours, it becomes of supreme importance to have a sound public opinion. To this end it is necessary to

be on our guard against those influences which are apt to make for unsound and dangerous views. Newspapers are certainly the most important agency for the formation of opinion. Yet some of them are false prophets, some are mistaken, some are inconsistent. It is well to consider the history of a paper, its reputation among the best informed people, its definite bias, its ownership and the personality of its editors. Independent newspapers are apt to be more profitable in a commercial sense than party organs, and are now much in favor. As a rule, the debt of our country to its newspapers is great, particularly to independent journals. Yet they may be very dangerous. A bitter partisan editor, writing in an independent paper, may deceive the unthinking.

The same considerations apply to critical weeklies and to important monthlies which deal with public affairs. Thoughtful and patriotic people should read widely and seriously upon political questions, but they should select what they read with the utmost care.

What are busy men and women to do who have little time or strength for reading and reflection on public affairs? For these, the best resource is to select the ablest leader they know of, and follow his judgment as far as it seems sound. Let them

learn the elementary principles of good Government and reject leadership which does not uphold those principles. Rhetoric and eloquence do not always go with practical common sense. Even great national leaders are sometimes unsafe guides. As a rule, however, our leading political parties do bring to the front able leaders. Lincoln, Cleveland, Roosevelt, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, to mention no living man, were all of this type. Nevertheless, in selecting guides for our opinions, we should always remember that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." We need to be on our guard against accepting plausibility in the place of clear thinking; eloquence instead of scientific study and thorough information; pride of opinion rather than an honest search for truth. Partisan bias, self-seeking and self-interest often masquerade under the false pretense of devotion to the general welfare.

Furthermore, public opinion is not infallible any more than individual opinion. History shows that again and again the people have gone crazy. They have stoned or crucified their wisest and best men. They have seemed to go insane about religion, about military conquest, about finance and speculation. They will do this again unless they become wiser,

acquire more self-restraint, show greater insight into the character and ability of their leaders, and are more thoroughly educated in the lessons of history. All this should not discourage us. It should only spur us to greater efforts and greater disinterestedness, in the service of our country and the control of its policies.

## CHAPTER XV

### WOMEN IN POLITICS

**D**URING the French Revolution, Condorcet declared that if Rousseau's doctrine that every adult male had a natural right to vote were admitted, in the end that right could not be denied to women. These words, uttered in 1791, have been proved true. Whether woman suffrage is based on the doctrine of natural rights, or upon the more scientific basis of utility, matters little. The important thing, for the American Commonwealth, is the use which women will make of their new political power.

### DIFFICULTIES OF DEMOCRACY

It should be clearly seen and frankly admitted that Democracy is the most difficult of all kinds of Government; yet, it is the only possible kind for America. It is not too much to say that woman suffrage doubles the difficulties. The troubles experienced in the operation of popular Government, originate in the simple fact of the number of voters. Woman suffrage doubles the number of voters.

Let any person who has been present at a meeting of only a small number of people holding diver-

gent views, consider the difficulty of reaching an agreement upon a course of action, supported by a majority and submitted to by the minority. Take the discord often found in such a body and multiply it, until we imagine a meeting of a hundred million people from the whole United States.

The practical difficulties of our politics are best known to party workers. They are the ones who struggle with the indifferent voter, to get him to come to primaries and to vote at every election. They are the ones who best know the ignorant voter who must be induced to accept intelligent leadership. Party workers know better than the rest of us the trouble of getting honest and dependable officials for every election precinct, both in the party organization and for conduct of the voting. These troubles are certainly increased, probably doubled, by woman suffrage. The same thing is true of the whole complex mass of national policy and business.

