

Stories of
The Government

FREEDOM SERIES

E.S. BROOKS • A. BARNARD
W.M. GIFFIN & H.G. PROVINES • C.D. CONNELLY

Stories of The Government

The Century Book for Young Americans
The Story of the Government
E. S. Brooks

Story of the Constitution of the United States
Alicia Barnard

Civics for Young Americans or First Lessons in Government
William M. Giffin and Harris G. Provines

Facts for Patriots
Clyde Davis Connelly

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The Century Book for Young Americans

The Story of the Government

Elbridge S. Brooks

Introduction

Office of the President-General, National Society, Sons of the American Revolution.
15 Broad Street, New York, July, 1894.

The Society of the Sons of the American Revolution is an association composed of lineal descendants of ancestors who assisted in achieving the nation's independence, either in the civil or military service, during the War of the American Revolution. It aims to encourage the study of Revolutionary history, to erect suitable memorials, to celebrate the anniversaries of prominent events of the war, and to inspire among its members and the community at large a more profound reverence for the principles of the government founded by our forefathers. In its endeavor to inculcate in the minds of the youth of the land a more exalted patriotism, it has supplied schools with American flags, organized patriotic celebrations, and prepared bronze medals of appropriate design to be given to the pupils as prizes for compositions upon Revolutionary history. It has also offered to our principal colleges gold and silver medals to be awarded annually to the writers of the best essays upon the principles fought for in the American Revolution and has distributed many patriotic addresses. It believes, with Bolingbroke, that "the love of country is a lesson of reason, not an institution of nature," and that it can be largely stimulated by proper teachings.

Much regret has been felt from the fact that there has been no book published heretofore in which the principles contended for in the American Revolution, and a description of the institutions of the Government, have been set forth in a sufficiently interesting form to make the study attractive to children. The society recently suggested to The Century Company the advisability of preparing such a book. This work has now been produced, and it is presented in a form which commends itself highly to the society, and has received its cordial approval.

It is proper to state that the society has no business relations with the publishers of the book, and no pecuniary interest whatever in the publication. The services rendered by the officers of the society in furthering the project have been entirely gratuitous.

Horace Porter, President General

The Story of the Government

Chapter 1
The Government

Jack and Marian wish to see the world —Mr. Dunlap's views—Uncle Tom's directions—A personally conducted party—The visit to Washington—A talk about the United States: What they are and how they came to be.

When Jack and Marian Dunlap and their cousin Albert Upham returned from the World's Fair at Chicago, they were full of the desire to keep on sight-seeing. They had been amazed at the bigness and industry of the world. They had seen things from every country under the sun. Now they were anxious to see, for themselves, the countries and cities from which all these strange and beautiful and wonderful things had come.

"Father," said Jack to Mr. Dunlap, as they sat one evening in their New York home talking things over, "won't you let us go to Europe with you when you make your next trip?"

"Oh, yes! That would be perfectly splendid; wouldn't it, Bert?" cried Marian. "Can't we go, Papa?"

But Mr. Dunlap had peculiar views.

"See Europe and welcome, my dears," he replied. "I shall be delighted to take you — when the time comes. It has not come yet, though; you must know your own country first. Every time I go abroad I meet so many un-American Americans that I am determined to have my young folks decently furnished with a stock of home information. Why, on my last trip to Europe, I met a Bostonian who had never climbed Bunker Hill Monument, a New Yorker who had never seen Niagara Falls,

and a Philadelphian who could not tell the difference between Carpenters' Hall[1] and Independence Hall. What is the difference?"

Jack looked at Bert, and Bert looked at Marian. Then Jack, who knew his father's love for springing "catches" on them, jumped at a brilliant conclusion.

"There isn't any difference," he said.

But that time Jack made a mistake. His father looked at him queerly.

"And you talk of seeing Europe!" he exclaimed.

Then he went on without offering any explanation —

"Yes; and once I met in Europe an American congressman who could not quote from the Constitution of the United States without looking at it, an American ex-governor who thought that a Pilgrim was the same as a Puritan, and an American doctor of divinity who did not remember how the Declaration of Independence begins."

"I can beat him there!" cried Bert; "it begins: 'When in the course of human events —' what human events, Uncle Edward?"

"Ah! there you are!" Mr. Dunlap exclaimed; "just what I intend you shall find out for yourselves! It is human events that have made America. I am going to send you on a tour of investigation. Then, when you know the hows and whys of America, we will talk of seeing Europe."

The boys had no objection. What boys ever did object to sightseeing— even when it had "a moral tagged on," as Jack said? As for Marian, she, of course, was delighted. And she said so.

"How I wish Christine could go too," she said.

1 Carpenters' Hall – Where the 1st Continental Congress was assembled. Independence Hall – Location of the Constitutional Convention.

Now, Christine Bacon was Marian's "dearest friend"—all girls have such an inseparable.

Mr. Dunlap sat silent awhile. Then he said, "Perhaps the plan could be arranged. I'll talk with Uncle Tom."

"Uncle Tom" was Mr. Dunlap's brother. He knew everything, so the children believed. He had been everywhere. He was thirty-five; "as lovely as he was learned," Marian declared; a boy with the boys and girls he delighted to talk with; just the one to "run things," Jack and Bert asserted. And just now Uncle Tom had plenty of time at his disposal.

Mr. Dunlap and his brother talked it over. When they had agreed on the preliminaries, the children were admitted to the conference.

"The secret session is over," said Uncle Tom, opening the door of Mr. Dunlap's library. "The public will now be admitted."

"What's a secret session, Uncle Tom?" Marian asked.

"A secret session?" he answered. "Well, I'll tell you—in Washington."

"In Washington!" exclaimed Jack. "Oh, then we can go?"

"It has been so determined in secret session," said Uncle Tom.

A triple cheer went up from the "public." Then Marian pleaded for Christine, and the boys wished that Christine's New England cousin, Roger Densmore, might go. They had spent several summers with him on the Maine coast, and voted him to be just the best fellow in the world for such a trip.

"He's a perfect little gentleman," declared Marian; "and just as bright as he is good."

"The more the merrier," said Uncle Tom; "I'm agreeable if your father is."

"If their fathers and mothers are willing, I am," Mr. Dunlap said. "It makes me think of the trip to Hampton Beach that Shillaber wrote about," laughed Uncle Tom. "Don't you remember, Jack? —"

'Then Johnny and Mally
And Bobby and Sally
    And little Joe Alley, less stocking or shoe,
Set up such a clatter
That, to settle the matter,
    The kind Mr. Sled says they may go too.' "

"Well, if Roger is 'little Joe Alley,' " said Marian, "he won't go without stocking or shoe. He's a regular dude when it comes to clothes."

"He's no dude!" Jack declared, stoutly. "He's as good as they make 'em."

At last everything was settled. All the parents were willing. And so it came to pass that on a bright spring morning Uncle Tom and his "personally conducted party of juvenile tourists," as he called his charges, peered from their train window, anxious for the first glimpse at "their Mecca"; and, as the midnight-express from New York puffed across the eastern branch of the Potomac, they caught the glorious gleam of the splendid dome of the Capitol, looming up in all its majesty and whiteness.

For Mr. Dunlap had said to his brother: "Take them, first, to the center of things, Tom. Go to Washington. Let them see why our government was made, how it was made, and how it is run."

So to Washington the "tourists" went; a delighted, happy, and most congenial party of three boys and two girls,—all wide-awake, all anxious to see and to hear whatever there was to be seen and heard, and all of them as full of fun, but as easily kept "in the traces," as any five young folks just in their teens that could be picked out in New York or Boston.

Marian and Christine gave a girlish shriek of satisfaction as Uncle Tom pointed out the crown of the capital.

"How beautiful it is!" said Bert, his eyes fastened on that superb dome. "You can see it above everything. Why, it makes one proud to be an American."

"That's the way it ought to affect you, Bert," said Uncle Tom. "If you have all of you come to Washington in that spirit, you will see things to the best advantage. Nothing is perfect—not even patriotism. But I think we do the best we can with our opportunities, and, while I don't like to hear Americans boasting, I do like them to look with pride upon their possessions and feel a thrill of pleasure over their institutions. The American who doesn't like America and is forever comparing it slightingly with other countries ought to be banished to an island in the sea and made to read Dr. Hale's 'Man Without a Country' [1] until that inspiring story teaches him to appreciate what it is to have a country."

"That's all fine talk," Jack said, as the travelers left their train and passed through the station with a glance of interest and pity at "Garfield's star," of which they all knew the tragic story,—"that's all fine talk, Uncle Tom; but—what is it to have a country? It isn't for us to pick and choose. We're born here, you know, and that settles it. Who makes a country?"

"There you are, at the very beginning of things!" Uncle Tom exclaimed, as they took a street-car to their hotel. "And here, in Washington, is the very place to commence our investigations,

[1]"The Man Without a Country" is a short story by American writer Edward Everett Hale. The novel is the story of American army lieutenant Philip Nolan, who renounces his country during a trial for treason and is consequently sentenced to spend the rest of his days at sea without so much as a word of news about the United States. Although the story is set in the early 1800's the story is an allegory about upheaval of the American Civil War and was intended to promote the Union cause.

as your father wisely said. Let's talk it over while we are getting breakfast and resting. Then, after you all know how the American government came to be, we can sally out and see how it is run.

"Do you know, boys and girls," said Uncle Tom, thoughtfully, between a sip of coffee and a bite of steak, "that splendid dome yonder was built here because a certain German boy had a grandmother?"

"Uncle Tom! that coffee has gone to your head," said Marian.

"Many years ago," Mr. Dunlap continued, without noticing the puzzled expression of his five young friends, "there lived on a pleasant island in the sea a king who had a grandmother."

"Oh, here, Uncle Tom!" exclaimed Jack, laying down his knife and fork; "what are you giving us? We are not children, and you are not— Scheherazade[1] nor the Brothers Grimm."

"I am telling this story, Master Jack," said Uncle Tom. "It's not a fairy tale; it is a fact. There was just such a king, and he did have a grandmother."

"Let up, Jack," Roger protested. "He knows what he's about."

"Now, this grandmother," continued Uncle Tom, "was second cousin to a princess whose father had run away from his throne and whose sister had married the man who made him run away. These two became king and queen of the island. And, when they died, the sister who was a princess became queen. Then she died; and the people of the island would not have the son of the king who ran away for their king, but declared that the crown belonged to the princess's second cousin—the grandmother—of my story, and who did not live on the island at all. But before she could take the crown she died; and her son,

[1]Scheherazade is a legendary Persian queen and the storyteller of *One Thousand and One Nights*.

who was a little one-for-a-cent sort of prince, went over and became king of the island. When he died, his son and then his grandson succeeded as kings of the island. The last of these three 'foreigners' was the king who had the grandmother—only she was a great-grandmother, and died long before the king of my story was born. But this is how he came to be king of the island."

"For further particulars see Mr. Macaulay and Thackeray's 'Four Georges,' " said Bert, with just a little of the superior air of the boy who knows it all.

"Good for you, Bert," said Uncle Tom; "I see you read my historical puzzle correctly. Yes; the king with the grandmother was George the Third, king of England. And by such means did this German boy come to be an English king. Of course, too, you know that it was in the reign of George the Third that these United States were born."