#### DIFFICULTIES NO DISCOURAGEMENT

The difficulties of Democracy and their increase by the enfranchisement of women, are no argument against the system or against enlarged suffrage. They are only mentioned to bring home to the voter a sense of responsibility. Another fact about woman suffrage ought not to be forgotten. Suf-



frage for men came very gradually. At first the right belonged to wealthy landowners. Gradually the circle was enlarged. Year after year, generation after generation, passed before the right to vote was achieved for every adult male. To this, the only exception was the sudden enfranchisement of the American negro, after the Civil War. The enfranchisement of women, for the greater part of the United States, will come at a single stroke. All at once they are to be confronted with the solemn responsibilities of full citizenship. It is no easy thing for them to take up this new burden and qualify themselves for the discharge of their political duties.

#### ADVANTAGES OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

As an offset to the new difficulties arising from this sudden increase in the number of our voters, many advantages can now be foreseen. A striking proof of the fitness of women for the ballot has been given by the skill, courage and political strategy with which they have urged their cause. The negro did not win his suffrage. It was thrust upon him. Not so with women. They will have achieved it by their own efforts, and, in so doing will have shown that they possess the qualifications for all the rights of citizenship.

It has been pointed out more than once in these

pages that the first danger in a Democracy is lack of interest on the part of voters. What would become of us, if only a half dozen Government officials attended the polls on election day, put in such ballots as they thought advisable, and made such a return of the pretended result as their interests dictated? There is good authority for saying that this is just about what happens in many Latin countries where universal manhood suffrage exists. The inertia of Americans has been overcome, as a rule, by the energy of party workers, but it would seem that women will be a powerful reenforcement in this work.

There is reason to believe that women will be better informed than men upon the merits of public questions. They have more leisure for reading. They have a natural aptitude for study and the use of books. In coeducational colleges, scholastic honors go rather oftener to women than to men. They have either greater quickness or capacity for learning or they give more time to study.

#### WOMEN AND FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

The greatest factors in good Government are often the simplest. If we look back through these pages, we shall find that they have been mostly filled with the discussion of the simplest, most fun-

fundamental, and yet most vitally important matters. There is reason to believe that women will grasp such questions with a quickness and a clarity of vision denied to men. Is it a question of maintaining the authority of Government, the security of life and property, in the home and on the streets? If so, women will grasp the fundamental necessity of law and order, and cling to it more tenaciously than men. Is it the conduct of our public schools which is up for discussion, the maintenance of discipline, the subjects for instruction, the qualifications and pay of teachers, the instruction of pupils in the sacredness of family life and the duties of citizenship? The very naming of these subjects suggests that the wife and mother will take more interest and exercise better judgment in school elections than the husband and father.

Again, is it a question of taxes, of public economy, of official waste? It is common experience that those households which practise economy, are those in which the woman is herself an economist. If the question of frugality depends upon the man, household affairs are usually at loose ends. Therefore, let us earnestly hope that women will recognize far more than men that every addition to the burden of taxes, makes an increase in the general cost of living, and that the time to prevent excessive

taxation is when appropriations are voted, and taxes levied, by Congress, by legislatures, by city and county councils, and by boards of school commissioners.

Is the question one which involves the right of private property, the right to save, to accumulate and to dispose of one's savings, at death, by leaving it to children or dependents? It is impossible to doubt that women will more generally see the significance of such an issue, and its bearing upon family life, than men do. They will see the problem more clearly and they will be more instantly alert, more constantly concerned with its solution.

Is the issue tendered, one of Government ownership? Will not the woman, the housekeeper, realize more thoroughly than the man what poor results are usually to be expected from public officials in the way of public service, when compared with those obtained in private business? Are women likely to be deceived into thinking that streets are kept cleaner than homes, that paving repairs are kept up as well as repairs in a prosperous factory, that city hospitals are better run than private ones, that public officials, as a rule, are as efficient and work as hard as those employed in private business?

So with inflation of currency and of credit. Women will quickly grasp the teachings of sound

political economy. They will learn that inflated currency and credit are unhealthy stimulants, which must be gradually withdrawn if normal prices and normal living costs are to return. Women will not be fooled into thinking that we can have real prosperity, when scarcity and high prices for necessities make themselves felt in every household.

Nor can we doubt the great contribution which women will make to public opinion, and public policy, upon moral issues. The prevention of vice, the enforcement of liquor laws, and of laws regulating the sale of habit forming drugs, are subjects which are certain to hold the interest of women. Their votes will put strength into the arm of the law, and courage into the heart of the prosecutor and the judge.

#### OTHER ISSUES

It is not possible to mention all pending reforms in which women can instantly render a service to their country, but we give the following illustrations. One of the sources of inefficiency in public administration is the appointment to office of unqualified persons on account of political and party influence. To remedy the gross evils of the "spoils system," the last generation saw the beginning of the civil service reform movement. The passage of acts by Congress was finally secured,

under which many Federal appointments were transferred from the politicians to boards of examination who pass on the qualifications of applicants for office. Without doubt this reform has done much good. It is true that there have been gross violations, both of the letter and the spirit of the law. It is also true that even civil service appointees fall into bureaucratic routine and slackness. Nevertheless, the system, once thoroughly approved by the public and zealously applied by Government heads, can do much more good.

A particular field, where the harvest is white and the reapers few, is that of the extension of civil service reform to state, county and city offices. Women voters, if they choose to enter this field, to master the problem on its technical side, and to push the reform through to success, can bring about amazing improvement in the conduct of public business, both by stopping waste and increasing efficiency.

#### EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTERS

Many thoughtful students of American institutions believe that with compulsory education we are entitled to require all voters to qualify themselves to some extent in the way of education before actually being entitled to share in the Government of their

country. It is incontrovertible that ignorance is a menace. A modest educational qualification, for both men and women voters hereafter acquiring the right of suffrage, would by no means exclude all unfit persons from the ballot box. It would, however, slightly raise the level and improve the quality of political action by the people. Since opportunity for education is offered to all, all could qualify. If there be not courage for such a law with respect to persons now entitled to vote, it could be brought into effect slowly through being made applicable only to future voters.

#### IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

Immigration of foreigners to America reached such a point before the World War that thoughtful students were greatly alarmed as to its probable effect on the future of our republic. A law was passed by Congress, over the presidential veto, which imposed a slight educational qualification. The question, however, is still an open one. On the one hand, America needs unskilled labor. Our prosperity depends upon it. Our industries must languish without it. On the other hand, the presence of vast bodies of foreigners in our midst, often anarchistic in opinion and hostile to our institutions, constitutes a danger which we dare not ignore. It

would seem that able and intelligent women, by making an intensive study of this question, might be able to propose a solution in a field where men have failed, as yet, to reach one.

#### SOURCES OF PROGRESS

Let us pass from particular political problems to the more general question of human improvement and human progress. What is it which constitutes the source of improvement and advancement in human society? Men were once barbarians; they are now civilized. The whole scale of living and the whole standard of comfort, for every class of society, have undergone amazing elevation. We have reached a condition of order, security and peace in our daily lives beyond that attained at any time in human history. Whence does this progress come? In what clear mountain region do the pure waters of life gush forth? How may we best help to continue the upward movement of humankind?

The answer is that the source of progress is in the human mind, and, for the most part, in the minds of superior and gifted individuals. It was in the brain of Moses that the Ten Commandments were written before they were inscribed on the tables of stone. It was in the brain of Robert Fulton that the first steamboat voyaged long before it



traveled on the waters of the Seine. It was in the intellects of George Washington and John Adams, of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry that the Government of the United States was constructed, before it was formulated in the Constitution. Long before the mighty Lincoln reached the White House, his genius had conceived of a free America where not a single slave cowered before a master's lash.

#### SCIENCE AND PROGRESS

It would not be sufficient to account for human progress if we ascribed it wholly to the ability and efforts of individual great men, appearing here and there to brighten, by their genius, the hard pathway of human struggle. Science represents the collective effort of all these great ones and of many more. It is science which patiently records the facts of human life, observes causes and effects, discovers reasons for our failures, and rejoices when the factors of success are at last definitely recognized.