"Out of the colonies," said Roger, "that James who ran away, and William and Mary who came from Holland, and Anne the princess, and the first two Georges from Germany, had all the say about when their English subjects came over here to settle."

"Just so," assented Uncle Tom. "But those colonies had their beginnings even further back. When Columbus the admiral came sailing over the sea, his little cockle-shells of ships brought in them the seeds of a great idea. Those seeds were the desire for liberty and the dream of self-government. They had been trying to sprout in Europe ever since the days we call 'the dark ages.' "

"But Columbus and his fellows were Spaniards," said Jack.

"They were Spaniards, and they settled far to the south," said Uncle Tom; "but, don't you see, it was Columbus who opened a new chapter in the world's history. He gave to the world the knowledge of a new land, in which the men and women who followed in his wake saw the very opportunity the world had

been waiting for so long—the possibility of making their dreams of liberty and progress come true."

"But you can't say that those first settlers came here with any such great ideas, can you, Uncle Tom?" Jack objected. "I always thought they came just for adventure or for the sake of making money."

"That's so," Uncle Tom admitted; "but, don't you see, as they began to settle down here and to make homes for their wives and children, hewing down the great forests and building their rough little houses of logs or stone, the colonists became neighbors, then the neighbors became friends, the friends became fellow-countrymen."

"Well?" said Marian. The boys and girls were beginning to get interested in this line of argument.

"Well," said Uncle Tom, "still more ships came. New families sought homes; and all along a narrow strip of sea-shore, stretching from Maine to Georgia, little knots of settlements sprang up, in which boys and girls grew to be men and women, loving the land in which they had their homes. But, because they were so far away from the kings and courts to which they yielded respect as their rulers, they came gradually to think and act for themselves; they began to wonder why, if they were able to live and labor here, they really ought to be subjects of, or pay tribute to, those crowned masters across three thousand miles of sea, who did not seem to care especially for them or take any interest in them, beyond the money they could collect from them, or the trade they could control for English markets and English manufactures."

"But the colonists were making money too, were they not?" queried Roger.

"They were in a certain way," replied Uncle Tom, "but not in the right way. No man who minds his own business likes to have any one come in and tell him just how to mind it. England

drained off in tribute and monopolies a certain portion of the colonists' money without so much as saying 'by your leave.' The Americans did not consider this fair. They began to think; and when people begin to think, they soon begin to act. This action, in America, came over a question of taxation. People who pay taxes generally feel privileged to grumble over the way the tax money is spent, especially if they think the money could be spent to better advantage for the benefit of those who pay the taxes."

"Right you are," said Jack. "I've heard my father get as mad as a hornet over what he calls 'the injustice to the taxpayers.' "

"Well," said Uncle Tom, nodding assent to Jack's interjection, "the colonists soon became hornets in the same way. The people in America who paid taxes to England began to talk things over. Ladies and gentlemen discussed the situation as they took their summer airings 'on the Mall' or met at 'rout' or in church. Farmers talked it over at seed-planting and harvest, or at the assemblies of neighbors in the tavern or the town-meeting. They all said that they did not so much object to paying the taxes if they could only have 'the say' as to how those taxes should be used. 'Give us a voice in this matter!' they demanded. But the people of England objected to this. The king of England sent over to act as 'governors' of the colonies men who were mostly good-for-nothings—broken-down noblemen anxious to make money, or favorites of the king whom he wished to do something for. So the people, even when they did try to have something to say for themselves and attempted to make laws for their own protection, found the king or his 'governors' ready to step in and say, 'You cannot do this,' or 'You shall not do that,' until finally they grew tired of it all; they became more and more outspoken in talk and action, and finally raised the cry: 'No taxation without representation!' "

"Good for them!" exclaimed Jack.

"Out of this demand," continued Uncle Tom, "came what is called the American Revolution. And out of the American Revolution came, as you know, after seven years of war, the United States of America."

"Hooray! let the eagle scream!" murmured enthusiastic Jack, in an audible "stage-whisper."

"Of that American Revolution," said Uncle Tom, warming to his subject, "what boy or girl in America is not proud today?"

"Hear, hear!" said the boys and girls.

"Every one of them knows its story."

"We do, we do!" from his auditors.

"It is," Uncle Tom went on, "a record of the protests of patriots, the struggles of armies, the doings of heroes. The thirteen colonies of the English crown, fringing the western shores of the north Atlantic, deemed themselves ill-treated by the king and Parliament of England. They banded together for appeal, and for resistance. They proclaimed themselves forever free from English authority, and then combined for mutual protection and defense under the title of the United States of America."

"I tell you, that was a pretty plucky thing to do, though, wasn't it?" Bert exclaimed; and Christine asked, "How many people were there in the colonies then, Mr. Dunlap?"

"Oh, between two and three millions," said Uncle Tom; "less than the combined inhabitants of New York and Brooklyn today. And of these, you must remember, very many were timid — afraid to speak out; loyal to the king, right or wrong; anxious to leave well-enough alone. So the people who protested and acted were but a part of the 'provincials,' as their English rulers called them. Well, the Revolution ended in success. The Americans had gained what they fought for. They were free. What would they do now? the world began to wonder."

"Do?" cried Jack. "Why, set up shop for themselves and go ahead."

"Not so easy, that," Uncle Tom returned. "You can't keep shop successfully unless the partners all pull together; and this was not yet certain. There had, of course, been a sort of acting together during the war. The colonies had placed the direction of their common interests in the hands of a body of men known as the Continental Congress. Congress means—"

"Come, Bert, air your Latin," Jack interjected, as Uncle Tom paused.

"*Con* and *gradior,* to walk or step together," Bert replied promptly.

"Exactly, Congress is a coming or meeting together. The Continental Congress was a meeting together for deliberation and action of a certain number of delegates representing the thirteen small and sparsely settled colonies along the Atlantic border,—the 'continent' it was proudly called. This Continental Congress (sometimes and perhaps more accurately called the Congress of the Confederation) announced in its Articles of Confederation, proclaimed in 1777, that the thirteen united colonies, thereafter to be known as the United States of America, entered, by those articles, into a league of friendship with one another for defense, liberty, and welfare."

"That wasn't much of a government then, was it?" said Roger.

"Government? No," Uncle Tom exclaimed in answer. "It was just as they called it: 'a league of friendship,'—a lot of boys catching hold of hands and standing shoulder to shoulder to ward off a 'rush.' The Continental Congress was all right for a time of war; but it was not a government. It could neither raise money by taxes, nor recruit an army for defense. The Continental Congress had, therefore, no real authority; it could only recommend things to the three million of people it

represented — and then stop. It could *do* nothing. So, you see, it had very little reason for existence after the liberty, to secure which it had been created, was attained."

"That's news to me," said Marian. "I always thought the Continental Congress did it all — from Lexington to Lincoln."

"So did I," echoed Roger.

"Live and learn, girls and boys," laughed Uncle Tom. "Well; the war was over. The thirteen colonies — States, as they called themselves—were free. But liberty without union is strength without wisdom. It is like boys off for a holiday, anxious to play baseball, but not able to decide how to make up the nines."

"We've been there, haven't we, fellows?" cried Jack; "and of all exasperating things —!" here Jack stopped, at a loss for words to express the exasperation.

"Quarreling arose between sections; the larger States put annoying restrictions upon the commerce of their smaller neighbors; resistance to necessary measures—by men who thought that to be free meant free to do as they pleased—threatened bloodshed; and first one and then another State announced its intention to secede, or withdraw from the Confederation."

"Well, that was pleasant, wasn't it?" said Bert.

"Came near upsetting their whole kettle of fish, didn't they?" commented Roger.

"It was indeed a time of severe trial for the friends of union and of liberty," said Uncle Tom. "It was a time of which more than one historian has said that 'it was fuller of hazard than the period of war.' "

"How did they settle it?" asked Marian.

"The men of America had struggled hard for freedom," said Uncle Tom, "and what men have sternly striven for they will not lose if they can help it. The wisest heads in America saw that

their acting Congress with its Articles of Confederation was no longer of service. They saw that something must be done, and at once. They believed in taking counsel together; and so it came to pass that, on the fourteenth of May, 1787, there gathered, in the city of Philadelphia, delegates from the thirteen States. They were able, clear-headed, patriotic, and moderate men. They were men who had their opinions, but were willing to compromise. In other words, they were men who knew that, sometimes, it is stupid to be stubborn, wise to be yielding—"

"Albert, my son, do you hear that?" Jack interrupted; "take a lesson, I beg of you, from that noble forty-five."

"Well, I like that!" cried Bert, so surprised that his glasses nearly fell off. "Of all the fellows who need it most, you're — "

"Order, order! gentlemen," said Uncle Tom. "You are not speaking to the question. Personalities are barred out. As I was saying, the men of this Constitutional Convention of 1787 were men with purpose, and men with patriotism. They were known as the Federal Convention, and over their deliberations George Washington presided as chairman."

"One, two, three!" cried Jack, the irrepressible. "First in war, first in peace — " [1]

"Come, come, Jack, do behave yourself," cautioned Mr. Dunlap, laughing in spite of himself, for he knew Jack's exuberant spirits. "No better choice could have been made for a presiding officer. George Washington was the one man, above all others, whom the people trusted. He was the nation's hero—its protector, its defender, its counselor in peace, its leader in war. 'If he is chairman of the Convention,' people said, 'everything will be all right.' "

"Just think of going into a meeting and seeing Washington

[1]First in war, First in peace, First in the hearts of his countrymen was said by Light horse Henry Lee, Revolutionary War hero and father of General Robert E. Lee.

preside!" said Roger; "I'm afraid the Philadelphia boys, in 1787, didn't appreciate their opportunities."

"Even if they had known as much as you do now, Roger," Uncle Tom remarked, "they could not have gone. The Convention sat with closed doors. Everything was done in secret. But it would have been worth 'hooking in' to see; for, besides Washington, there sat in that Convention other famous Americans—Benjamin Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison, and Robert Morris. Indeed, the Federal Convention of 1787 has been called one of the most remarkable deliberative bodies known to history. It met to take counsel as to the best means of making permanent the Union which resistance to oppression had created, and to draw up, for the three millions of freemen it represented, an agreement under which they could live together in peace and unity. This agreement we know today as the Constitution of the United States—the greatest of the state papers of the world, 'the title deed of American liberty,' as it has been called."

"And that today is the law of the land, is it?" said Bert. "Isn't it wonderful how things grow out of almost nothing?"

Whereupon Jack, who loved to quote poetry, gave a text from Tennyson:

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

"That's so, Jack," said Uncle Tom, rising. "And now, as the waiter evidently thinks we're going to hold his table until dinner-time, and as our next step is to see and examine into the Constitution, let us go over to the State Department and hunt up the precious original itself."

"Nothing like being right in the start, is there, Roger, my boy," said Jack, nudging his friend from Boston. "I call this a bang-up object lesson in government, don't you?"

Chapter 2
The Constitution

Uncle Toms "tourists" see the precious document — How it was made and adopted— They learn how it is the "corner-stone" of the Government.

As the personally conducted "investigators" walked along Pennsylvania Avenue toward the splendid building in which they expected to find the original document of the Constitution of the United States of America, Jack, who, in spite of his heedlessness did really give thought to matters that interested him, said:

"Well, say, Uncle Tom, I don't see how these forty-five men managed to agree on such a great and wonderful document as you say the Constitution is. What if they were not stubborn; suppose they were ready to compromise? I don't see how they could get on without some squabbling."

"Good gracious, Jack! they didn't," Uncle Tom exclaimed. "I would not have you for a moment imagine that so important a paper as this Constitution was made up without dispute or accepted without opposition. And you mustn't think either that 'the fathers who framed it,' as we now speak of them, were something more than mortal, like the fabled demigods of Greece. They were simply wise and zealous men, influenced only by love of country and a desire to secure the greatest good for the people they represented. They tried to argue and arrange things calmly. But before they got through their work two of the members 'got mad,' as you girls say, and withdrew from the Convention — they were from New York, I am sorry to say; four others — one from Maryland, two from Virginia, and one from Massachusetts — refused to sign the Constitution after it was

drawn up. For days and months — four months, in fact — the members of the Convention discussed, objected, modified, amended, and resolved. With certain concessions here and certain yieldings there, with hope that the people would accept, and fear lest they should reject the seven divisions or articles of the paper as put together, the Constitution was finally agreed to; and, on September 17, 1787, the Convention dissolved, presenting the result of its deliberations to the several States for adoption or rejection, as the people should decide."

"The States did adopt it, of course," said Bert.

"Of course they did," said Jack, turning to his cousin a little impatiently; "how else could we have the Constitution?"

"They did adopt it," said Uncle Tom, "but not immediately, and it must be confessed things looked a little shaky sometimes. Discussion ran high in all the States; but, within a year, eleven of the thirteen States had 'ratified' or accepted the document, and, on September 13, 1788, the Constitution of the United States of America was declared to be the law of the land."

"So you see, my young and beloved hearers," said Uncle Tom, as they all stood at the entrance of the great building known as the State Department, "the Constitution of the United States was, really, the work of the people of the United States, who, through their chosen representatives, sought thus to found, upon the ruins of an overthrown tyranny and a discarded confederation, an enduring government that should be — as the greatest of modern Americans expressed it seventy-five years later—'of the people, by the people, for the people.' "

"That was Lincoln, in his second inaugural address, was it not?" asked Roger.

"Lincoln," Uncle Tom replied; "but in his Gettysburg speech — not his inaugural. It was one of the greatest, though one of the shortest speeches ever made by man. And now for the Constitution."

Mr. Dunlap and his young people passed along the corridor and, taking the elevator, rose to the third floor of the big building. Here they found the pleasant room known as the Library of the State Department. Uncle Tom made known his wishes, and a courteous official, taking the party in charge, led them across the hallway to one of the smaller rooms in the section devoted to the Bureau of Indexes and Archives. Their conductor unlocked the doors of a long wooden cabinet and disclosed therein, neatly framed in five distinct sections,— beginning with the "preamble" and ending with the signatures,— the precious paper now famous throughout the world as the Constitution of the United States. [Today, the original hand written document is on display in the National Archives in Washington D.C. in the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom. Only the front page is on display.]

The boys and girls could not restrain a feeling of pride and satisfaction at sight of this immortal document. Even Jack's irrepressible spirits were visibly restrained as he looked upon it

"It is worth coming all the way to Washington to see just that, isn't it?" he said. "Who wrote it?" he asked.

"If you mean the actual handwriting," replied the interested custodian, "I really cannot say. I have thought that possibly it might have been written— engrossed, we say — by William Jackson, who, as you see by his signature, was Secretary of the Convention and 'attested' the document."

"But see, sir," said critical Bert, "the body of the document is much better written than this signature of Jackson's."

"Yes, I do see," the custodian replied. "I don't know that the question of the actual penman ever occurred to us here. Perhaps the document may have been engrossed by one of the assistant secretaries or some other now forgotten penman. For that's the way it is, even today, boys and girls. Here in the State Department we unknown fellows take time and care to write out

some important paper and make a beautiful piece of penmanship of it. Then some famous secretary, who probably writes that horrible hand which they say is a sign of genius, just scrawls his name at the end of the paper and posterity gives him all the praise, while we, as you boys say, are 'not in it.' "

"But the Constitution isn't at all like old-fashioned penmanship," said Roger. "It is beautifully written. And how well it has kept!"

"Yes; it has kept better than other famous papers we have charge of here," the custodian replied. "Folks think we keep the original Declaration of Independence over there in the library. We do, but no one can see it. The one shown is a facsimile."

"Dear me, though; can't we ever see the Declaration?" Marian asked.

"I am afraid not," replied the custodian. "It used to be publicly displayed, and was, in fact, carelessly kept. As a result the ink faded in the strong light, and at last, to save it, the Declaration was withdrawn forever from view.[Today, the original Declaration of Independence is on display in the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom.] It is now screwed down flat between two heavy boards and is locked inside that big steel safe you saw near the library door. No one can see it now. With it, too, is the original of Washington's commission as commander-in-chief of the army, which has also, to save it, been in the same way shut forever from public view."

"Isn't that too bad though?" said Christine. "But never mind, we can say we saw its—what is it? — its sarcophagus."

"But about the Constitution," asked Bert, returning to the topic in hand. "We know who did or who didn't write it. Now, who made it up? Who composed it?"

"Well, that, too, is difficult to say," the custodian replied. "Opinions, I believe, differ as to the honor; it lies between Alexander Hamilton and James Madison."

"I am inclined to call it a joint composition," said Uncle Tom. "The Constitution was the result of the deliberation and suggestion of the forty-five men who composed the Federal Convention—"

"Minus those who 'got mad' and ran off, and those who refused to sign, I suppose," Jack put in.

"Well, perhaps," said Uncle Tom; "although we must admit their share in the deliberations and discussions."

"Especially the discussions," said Roger.

"I should, I think, agree in this question of responsibility, with Mr. Curtis," continued Uncle Tom. "He was a wise old 'dry-as-dust' who wrote a history of the Constitution, and he declares it to be 'the result of the mutual concession to each other for the sake of that union which all knew to be their only hope of strength and safety.' I should say, in reply to Christine's question, that they all composed it."

"As to the actual fact," said the custodian, "I believe it is stated that when the Convention had formulated a system—made up of provisos, suggestions, clauses, and memoranda—the matter was given into the hands of a committee of detail, to be put into form and shape, so that the Convention could act upon it. That committee consisted of Rutledge of South Carolina, Randolph of Virginia—"

"Who—excuse me, sir—refused to sign," said Mr. Dunlap, "because he objected to the power the Constitution gave to the President and the Senate, and to the indefinite boundaries between national and State authority."

"I believe that was so, sir," the custodian assented. "Rutledge, Randolph, Gorham of Massachusetts, Ellsworth of Connecticut, and Wilson of Pennsylvania. This committee presented a constitution of twenty-three articles. This document — the original one—has seven articles. So you can see how much pruning and condensing the Convention did."

"I suppose we must, however, give most of the credit for the real framing of the Constitution," said Mr. Dunlap, "to James Madison of Virginia, who has been called 'the father of the Constitution,' because he was the author of the resolution that led to the invitation for the Convention that compiled and adopted the Constitution—"

"The Madison who was President?" broke in Marian.

"Yes —fourth President of the United States; he succeeded Jefferson," Uncle Tom replied. "I say we must give most of the credit to him and to Alexander Hamilton of New York."

"There was a man, boys!" the custodian exclaimed. "I always say that the story of Alexander Hamilton is one to make young men proud of their youth. Think of it: an orator and patriot at seventeen, a hero before his twenty-first birthday, a statesman at twenty-three! I believe he was one of the first Americans to suggest the government we now enjoy. Why, when he was but twenty-three he wrote a remarkable letter to a friend who was in the Continental Congress—that was in 1780—in which he outlined many of the provisions that, later, found place in this very document you are looking upon."

"The gentleman is right, boys," Uncle Tom said. "Why, this young Hamilton—he was almost the youngest member of that grave Federal Convention — was so clearly its motive spirit that the famous historian Guizot declared there was not, in the Constitution of the United States, 'an element of order, of force, of duration, which Hamilton did not powerfully contribute to introduce into it and to cause to predominate.'"

"Gracious!" exclaimed Roger; "why wasn't he ever President?"

Both gentlemen smiled at the boy's peculiar homage to greatness.

"Why were not other great men, Roger?" Mr. Dunlap said. "Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Sumner? Greatness does not always mean popular acceptance."

"Did you say he was the youngest signer of the Constitution?" asked Bert.

"Not the youngest; one of the youngest signers," said the custodian. "The youngest signer was, I believe, Nicholas Gilman of New Hampshire. He was thirty-two."

"There's his signature," said Marian; "second from the top, under Washington's name. Pretty good writer, too, wasn't he? Who was the oldest signer?"

"A gentleman you have both heard of, I reckon," said the custodian. "He knew how to fly kites."

"Benjamin Franklin!" cried the three boys in a breath; and Christine said, "There's his name, heading the Pennsylvania signers. He wrote well for an old man, didn't he? How old was he, sir?"

"Eighty-one," the custodian replied.

"There's a funny name — that one there, from Maryland," exclaimed Roger. "What is it? Don? no, Dan—I thought it was a Spanish don at first— Dan of S. Thos. Jenifer! What under the sun does that mean?"

"Daniel Jenifer, of St. Thomas Parish, Maryland," explained the custodian. "That was his curious way of putting his residence, or his estate, in with his name."

"But I tell you," said Bert enthusiastically," there's the best signature of them all — the cleanest, the clearest, the strongest, and the best"; and he pointed to the name that led all others on the document: "George Washington, Presiding, and Deputy from Virginia."

The custodian nodded his head with the pride of a loyal American, and Mr. Dunlap said, "We all know that signature,

don't we? Do you remember the story about this very one you are looking at? It is said that Washington, who was the first to sign,— as you can see by the position of his signature,— stood by the table, held up the pen and said, solemnly, 'Should the States reject this excellent Constitution they will probably never sign another in peace. The next will be drawn in blood ' "

"They say, too," said the custodian, "that Franklin watched his associates signing the Constitution, and, pointing to the picture of the sun, half up, painted on the wall behind the President's chair, said, 'I've been so full of hopes and fears during the Convention that whenever I looked at that sun behind the President, I could not say whether it was rising or setting. Now I do know; it is a rising and not a setting sun.' "

"Good for B. Franklin!" cried Jack, saluting the signature; and Uncle Tom said, "Well, whether Hamilton or Madison was the 'father' of the Constitution, whether it was because of Franklin's wise presence, or Washington's guiding hand, they builded, as Emerson tells us, 'wiser than they knew.' This Constitution has stood for more than a hundred years, and yet, in spite of our nation's unexampled growth, in the midst of the demands of the world's most wonderful century, the work of the fathers has stood so unchangeably the law of the land, that to this document here before us only fifteen amendments or alterations have been deemed necessary; and of these fifteen, ten were made within a year after its adoption." [To date, 27 amendments have been added, including the Bill of Rights.]

Then he said, "Come, boys and girls "; and to the custodian's courteous inquiry whether they would not like to see some of the other treasures of the Archives Bureau, Uncle Tom replied, "We may trouble you again, but not today, thank you. We are building the Government *ab ovo."*

"Ab ovo? What is that, Mr. Latin Expert?" Jack whispered to Bert.