Science not merely observes the facts; she interprets them. For thousands of years, the whole human race experienced the common phenomenon of a thunder-storm. The savage in his dug-out wondered and trembled no more than the proudest Roman Senator. Millions of human beings saw

the flash of lightning, heard the roar of thunder, every year of their lives. Not one of them understood, until Benjamin Franklin interpreted the phenomena for all time. The electric spark, which flashed from the key on Franklin's kite string, gave him the answer to the riddle. That moment was born the modern science of electricity. To Franklin's interpretation have been added the discoveries of thousands who came after him.

We can not stop to speak of the sciences of chemistry, of metallurgy, of engineering, of navigation. We pass to the subject of the science of Government. Let it be understood that political science has its discoverers, its record of facts, its interpretation of political phenomena. As the science of Government observes the facts, interprets them and states the laws of nature, which govern men in their political relations, so it is the function of the science of economics to observe and interpret the facts of life in our economic relationships, and to state the natural economic laws which govern men.

#### MEN'S DEFICIENCIES IN SCIENTIFIC TRAINING

If we critically observe the operations of Government during the time that men have been in control, we shall be struck at once with their lack of scientific knowledge and scientific training. Sit in

the gallery at Washington and watch either branch of Congress; go to any state legislature, listen to the discussions, observe the work that is done. The wonder of it all is that they have done so well, have passed such wise laws, have achieved such excellent Government. They have done all this, lacking adequate knowledge, with insufficient training, with too little study, and too little time to make up lost ground, after they come to the seats of Government.

It is to be hoped that women will supply this deficiency. They have the aptitude and the time for the study of the sciences, of politics and of economics. It is from these sciences, which daily make new discoveries, and record new truths, that women can obtain the material for the improvement of Government. It may well be that women, far more than men, will organize clubs for these studies. Some will specialize in one branch, some in another. They will not depend on casual and occasional glimpses into a subject. These students will make their specialties matters of life-long concern. They will be thorough, will be satisfied with nothing less than the truth, will speak with authority when they do speak, and will be recognized, trusted and followed as expert authorities in their particular branches. This is the author's dream of the way that women will help to bring

democratic institutions to a higher degree of perfection. May it come true!

#### BENEFITS OF THE WORLD WAR

It is probable that human history holds the record of not more than two or three periods in which such magnificent opportunity for the application of scientific truth to the problems of political life was afforded as in our day. The World War has uncovered mines of new political and economic truth, to an extent which is not yet generally understood. That war, terrible as it was, nevertheless will play its part in improving the future of mankind. In Russia, we see the utter breakdown, under actual trial, of Marx's socialist theory of economics. In Russia, too, we find that the most patient, long suffering population in the world at last found a way to throw off despotic rule. In Germany, we observe the results of excessive nationalism and the undue encouragement of militaristic organization and ambition. In France, we see, as we do in Belgium, the marvelous capacity of men and women for endurance under hardship when animated by the supreme enthusiasm which sacrifices all for the sake of home and country. In Great Britain, we observe a labor struggle, which might almost be called a war within a war. In

America, we experimented with military unpreparedness, to our cost and, amid plundering and blundering, managed at last to achieve magnificent military results. We also worked out, not a theory merely but a system of Governmental control of the necessities of life, the quantities in which they might be used, the prices at which they could be bought, on a scale never before attempted. These and many other facts are waiting, like gold in the mine, to be dug out, refined and placed in circulation as the coins of scientific truth. They require to be studied, analyzed and interpreted, as was the thunder-storm by Franklin. Upon their painful lessons America will build her future.

#### CONCLUSION

The upshot of it all is, that progress will be helped by truth, by science, by proved and tested principles. It will be retarded by falsehood, by quackery, by unproved and untested theories of charlatans and radicals, of revolutionists and of ignorant agitators. Not in the excited assembly of the agitated multitude, but in the study and the laboratory will the problems of political and economic life be solved.

THE END