"*Ab ovo?* Why, from the egg," Bert replied; "that is, from the very beginning."

"From the egg, eh?" said Jack. "Then I suppose that Constitution we have just seen was the egg that hatched the — American eagle! I wonder if they used an incubator?"

And Mr. Dunlap, who overheard the remark, said, "No, Jack; it was hatched by natural methods. There has been no forcing process with these United States." They walked up Executive Avenue — separating "the President's ground" from the State, War, and Navy Building — and turned into Pennsylvania Avenue.

"Now, where do we go?" Marian asked; "to the Capitol?"

"No," Uncle Tom replied; "to the White House. Let me tell you why."

"Because the President is the man who has charge of the eagle, I suppose," said Jack, following out his simile.

"Well, in a measure, yes," replied Mr. Dunlap, laughing, as the party appropriated two of the seats in Lafayette Square and, from the shade of its great trees, looked over at the President's mansion across the broad avenue.

"That document you have just seen," he continued, "was, as you know, the foundation of our Government. Although, as Mr. Gladstone, the Englishman, declares, it is 'the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man,' it was not really an inspiration nor a new idea. It was put into form at a given time; but its ideas were the outgrowth of ages of thought and endeavor. I have read somewhere that Magna Charta, the Acts of the Long Parliament (in Cromwell's time), the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States constitute the record of an evolution. Do you know what that means?"

"Why," said Bert, "a regular progress of development or growth, does it not?"

"Exactly," his uncle replied. "The Constitution of the United States had its roots in the past, wherever men have labored for liberty, or struggled for justice, government, and law. It is, I believe, unique in this: it is, or was, the only *written* constitution framed for the government of a nation and signed by those who made it. The English Constitution, upon which ours is largely based, is not a written document. It is made up of laws, customs, and traditions, opinions and decrees, but not in a permanent form, nor put into a signed document, as is our Constitution. The acceptance of this written constitution made America a nation. Above all laws, above all officers, above all measures, stands the Constitution. To it our States, our people, must yield obedience. It is a compact between brothers; but by it they must abide. It is the law of the land."

"But the Constitution did not do away with the State governments," said Roger. "How could it be supreme?"

"It was to be supreme in great things," Mr. Dunlap replied; "it was, as it distinctly said in its preface, or 'preamble,' to provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, insure domestic tranquillity. Little matters and local affairs it did not touch. There the States were their own masters. But in whatever affected *all* citizens, the National Government was to be supreme."

"Kind of mixed up, isn't it?" Marian queried.

"By no means, my dear," said Uncle Tom. "See here. The thirteen Colonies, or States, were, after the Revolution, like thirteen stout twigs—good for switches to drive away a surly dog or whip an unruly boy, but of no service to one another, acting separately. We tie these thirteen switches together with a stout band, and behold! we have a broom to sweep away obstructions from our door and keep our house in order. That

band is the Constitution. It is union. It makes, as the Germans say, a *staatenbund* into a *bundesstaat.* Can either of you brush that into English with what you know of German?"

"A *staatenbund* — a band of states," began Roger.

"Into a *bundesstaat*—a banded state," Christine concluded.

"That is good, isn't it?" exclaimed Bert. "I tell you those Germans do know how to put things into words better than we do."

"That's it," said Mr. Dunlap; "and this is what the Constitution, or the rope that made the 'banded state,' does: it provides for a National Government, to run the affairs of the nation, divided into three departments— the legislative, which makes the laws; the judicial, which explains the laws; and the executive, which enforces the laws. It puts the power to enforce the laws in a single man—the President; it gives the power to make the laws to a body of men divided into two sections—the Congress; it places the power of explaining the laws with a few men—the Supreme Court. These three departments work together for a common end—government. The Constitution says how these men shall be elected or appointed, and how they shall act; and there it stops. It is strong because it says so little. It is the root of law, and has lasted because it is so simple."

"That's a fact; it doesn't say so very much, does it?" said Christine.

"No; but what it says, it means," replied Roger.

"And what it means, it does," said Mr. Dunlap. "Now, it remains for us to see how it does it, and for that reason we'll study up the President first. He is the head man of the nation, the single representative of the people's will; the man whose hand is on the tiller to steer the ship of State. Let us go across to the White House; that, you see, is the wheel-house of the ship."

"I hope they don't have a sign up there: 'No talking to the man at the wheel!' " said Jack. And, all together, they crossed Pennsylvania Avenue and entered "the President's grounds," walking up the broad semicircular driveway, shaded by noble trees. They paused a moment in the great portico, flanked by ionic columns, and then, through the open doorway, they passed into the home of the President — the Executive Mansion.

Chapter 3
The President

The boys and girls have an introduction to the President — The White House — Uncle Tom tells its history — How the presidential office was determined upon — The duties of the Chief Executive—At the Reception.

It was eleven in the morning, and the President was "at home." Uncle Tom sent in his card, with a letter of introduction and explanation given him by a friend of the President and of himself, and, as a result, the "tourists" had a special interview with the nation's Chief Executive.

The young people were ushered into the presence of the President of the United States in the spacious egg-shaped room on the second floor of the White House, sometimes called the Library, and used as the President's Reception Room.

It was a richly furnished apartment — its windows hung with silk curtains, its mahogany furniture upholstered in red leather. The sides of the room were lined with long, low bookcases crowded with volumes, some of which dated back, in the time of selection, to President Fillmore's day. Between the windows stood the President's desk, made, so Uncle Tom informed them afterward, from the timbers of the ship *Resolute,* sent in search of the lost arctic explorer, Sir John Franklin, and afterward presented to the President of the United States by the Queen of England.

The President rose to receive them.

"Mr. Dunlap, I am happy to meet you," he said; "and these, I presume, are the young investigators."

Uncle Tom introduced his party, one by one.

"And so you are studying the Government of the United States from the real article and not from books? A good idea," said the President.

"Yes, sir," said ready Jack. "We think it's great. And we begin with you — next to the Constitution — as the nation's chief."

"Its chief working-man, perhaps, my boy," said the President, smiling. "After all, ladies and gentlemen," he added, bowing, "it is more than a form of words to say that I am only your humble servant — the servant of the people. I am what one of the gentlemen who occupied this house years ago called himself — 'an old public functionary.' "

"That was President Buchanan, was it not, sir?" asked Bert.

"Yes," the President replied; "a man who held office in most perplexing times. I have to work pretty hard myself, boys, but I don't think I should care to exchange places with him."

"But you couldn't, Mr. President," Marian declared; "you're not old, to begin with."

The President smiled upon the giver of this unconscious compliment.

"Perhaps it would be better if I were, my dear," he said. "One of our own American poets, you know, said 'age is opportunity,' didn't he?"

"Yes, sir," said Christine; "I think it was Longfellow; my cousin lives near where he did," and she designated Roger with a wave of her hand.

"Ah, from the Hub, my boy?" inquired the President; and Bert confessed that he hailed from the vicinity of the gilded dome and Memorial Hall.

"Well," said the President, "Boston was one of the centers of America's opportunities; and opportunity, after all, is what each one of us must seize and make the most of, if we wish to show the world what there is in us — no matter whether we are

overworked Presidents or a wide-awake group of young investigators. Make the most of your opportunities, boys and girls. You have a magnificent chance, in this America of ours, to turn them into good and lasting work. Do you stay in Washington long, Mr. Dunlap?"

"Long enough to let these young folks see as much as possible, Mr. President," Uncle Tom replied.

"That is wise," said the President. "They are sure to see what is best here, and never notice what is questionable or faulty. That is the glorious privilege of youth. I shall hope to see you again before you go."

Uncle Tom, realizing that this was a hint for dismissal, and aware that an eager crowd of applicants were awaiting their turn, motioned to Jack; and the boys and girls, shaking the President's extended hand, received his friendly good-byes.

"This evening is one of the extra reception nights," he said. "As a rule, our public receptions are on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, but tonight there is a special one. Why not let your boys and girls join the crowd, and study it, Mr. Dunlap?"

"Thank you, Mr. President; they will be glad to, I know," said Uncle Tom. And then he and his "tourists" withdrew.

In the corridor Marian fairly jumped up and down.

"Wasn't it fine?" she said. "Just think! we've seen the President."

Then Uncle Tom walked his young people through the White House, a card from his friend to one of the ushers securing for him special privileges. The boys and girls saw the public portion of that notable and historic house. They wandered at their leisure through the big East Room, eighty feet long by forty wide, in which all the public receptions of the President are held. They inspected and admired the beautiful suite of state-rooms opening from it — the Green Room, the

Blue Room, and the Red Room. They passed behind the sash-screen of stained glass in the vestibule; they promenaded through the long corridor; they investigated the state diningroom; they visited the beautiful conservatories. They passed up the stairway and saw the Cabinet Room, in which the President and his chief advisers discuss the affairs of the nation. They looked at the Executive office and anterooms; they were devoured with curiosity to peep into the private rooms of the mansion, devoted to the family life of the President; but here they were restrained by the usher's veto and Uncle Tom's warning. Then, at last, they gathered upon the colonnaded balcony on the southern side of the White House and looked across the verdant lawn to the broad and bright Potomac and the blue Virginia hills.

"Oh, what a lovely lawn!" exclaimed Christine.

"Here's where the Washington children come for their Easter egg-rolling, isn't it, Uncle Tom?" Marian asked.

Yes; this is the spot," her uncle answered.

"I've read about that, too," said Christine. "How I should like to see it!

"So should I," said Marian. "Do you know, if I were here for just that day I shouldn't know which to do — see the egg-rolling, or call on the President."

"Well, you could have your choice," began Jack; "they'd both of'em be on exhibition;" but here he was promptly squelched by Bert and Roger.

"What do you think of it, boys and girls?" said Uncle Tom. "The President is well housed, isn't he?"

"As fine as a king," declared Roger.

"Is it as grand as a king's palace, Uncle Tom?" Marian inquired.

"Well, there are some palaces that are grander," Uncle Tom admitted. "But there are few that are more interesting. In fact, the White House was, I believe, designed after an Irish palace,—the residence of the Dukes of Leinster, near Dublin."

"The Green Isle forever!" cried Jack. "Just see; we get even our people's palace from St. Patrick. Who was the architect, Uncle Tom?"

"Why, he was an Irishman, too; a young South Carolinian named Hoban," his uncle replied.

Then Mr. Dunlap told them the story of the White House — how it was the first public building completed in the new city, which Washington had selected as the site of the capital of the young republic, and to which his name was given; how Washington himself had helped lay the corner-stone one October day in the year 1792; how he and his noble wife had walked through the completed building only a few days before his death in 1799; how it was wantonly destroyed by British invaders in the year 1814, and how Mrs. Madison had to "unavoidably postpone" her dinner-party, and run for her life; how it was at once repaired and completed by the same architect, Hoban, and formally re-occupied by President Monroe; and how, ever since his day, with frequent house-cleanings, alterations, and renovations, it has been the Executive Mansion of the United States.

"Many people criticize it," said Uncle Tom. "They say it is not grand enough for so great and rich a nation. They say it is old, inconvenient, and ramshackly. They say it should be used only for the business offices of the President, and that a new and splendid mansion should be built for the President's real residence. But I am not so sure that such a change would be wise. With all our riches we should be simple, and with all our greatness we should be modest. The White House seems to me to fill the bill."

"Why, I think it's just splendid," said Marian. "Think of having your home in a house that Washington built and Lincoln lived in! If 1 were President I shouldn't want to live anywhere else."

"So she should live in it," said Jack, teasingly. "When she's President she shan't live anywhere else, so she shan't."

"Do be still, Jack Dunlap," said Marian, laughing. "Who knows? Perhaps I may. Why shouldn't women be presidents, Uncle Tom?"

And all the answer wise Uncle Tom made was, "Why shouldn't they?"

"But how did we come to have a President, anyway?" asked Bert, always thirsting for information. "Was there any worry over that, as there was over the Constitution?"

"Indeed there was, Bert," Uncle Tom replied. "It was really a matter of wide and long discussion. For, you see, when it was decided to make of the United States a united nation, there was a great deal of talk as to just what sort of a nation it should be, and what should be the position and duties of the man who should stand at its head. It was to be a nation in which the people were to have both interest and voice. 'We, the people of the United States—' as they said in their written Constitution — covenanted together. The people were to rule the Republic. The Congress of the people was to make the laws. But, when the laws were made, who was to carry them out? That was the question. Who was to stand as the executive head of the nation?"

"Why, George Washington, of course," said Jack. "Who else was there?"

"That was all right for a starter, Jack," Uncle Tom admitted, "but the people were building for the future. Washington could not live forever."

"But he does, you know," persisted Jack. "He lives in the hearts of his countrymen."

"Do be still, Jack," Marian cried impatiently. "You talk too much. Don't listen to him, Uncle Tom."

"For three days," said Uncle Tom, "the Constitutional Convention of 1787 debated who should be chief of the Republic and what should be his title. There were a few timid ones who had the traditional faith in a king and a monarchy."

"Ho! a king in America!" republican Jack burst out.

"I read something about that," said Bert. "They wanted to offer the crown to one of the sons of King George. He was only a boy, and he was called—let me see—the Bishop of Osnaburgh, wasn't he?"

"A boy, and a bishop!—worse and worse!" cried Jack.

"Yes, there was some such talk as that, I believe," Uncle Tom replied. "But it never amounted to anything, of course. Ever since the first step toward liberty, the firm determination of the people had been quite away from any idea of king or monarchy."

"Well, I guess!" interjected Jack.

"But they couldn't settle on the best way," Uncle Tom said. "One delegate wanted three heads for the nation—one for each of the three sections into which he wished the country divided. It is going to be a big nation, he argued, and it will become too big for an undivided Republic. Another delegate wished a single executive head joined with an advisory council; and still another advocated a single head without a council. But, out of all this discussion, action came at last, and the general design, outlined years before by Alexander Hamilton, was adopted. The republican spirit conquered all other suggestions, and the head of the nation was called the President."

"Just the President—nothing more?" queried Roger.

"Just the President. Simplicity was the order of the day, and the suggestion of one committee that it would be the thing to address the head of the nation as 'His Highness the President of the United States of America and the Protector of their Liberty' found no favor whatever."

"I should think not," cried Jack." Whew! what a mouthful!"

"So it was resolved that the address should be simply 'the President of the United States.' And 'Mr. President' it has been to this day."

"Thank goodness for that!" said Jack. "Suppose, when we had been introduced to that very nice gentleman upstairs, we should have had to kow-tow down to the floor and say, 'Your resplendent High Mightiness, how does your Supreme Effulgence sagatiate?' No, sir; 'Mr. President' is all right. It just suits us, it does."

"I quite agree with Jack, though I cannot clothe my reasons in the classic and polished language which flows so naturally from his lips," said Uncle Tom, while all joined in the laugh with him. "Simplicity is often the strongest speech and the most dignified."

"But what does the President have to do, Uncle Tom?" Bert inquired. "From what he said to us one would think he had to work terribly hard."

"Well; he works hard enough, Bert," Uncle Tom replied. "The Constitution gave him four distinct powers or sets of duties. These have to do with home affairs, with foreign affairs, with law matters, and with giving people offices."

"And the last power makes him more trouble than all the others put together, does it not, Mr. Dunlap?" Roger remarked. "That's what my father says."

"Well, so it seems, Roger," Mr. Dunlap answered. "The President has the 'say' about who shall be selected to work for

the Government, from ten-thousand-dollar ambassadors down to thousand-dollar postmasters — provided the Senate agrees to his selection. And as there are about fifty persons asking for every office, you can imagine how pestered the President is by the over-eager people they call office-seekers."

"Men who want a job, where there is little to do and a good deal to get; eh, Uncle Tom?" Jack put in.

"Well, I don't know, Jack," his uncle replied; "there is not such a little to do nor such a great deal to get; but every American citizen seems to want an office for himself or a friend. There is a story told of President Lincoln that one day, in the darkest time of the war, a friend met him and thought he seemed worried. 'You look anxious, Mr. President,' the friend remarked. 'Is there bad news from the front?' And the perplexed President responded, 'Oh, no; it isn't the war that worries me; it's that postmastership at Brownsville, Ohio.'"

"It does seem a shame to put so much on him," Christine remarked. "Can't some one else do it?"

"They might," said Mr. Dunlap, "but they don't. You see it is what is called one of the President's prerogatives. Then, too, he has to please the Senate. If they don't like the men he appoints they say so, and the President has to fight it out or make other selections, and so the work and the worry go on."

"Then he doesn't have the real 'say,' after all, does he?" said Bert.

"Why, no; not absolutely," Uncle Tom replied. "It is, of course, a great thing to be President of the United States. And yet, as a matter of fact, the President, today, is only in theory the hand that carries out the will of the people as expressed in the Constitution and in the laws made by Congress. Of course he exerts a great moral influence by reason of his position and his power of filling offices. But he has to yield to others in everything. He can make treaties with foreign powers — but the

Senate can say to him, yes or no. He appoints persons to fill important places of trust — but the Senate has the final word. He can suggest measures and methods in a communication to Congress called the 'President's message'— but Congress considers and determines upon them. You see, then, he is only, as he told you, your servant — the servant of the people. He has no more real power than I have or than you will have, boys, when you come to be voters. So you see your power."

"Ah! Bert, what will you have?" Jack cried; "the Post-office Department? Roger, what will you be? — Minister to Russia? I'll see to it when I begin to vote. I shall have the say."

"Still, the President does have power," Uncle Tom went on. "If Congress passes a bill he does not like he can put his foot down (by what is called his veto) and say it shall not be; and unless Congress is strong enough to pass that bill by a two-thirds vote it cannot become a law. In times of desperate danger and turmoil, when the very life of the nation is threatened and action must be quick, sharp, and determined, the President can assume almost unlimited power. In time of war he is Commander-in-Chief. Then his will is law. Then the man whom the people have called to sail the ship of State must be a wise, safe man upon whom the people can rely. For he must stand at the wheel, and, with a firm hand guide the ship safely past the threatening reefs and rocks and breakers. The President must be a strong man, you see."

"And suppose he dies, what then?" asked Marian.

"Then the Vice-President becomes President," replied Uncle Tom. "Until that time comes, he is elected simply to stand and wait."

" 'They also serve who only stand and wait,'"

quoted Christine; and Jack said, "Ahem! Shakespeare—no—Milton, I mean."

"The Vice-President is, therefore, hardly more than a name," said Uncle Tom. "If the President dies, or for any reason is unable to act, the Vice-President, as I told you, becomes acting or actual President. But, until that time, he is only a substitute, except for his extra duty as chairman or presiding officer of the upper legislative house—for, by virtue of his office as Vice-President, he is president of the Senate."

"But suppose the Vice-President dies," persisted Marian, "then who is President?"

"Marian, you make me tired," said Jack. "You make me think of the story of the woman who pestered the engineer on the Mount Washington railroad. 'Suppose this thing should give out?' she said. 'Then that thing would hold us,' replied the engineer. 'But suppose that thing should give out?' 'Then this other thing would hold us,' said the engineer. 'But suppose this other thing should give out?' persisted the passenger, 'then where would we go to?' 'Well, madam,' replied the weary engineer, 'that depends entirely upon how you have been brought up.' "

And with a laugh at Jack's story, Uncle Tom and his "tourists" went down the stairs from the balcony, and walked through the beautiful "President's grounds."

They were wide and cool and shady. There were long stretches of lawn, great masses of shrubbery; lofty, wide-spreading trees; fountains and seats and graveled walks, and off in the distance views of the needle-like obelisk of the Washington Monument and the hills beyond the Potomac. The children voted the "President's grounds" fine. They looked with approval upon the President's house, "even though it isn't as fine as Vanderbilt's," said Marian, and they came away with even their youthful inquisitiveness satisfied. For they had seen the very spot in the East Room where the coffin of Lincoln rested, the very spot upon which stood young Nellie Grant on her

wedding-day; they had seen the window in the Blue Room through which President Garfield was brought, the victim of an assassin's bullet; they had stood in the little room, now the office of the private secretary, in which Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation; they had visited the little room in which "Old Hickory" Jackson would smoke his dearly loved corncob pipe. They had seen just where the Easter eggs were rolled down the sloping green lawn; just where the White House children took their daily airings; they had talked with the man who had served as usher in the Executive Mansion since President Lincoln's time.

The "tourists" came again to the White House. They acted upon the President's suggestion and attended his public reception that very evening. They enjoyed it immensely. They saw the people; they joined the throng that passed the portals of the mansion; they wandered through the rooms with the stream of patriotic, partizan, curious, and critical visitors, all bent upon the same errand — to shake hands with the President of the United States. They did so. In the crowded and brilliantly lighted East Room they received a word and a smile of kindly recognition; they "studied folks" to their hearts' content, and then went to their hotel, and to bed.

"My, my!" said Marian, sleepily, as she and Christine said good night to each other, "how I pity that poor President! He did look so tired, and so bored. And how his hand must ache! Bed's better."

Chapter 4
The Cabinet

Uncle Tom insists on "taking it easy"—His "Council Chamber" — A talk on the Cabinet — The national riddle — Why it is called the Cabinet; what it does and what famous men have been in it.

The next morning the children were anxious to start out at once, investigating. But Uncle Tom chipped his eggs and sipped his coffee with a leisurely air that was exasperating to go-ahead Jack, anxious to be forever on the move.

"Take it easy; take it easy, my dear and breathless young fellow-citizens," said Uncle Tom. "We're not rushing to catch a train. You're as restless as if you were bound for a ball game. We are here for investigation, but not for exhaustion. What would your fathers and mothers say if I tried to work you to death? Your legs must be rested as well as exercised; and so must your eyes and brains. You girls are to stay here until eleven o'clock. Boys, you can hire bicycles just around the corner. Go out for an hour's spin and then come back here for a session. There is no better city in the world for bicycling than Washington. But—only an hour's spin, remember. We have work in hand."

The girls were inclined to rebel at the enforced idleness, and to grumble, as girls will, because they were not boys. But Uncle Tom was firm, and his word was law.

The boys took their spin as far as Dupont Circle, up and down the broad and stately Massachusetts Avenue, lined with fine houses and shaded by rows of linden trees. When they returned, the tourists gathered for a talk in Uncle Tom's room. It was a large, pleasant apartment, and the children called it the "council-chamber."

Uncle Tom laid aside his morning paper.

"Do you remember," he said, "when we were in the Cabinet Room at the White House yesterday, and Jack sat in the President's chair at the long table, that I propounded that old stager of a conundrum: 'Round the house and 'round the house and yet never touches the house?"

"Yes," answered Marian; "and I wondered what under the sun the Cabinet Room had to do with your riddle."

"It suggested it," said Uncle Tom. "That's all; for the Cabinet is, in a way, the national riddle."

"How's that, Uncle Tom?" Bert asked. "The Cabinet is the President's board of advisers, isn't it?"

"Advisers whose advice he need not take; a board of whose proceedings no record is kept," replied Uncle Tom. "The Cabinet is not recognized in law; the Constitution says nothing about it; it is responsible, as a Cabinet, to no one for what it may say or do; it exists simply at the pleasure of the President, and could be ignored by him, if he so desired, without censure or penalty. And yet the President regularly seeks its advice, and the Cabinet is an important part of our government machinery."

"Well, that's a funny thing, surely," said Roger. "What is this Cabinet, then, Mr. Dunlap, and what does it do?"

"I told you it was the national riddle," Uncle Tom said. "It's only another case of' 'round the house and 'round the house and yet never touches the house.' But, to one who looks at it closely, the riddle is easily solved. The President's Cabinet is a group of representative American citizens, called by the President to assist him in his duties. The members are responsible to the President for what they say and for what they do. Appointed to serve not so much as a Cabinet officer as head of a government department, each one of them has charge of a special line of duty and of work, and each one is anxious to make a good record as a wise, practical, and successful director of affairs. Twice each week, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon on Tuesday and Friday,

these eight gentlemen go to the White House and, joining the President around the long table we saw in the Cabinet Room, they talk over, discuss, suggest, and advise, so that the President, after they have left him, may consider what has been said—and then do as he deems best. This is the Cabinet." [There are 15 Cabinet members today with no official schedule but who try to meet on a weekly basis.]

"But why is it called a Cabinet, Mr. Dunlap?" Christine asked. "I thought a cabinet was a piece of furniture like a dresser or a wardrobe, meant to hold things for use or ornament."

"Well, what's the matter with that?" said Jack. "A cabinet is something wooden that holds things. If the newspapers run by the fellows whose party is not in office tell the truth, that's what a President's Cabinet always is — wooden-headed chaps who play 'Hold fast all I give you' better than any of us can do when we go to parties."

Uncle Tom held up his hands in mock protest. "Have we a young cynic among us?" he cried. "Jack, Jack! you are surely cut out to run one of those same opposition newspapers!"

"Cut out to run one!" exclaimed Bert. "Why, don't you know that he does? Isn't he the editor of *The Nonpareil,* one of the brightest lights in amateur journalism? You should just read one of his slashing editorials."

"That's so," said Uncle Tom; "I forgot that we had a member of the Fourth Estate in our party. This, then, is for his and your better information. The word Cabinet, as we use it politically, has a peculiar history. When the imported German prince George Louis, Elector of Hanover, came to the throne of England under the title of King George the First — I told you how, you know, when I tried to puzzle you with my story of the king who had a grandmother — he could not speak English and his chief advisers could not speak German. His ministers therefore consulted apart from the king in his Majesty's private

room or Cabinet — so called from the French word *cabine,* meaning a small room. After they had talked things over they went in to the king and told him what they had done in a mixed English and German jargon — a sort of 'hog Latin,' you might think. These ministers came, at last, to be known, because of the little room in which they consulted, as the Cabinet Ministers, or the Cabinet. This word found its way across the Atlantic and so, in time, was given to the men who were selected as his advisers by the President of the United States, when that nation had become independent of the English Georges."

"Isn't it funny how words travel!" exclaimed Marian. "To think that we should call the men who help our President run things, after an old room where they used to talk 'hog Latin' to a Dutchman! But how do they help the President run things, Uncle Tom, if what they tell him doesn't amount to anything?"

"Don't misunderstand me, Marian," said Uncle Tom. "What they advise does amount to something. It sometimes means a great deal. I simply said the President was not obliged to act upon their advice. And these Cabinet Ministers have plenty of work outside the Cabinet. You know how it is in your father's big business. He can't look after everything; so he has men with brains to help him keep things going. He divides his business into departments, and at the head of each department he puts a man whom he can trust,— a man who knows just how your father wishes things run and who tries to run them accordingly. It is just that way with the President of the United States. He is the responsible head of the nation. The business affairs of the nation are divided into eight great departments. At the heads of these departments the President places men whom he has picked out as capable of running them successfully — men who are in sympathy with his desires, his plans, and his policy. When Washington was made President there were but four of these departments. From time to time others were created, and now there are eight — the Departments of State, of the Treasury, of

War, of the Navy, of the Post Office, of the Interior, of Justice, and of Agriculture. The officers at the heads of these departments are called Secretaries, with the exception of those who have charge of the departments of the Post Office and of Justice; these two are known as the Postmaster-General and the Attorney-General."

"Why are they generals instead of secretaries?" asked Bert.

"Well, I really don't know, Bert," Uncle Tom replied, "unless it is because they have the general oversight, rather than the control, of the postmasters and the district attorneys throughout the country. They are the generals of our armies of postmasters and attorneys. But, whatever the distinction between them, these eight men are selected and appointed by the President, 'by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,' as the Constitution says — that is, the Senate 'confirms' or says 'all right' to the President's choice."

"Then Congress does have something to say in the matter?" Roger remarked.

"Oh, yes," Mr. Dunlap replied. "It has very much to say. For if the Senate refuses to confirm the President's appointments, he must select other men for his Cabinet, and keep at it until the Senate is suited."

"But that is a regular lockout," Jack declared. "If I were the President, I'd strike!"

"You wouldn't need to strike very often," said Uncle Tom, "for, as a rule, the Senate always confirms the President's Cabinet nominations. It would be most unwise to tie his hands at the start. So, even a Congress not in political sympathy with the President 'gives him a show,' as you boys say, by letting him have the assistance of the Cabinet officers he desires. For, you see, these officers are responsible to the President for what they do, and are, in fact, no different from the heads of other departments, except that they are selected by the President as

his confidential advisers. The President is responsible to Congress for them; their acts are, practically, his acts; they are not permitted to have vote or voice in Congress; even their annual reports are made to the President and not to Congress. So, you see, it is necessary for the President to make good appointments and to keep in touch, as we say, with his eight secretaries. Hence, he has the regular Cabinet meetings in that room we saw in the White House, for consultation and advice."

"But sometimes — for so you said, Mr. Dunlap — the President does things without consulting his Cabinet. Does not that make trouble?" Roger asked.

"No, Roger," Uncle Tom replied. "As I have told you, the President is alone responsible for his acts and sometimes has to take things into his own hands. In time of war or in cases of emergency, the President is above Cabinet and Congress. He is then more powerful than any king. Then a bad President could be a tyrant; even a good President is almost a dictator."

"Have there been such times?" Christine inquired.

"Yes, several of them," said Uncle Tom. "President Jefferson decided one of the most important acts in American history without asking the advice of his Cabinet; that was the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon, in 1803. President Polk, in 1846, occupied Mexican territory without the consent of Congress, and opened the war with Mexico. Lincoln decided upon his mighty Emancipation Proclamation without consulting his Cabinet, although he read it to them before signing. In fact, President Lincoln exercised what are known as his 'war powers,' almost like a dictator. He called but few Cabinet meetings. But, in that day of terrible stress, even the Constitution itself, the very law of the land, had to stand aside, and the great President acted upon his own responsibility."

"But he was a great and good man," Bert declared solemnly.

"He was indeed," his uncle acknowledged; "and that is why the people trusted to his wisdom, and Congress sanctioned his acts. They knew that great occasions call for speedy action. They knew that when the life of the nation was threatened it was both dangerous and disloyal to delay things by worrying about just what the Constitution meant; for, if the war could not be victoriously ended —"

"It was good-bye to the Constitution, too," put in Jack.

"Exactly; the Constitution would be of no value if the nation were not victorious," said Uncle Tom. "So Lincoln's acts were all justified. The result proved his wisdom. But, in less able and patriotic hands, the 'war powers' granted him might have been full of danger; a tyrant might wreck the republic, if he had the selfishness of a Caesar and the will of a Napoleon. Happily, however, such times as that are rare, and great tyrants have not been known to our history. Abraham Lincoln was, providentially, the man for the hour."

"But about the Cabinet," said Bert, returning to the main topic; "is it not always made up of the political friends of the President?"

"Nowadays it is," Uncle Tom replied; "or, at least, of men who are of the President's politics. At first this was not really so. When Washington was chosen President, he belonged to no party. He represented the whole American people. Parties had not yet come in to divide American politics. So, Washington did not feel bound to choose, as his secretaries, men who believed just as he did. He knew there were differences of opinion, but no differences of policy. He alone was responsible for his acts as President. His desire was simply to appoint the best men as his advisers. In his Cabinet, therefore, were Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and Hamilton, who framed the Constitution. These two great men were absolutely opposed to each other in opinions, but, though their difference in opinions

led finally to open hostility as politics grew into parties, President Washington kept them both as his advisers. Adams, our second President, followed the same course. But with Jefferson, our third President, political parties had grown politically hostile, and Jefferson selected as his Cabinet men who were of his political way of thinking. All succeeding Presidents have done the same; and to this day the Cabinet of a President is made up, exclusively, of his political friends, associates, or supporters."

"And that is right, too," partizan Jack stoutly asserted. "It wouldn't be the square thing to have a Cabinet made up of different politics. Why, the President couldn't 'play ball' at all. It would be like making up a Harvard team with Yale and Princeton players. How would that be, eh, Roger?"

"Gracious!" exclaimed the Boston boy; "you'd have every man on the field kicking before the teams lined up."

"Well, that's about so, boys," Uncle Tom admitted. "It is no more than fair that the man who sails the ship should make up his crew to suit himself. There is, to use your forcible word, plenty of 'kicking,' as it is. To have a divided Cabinet would mean one continual wrangle."

"There have been some great men in the Cabinets, though, have there not, Uncle Tom?" Marian inquired.

"Yes. indeed, Marian," Uncle Tom replied. "Let's see! Whom can I recall? Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, Randolph, Marshall, Gallatin, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Wirt, Van Buren, Clay, Webster, Ewing, Everett, Marcy, Crittenden, Cass, Bancroft, Seward, Fessenden, Stanton, Evarts, Sherman, Blaine—these, at any rate, I can give you as names who have made Presidents' Cabinets strong. Others could be added to this list, but these are enough to show you that the advisers of our Presidents have included men whom the nation delights to

honor, and who have left their mark forever stamped upon the fabric of their country's greatness."

"My, though!" said Jack to Marian, "eloquence is catching here in Washington, I guess. Uncle Tom reels it off, right up to the handle, doesn't he, now? 'Fabric of their country's greatness,' is good! I'll have to remember that. It wouldn't go bad in one of my *Nonpareil* editorials; eh, Bert?"—for by this time Jack's "aside" had grown into a public announcement.

Uncle Tom laughed good-humoredly, for he knew Jack. "No copyright on that, Jack," he said; "you can use it. And now, you young folks, get your traps together and follow me. To the Senate!"

"Ah!" exclaimed Marian, with the emphasis of satisfaction; "the Capitol at last!"

And Jack as emphatically echoed, "I call it capital, too!"

Chapter 5
The Senate

The East Front of the Capitol — A look at the United States Senate— Uncle Tom explains — Charles Sumner's vindication — What the Senate is and what it does.

The three green cars, gripping the never-resting cable, worked their swift trail along the broad avenue. They dashed around the generous curves, they slid up the sloping hill, they slipped past the Peace Monument, sacred to the Navy's dead, past the Botanical Garden, green with its avenue of palms, past the Garfield statue with its attendant figures of Wisdom, Force, and Patriotism, past the Capitol's vast western terrace, and, at last, deposited our enthusiastic tourists where the wide driveway bends and sweeps before the noble East Front of the mighty Capitol.

The young people paused just a moment to drink in that marvelous architectural panorama of the great white wings and the towering dome. Then they climbed the famous central steps worn by the footsteps of generations of patriots and politicians, of statesmen and sight-seers, and stood upon the eastern portico where seventeen Presidents of the United States have been inaugurated into office.

They stopped to breathe and look about them, and Jack, taking that single step which is all there is, sometimes, from the sublime to the ridiculous, nudged Bert and said:

"Look at that, Bert, will you? Columbus on the steps of the Capitol pitching a hot ball to Washington out there on the home plate in East Capitol Park!"

"And see, boys! G. W. has stripped off his sweater for a home run, too," cried Roger.

Then they all laughed at the very significant attitudes of those two great statues, and, passing through the wide entrance with its storied doors of bronze, they stood at once in the vast rotunda of the Capitol.

Bert whipped out his panoramic guide (Jack called it his "accordion" book), and would have studied his surroundings, but Uncle Tom said: "We won't stop here now; we'll take this later. Come; the Senate Chamber is this way."

They turned to the right, and passed from the rotunda through the doorway whose ridiculous wooden fence seemed strangely out of place amid its massive surroundings—" for all the world like a cattle-pen in a palace," said indignant Jack — and hurried along the corridor.

Scorning the waiting elevator they climbed the great marble staircase above whose ample landing the gallant Perry looked down upon them as he rowed from ship to ship in the very heat of the Battle of Lake Erie.

"Girls are of some use, eh, Roger?" Jack whispered as, thanks to the presence of the two girls, the party had the privilege of entrance to the Ladies' Gallery. From that vantage-ground they looked down upon the Senate of the United States.

"Why, Christine; look at all those boys, will you?" Marian whispered, excitedly. "Who are they? There are no boy senators surely, Uncle Tom?"

"Senate pages," he whispered in explanation. "They are employed to carry messages and run on errands for the members of the Senate. There are sixteen of them here, and the House of Representatives employs thirty-five. The boys are paid two dollars and a half a day." [As of 2008, there are 30 Senate pages paid an annual salary of $20,491 and 72 House pages paid an annual salary of $20,181]

"Oh, yes," said Christine. "Don't you remember those articles about them in *St. Nicholas?* I have them all in one of the bound volumes."

"What, the pages?" whispered Jack.

"No; the articles, smarty!" Christine whispered back. "They were written by a man who was one of the pages in this very room, when Charles Sumner was in the Senate. I guess they have great times, too,— those boys,— from what he said. They are smaller than I thought, though."

"Who's the man in the highest chair, behind that desk, Uncle Tom?" Jack inquired.

"That, sir," replied Uncle Tom, impressively, "is the Vice-President of the United States."

"My! Is it though?" came from the group of clustered heads. Respect and interest mingled with their surprise.

"Why, of course," Roger remarked. "You said the Vice-President was President of the Senate, didn't you?"

"You see this aisle just below us?" said Uncle Tom. "Well, the senators on that side—to the right of the presiding officer—are Democrats; those on the other side, to the left, are Republicans."

A bald-headed man, whose eye-glasses kept tumbling off, was reading a speech from a pile of manuscript. No one seemed to be listening. Groups of gray-headed men were talking in whispers; here and there were others, reading newspapers or writing letters; half the seats were vacant, and the pages, clustered on the steps that led to the Vice-President's dais, behind the secretaries' table, seemed to be holding animated discussions, from which they broke away occasionally, as a senator clapped his hands or snapped his fingers in summons.

"Looks like a schoolroom where the teacher can't keep order, doesn't it?" said Marian.

"And the pages are monitors," said Bert.

"I don't like it," said Christine. "I think senators ought to sit up straight and look dignified."

Suddenly there was a change. The bald-headed man stopped his dull speech and sat down. Two or three gentlemen stood up. There was talk, "forward and back," as Marian said, that the children did not understand. Then a thin, farmer-like looking man rose, and people began to look interested.

He launched into a speech that soon caused the boys to bristle with enthusiasm and the girls to lean forward to catch what he said. A white-bearded gentleman on the other side of the aisle rose hastily to protest against something the senator had said. There were questions and answers, dignified but almost personal in their bearing. Another and another senator, now on one side, now on the other, rose to question or support the speaker; pages ran to and fro; the little mahogany desks began to be occupied; things grew decidedly interesting; the tourists were in the heat of a senatorial debate.

Later in the day, as the sight-seers gathered about the dinner table reserved for them at their hotel, Bert said:

"What is the need of a Senate, anyway, Uncle Tom? Why couldn't there just be a single Congress, instead of one made up of two sections, as ours is?"

"Well, for two general reasons, Bert," his uncle replied; "one because of custom, the other because of compromise."

"Custom! why there never had been any United States of America before," Roger exclaimed.

"And why compromise?" demanded Jack.

"No, there never had been any United States of America before," Uncle Tom assented; "but there had been nations and governments; and in most instances, where the people had any voice whatever in the government, the governing body had been divided into two houses."

"Just as they have in England the House of Lords and the House of Commons?" queried Bert.

"Huh!" cried republican Jack. "I thought the American Revolution was to put down such useless things as lords."

"It did decide against them, certainly," Uncle Tom answered; "and in a democracy like the United States a House of Lords was not necessary. But the framers of the Constitution saw the wisdom of dividing both the risks and the responsibilities, and, remembering their history lessons at school, they followed the examples of other nations; only they improved upon them: they made the Congress of the United States a double body consisting of a Senate—"

"From *senex,* an old man," whispered classical Bert to modern Jack. "All right, old man; you'll get there some day," said Jack. "And a House of Representatives, or representative men," Uncle Tom concluded.

"That'll be for me," Jack said in an aside to Bert.

"And was that the compromise you spoke of, Mr. Dunlap?" inquired Christine.

"By no means, my dear," he answered. "The compromise I referred to was the result of a difference of opinion between the two parties which, even at the beginning of things, took sides as to the question of how America should be governed. Both sides agreed that it was the duty of Congress to arrange the affairs of the country and direct their management. But just how this should be done was a disputed point. One party insisted that Congress should represent only the people; the other declared that Congress should represent only the States."

"How did they settle it?" Roger asked.

"By both sides giving in and both sides getting what they wished," Mr. Dunlap answered. "For it was determined that both ideas should be recognized. As a result the Constitution divides

Congress into two sections — the Senate representing the States, as States; the House representing the people, as people."

Jack rubbed his ear reflectively. "See through it, Roger?" he said.

"Well, I don't know," answered Roger, slowly. "It is something like a class team and a varsity team, isn't it? When a class team plays, it plays for the honor of the class; but a varsity game is played for the honor of the whole college, and every department of the college is interested, from the president to the mascot."

Uncle Tom laughed heartily. "Well, you have something of the idea, Roger; but it is not quite so complicated or partizan. An American voter's, you know, not only a citizen of the United States; he is a citizen, also, of his own particular State. So, as a citizen, he elects a man who acts for him directly in the National Government by serving in the House of Representatives at Washington; and, as a citizen as well, he elects men to his State legislature who, in their turn, but acting for him, elect two men to represent his State in the United States Senate. In other words, I vote directly for a representative and indirectly for a senator, so that both my own interests and those of my State are served." [Because of the 17 th Amendment, Senators are now elected by popular vote.]

"It's a good deal like husband and wife, isn't it. Uncle Tom?" asked Marian. "Mother takes care of us in the home, and Father looks out for us outside the home. He gets our bread and butter, and she spreads it for us. But they both work for us."

"That's it," said Uncle Tom. "Marian's simile is even nearer the point than Roger's. The two houses of Congress make our laws, and, together, represent all our interests. Like your father and mother they bring to their work different ideas and methods; like them they have different duties; but like them, too, they have a common interest; they are married to each

other, and whatever is determined upon for the home is, really, the work of both."

"The senators have the longest terms of office, don't they?" Bert inquired.

"Yes," replied Uncle Tom. "A senator serves six years; a representative two. The term of a representative is the same as the duration of a Congress. But a senator serves through three Congresses."

"But why is that?" asked Christine.

"Well, one idea of the Constitution-makers," said Uncle Tom, "was to have the Senate act as a sort of balance-wheel. People are full of impulses, you know, just like boys and girls. You think one thing today, and, perhaps, another tomorrow. Things happen to change your opinions or to blind your judgment. The Senate takes things slowly. The House of Representatives, representing popular opinion, often acts hastily and makes mistakes. The Senate can go carefully over these actions and correct mistakes that are due to temporary excitement or partizan desires. Elections to the Senate are so arranged that one third of the members go out every second year—that is, at the end of each Congress. That, you see, always keeps a working majority in the Senate, and the new men cannot control the actions of the Senate when they enter it. There is never such a thing as a new Senate. As a result, the changes that come at elections, or when a new President comes into office, do not affect the Senate except to a limited extent. So it is the balance-wheel of the nation; it keeps the machinery of government running steadily, and, while representing the people, represents also that sober second-thought that is always wisest for the people."

"And yet I suppose folks find as much fault with the senators as they do with the representatives, don't they, Uncle Tom?" asked Bert.

"Oh, yes, Bert," Uncle Tom replied. "Criticism is easy; people drop into it readily, and—well—even senators are not perfect. But, while a senator may make mistakes, he is not so directly responsible to the people as is the representative. He has six years in which to broaden and improve, and he is a member of a body that is supposed to be one of the most dignified, courteous, and well-balanced assemblies in the world."

"But suppose he goes wrong," said Jack, "who does pull him up short, and call him to account?"

"No one; unless he does something that is really criminal or illegal," replied Uncle Tom. "The legislature of his State can pass a vote of censure, but that does not affect his office or his standing. I remember that, years ago. Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, broader-minded and more noble even than the people of his progressive State, introduced into the Senate a bill to erase from the Army Register and the flags of the United States the names of battles between fellow-citizens. It was intended to unite all sections of the country by making no official record of the strife between brothers that had made so dreadful and so bloody our great civil war. But it was not then a popular movement. People cried against it as an insult to the soldiers of the Union, and the Legislature of Massachusetts passed a vote censuring their great senator. How foolish that seems after all these years! How little could the Legislature of Massachusetts appreciate the real greatness of the man who had been a foremost champion for liberty and union! But their vote made no difference. They could merely scold; Sumner remained senator still, and their vote did not affect his standing, though it undoubtedly made the great statesman sad to see how wrongly men read his heart. But men learned a new lesson. Before eighteen months passed the Legislature of Massachusetts saw how great had been their mistake, how uncharitable had been their judgment. They passed a resolution rescinding the vote of censure. That 'I beg your pardon' of Massachusetts was read in

the United States Senate, where Sumner was still a senator. It was a glorious vindication, and it fittingly closed a life filled with labor for humanity, for justice, and for right. The next day the great senator died."

Girls and boys, alike, gave a long sigh of interest, satisfaction, and respect.

"He was a great man, though, wasn't he?" Roger said, proudly. "I have seen his grave so often in Mount Auburn. All it says is 'Charles Sumner,' but that tells the whole story. What other great men have been in the Senate, Mr. Dunlap?"

"Oh, a goodly number, Roger," Uncle Tom replied. "Let's see! Clay and Webster, Calhoun and Wright, John Quincy Adams and Benton, Van Buren and Wise, Everett and Seward, Evarts and Blaine, Sherman and Conkling—and many others whose names have a place forever, for good or ill, on the pages of American history."

"And the Vice-President; is he a senator?" Christine inquired.

"Why, no!" cried Jack. "Don't you know how it is? They just coop him up behind that high desk in the Senate so as to have him handy in case anything happens to the President. Isn't that so, Uncle Tom?"

"Yes, to a certain extent," his uncle replied. "But it solved a problem to make him the presiding officer of the Senate. A judicial and dignified body like that needed one who had no State interests to serve, as do the senators. The Vice-President of the United States stands for the nation only. He has no connection with the Senate, save to keep it in order. He cannot vote unless there is a tie. Then his importance suddenly asserts itself; for at such a time he can vote, and his vote may decide a most important question."

"Well, I'm glad I've seen the Senate," said Bert. "I never exactly understood what the senators were, or what they had to

do. Now I begin to see—though I must say it is not a real easy riddle to read."

"Why, it should be for so bright and thoughtful a boy as you, Bert," Uncle Tom began, whereupon Jack said, "Ahem! Albert, my son, arise and return your thanks to the senator from Taffydom!"

Uncle Tom gave Jack a pinch.

"I mean just what I say, Master Jack," he declared. "Now let us see if I cannot sum up the Senate in a few words, that may try to tell it all: The Senate of the United States is a deliberative assembly representing the States of the American Union. In its deliberations every State has equal share. To its composition each State contributes two senators, elected, not by the people directly, but by the State legislature. [This was changed to popular election by the 17th Amendment.] The Senate was designed by the Constitution for three special purposes—*first:* to secure for all the States an equal voice in one branch of the Government; *second:* to advise or control the President in making appointments to office and concluding treaties;*third:* to act as a curb on unwise or hasty popular judgment. The Senate, therefore, is a legislative body in helping to frame new laws; it is an executive body in its power to say yes or no to appointments and treaties; it is a judicial body when it sits in judgment on high political offenders. It checks, it controls, it censures; for, in its hands, it holds the powers of criticism, of consent, and of correction. The Senate is the nation's brake or balance-wheel. In its deliberations no State, however large, can exert an undue influence; no State, however small, can be ignored or overawed. Delaware has as much to say as New York. Illinois has no more power than North Dakota. The Senate never dies. It is a continuous body, having always a stated presiding officer and a working majority of members. It is the nation's safeguard against the evils of hasty law-making and the risks of political changes.

To speak of it as useless is to deny the wisdom of the fathers; to call it an aristocratic assembly is to belittle the will of the people. For the Senate is the people's creation quite as much as any other department of the Government. To it the people send the pick of their best men. In temper, in material, and in wisdom it is but a reflection of the people who make it. In design, in construction, and in administration it is, as a famous prime-minister of England said of it, 'the most powerful and efficient second chamber that exists.' There, I trust that you have followed me, and that I have made myself clear without wearying you. Come; Congress is in session tonight. Let us go out and see how the Capitol looks lighted up."

" 'From night to light,' " quoted Jack, who was not a very good hand at listening to explanations.

And the dome did light up beautifully.

Chapter 6
The House of Representatives

In Statuary Hall — A bird's-eye view of the House of Representatives — Mr. Speaker, the Mace, and the "Melee"— Uncle Tom explains it all — The standing committees of Congress — What the House really is.

Once again the "tourists" entered the historic doorway of the Capitol and stood in the rotunda. But this time they turned to the left, and, passing through the same sort of an open "cattle-fence" as had barred the way to the Senate, they crossed the marble floor of Statuary Hall.

They would have lingered here, in the room that once had been the Old Hall of Representatives; for in that chamber, recalling to classical Bert what he had read of the theaters of ancient Greece, were many portrait-statues of famous Americans, full of interest to these young students of American history.

But Uncle Tom had other designs upon their time, and hastened them on. They trod the long corridor and, as before, scorning the proffered elevator, climbed the marble staircase above whose first broad landing they saw Leutze's great painting of the old-time emigrants crossing the Plains — "Westward the course of Empire takes its way."

Then, thanks again to the company of the two girls, they availed themselves of the privileges of the Ladies' Gallery, and soon, from a front seat, were looking down upon a bustling throng of lawmakers — the duly elected members of the House of Representatives.

It was an animated scene.

"Makes you think of the Stock Exchange, doesn't it?" said Jack, the New Yorker.

"Or of a terribly disorderly schoolroom," commented Marian.

"I shouldn't think they could hear themselves think," Roger declared, as he strained his ears to make some sense out of all the hubbub.

It was indeed an apparent hurly-burly upon which the five children looked down. There was motion everywhere. The great hall was filled with men. They were coming and going from the rooms that opened into it; they were passing and re-passing in the wide, open spaces at the sides and in the rear. Groups were conversing here and there; men were hurrying this way and that — "as if they were sent for," Christine declared. A ceaseless buzz of talk and laughter filled the air. Pages were darting up and down the aisles and in among the desks, with books or letters or papers, or on some incomprehensible duty. One man was trying to make a speech that no one cared to listen to, or could hear if one did care to listen.

The floor of the great carpeted hall was furnished with numerous little desks and cane-seated revolving-chairs. Many of these were vacant. Others were occupied by men, reading or writing; or neighbors, sitting at their ease, were deep in conversation.

It did look, as Marian had said, like a terribly disorderly schoolroom, and the least concerned of all in the room seemed to be the gentleman who sat in the high chair beneath the draped flag, and who, Marian felt certain, would not long be permitted to teach school in New York, because, she said, "he did seem to be such a poor disciplinarian!"

"Who is he?" Christine asked.

Just then the man who had been trying to make a speech seemed to give it up as a bad job, and sat down. Instantly the

noise grew louder. Men sprang to their feet. They seemed raising their hands to "ask permission" as children do in school.

"Mr. Speaker!" "Mr. Speaker!" "Mr. Speaker!" a dozen voices shouted all over the room.

"That's who he is," said Uncle Tom. "The man who really wields more power and has a greater influence than almost any other man in the United States. He is the Speaker, or presiding officer, of the House of Representatives."

A big man with a mighty voice rose at the marble "counter" just below the Speaker's desk.

"That is the Clerk of the House," said Uncle Tom.

The clerk had a paper in his hand and read something that the children could not understand, he talked so loud and so fast.

"He is reading a bill, for the information of the House," Uncle Tom explained.

"Mr. Speaker!" "Mr. Speaker!" "Mr. Speaker!" again came the cry from a dozen throats.

The noise grew louder than ever. Mr. Speaker pounded his desk with a big mallet.

"The gentleman from Alabama," he said, and all the other claimants sat down.

"Oh, that's not fair!" cried justice-loving Jack, almost aloud. "That man didn't call Mr. Speaker first. I was watching to see. Why did the Speaker give him the chance? I don't believe he recognized the right man."

"Going down to tell him so, Jack?" asked Bert: for Jack in his excitement was leaning far over the gallery-rail.

"Well, I like to see folks act square," said Jack, drawing himself in again.

"Don't worry, Jack," Uncle Tom said. "He was square enough. The Speaker knows beforehand who has the right to

the floor. He has a list of those who have asked for recognition, and gives them their chance in regular order."

"But why do they all yell out so then?" demanded Jack.

"Oh, simply to emphasize their desires, and keep themselves 'in the Speaker's eye,' as they say," Uncle Tom explained. "You think everything is helter-skelter here," he added, "but there is a method in all this seeming madness. If you could once get used to the confusion and get the hang of things, you would find that everything is regular and shipshape. Procedure goes by rule here, and the rules are respected by the noisiest and obeyed by the most unruly. If not — there stands the mace."

"The mace? — what is that?" asked Roger. "Don't you see that thing that looks like a bundle of rods with an eagle on top—there, at the right of the Speaker's desk?"

"Why, yes," said Bert. "It looks like the picture of the Roman *fasces* in my 'Caesar.' "

"It is a sort of reproduction of the *fasces* or the lictor's rods of old Rome," Uncle Tom announced. "Like them, too, it is the symbol of authority. When that man who sits beside it and who is called the sergeant-at-arms takes up the mace and holding it before him marches straight into the hurly-burly it means business, and not the loudest, the angriest, nor the most obstreperous representative but respects it, and drops at once into his seat and silence."

The children stayed a long time in the House of Representatives. They enjoyed it all immensely. To be sure, they could scarcely make out a thing that was said; they could not hear a speech nor follow the heated discussions that kept springing up. They could not tell what the clerk was thundering out, what the Speaker said, why he hammered his desk so lustily, nor what good it did to hammer. But there was life, there was action, there was excitement there; and these the children delighted in, even if they did not know what it was all about.

Jack declared it was great fun; "as good as a football rush or a tug of war," he said; and the young people grew as flushed and excited in their seat in the Ladies' Gallery as though they were down there on the floor of the House, trying to send their cards to a member, running with the pages, pounding with the presiding officer, or "Mr. Speakering" at the top of their voices with the most determined congressman.

But when they had left the great hall and, after a tour of the lobbies, had gathered for rest and fresh air upon the low stone coping-seat along the beautiful front of East Capitol Park,—just behind the father of his country "forever muffing a ball," as Jack explained,— Uncle Tom said inquiringly:

"Well, girls and boys; what do you think of the business of lawmaking?"

"Hot work," declared Jack. "Why, my throat got raw, just listening."

"I don't see how they can make any laws in such a hubbub," said Christine.

"Well, as a fact, they don't," replied Uncle Tom. "What you have just seen is the House in session. And the House in session is not men making laws, but men struggling for a chance to introduce new laws or to have something to say about laws that are nearly made— or not made."

"But where does the lawmaking come in then?" queried Bert. "I thought those representatives were our lawmakers."

"So they are," Uncle Tom replied. "But laws are framed or made only with thought and care and method. Did you see much chance for those three ingredients of good lawmaking in the big hall yonder?"

"It's all chance," Jack commented; "not much certainty, at any rate."

"Wouldn't the first members of Congress open their eyes if they could see it today?" said Marian.

"They would, indeed," said Uncle Tom. "That first Congress met in Old Federal Hall in New York City. Its House of Representatives had but fifty-nine members. Today it has three hundred and fifty-six."[In 2010, 435 members.]

"But where are the laws made if not in Congress?" asked Roger.

"First let us see what the House of Representatives really is," said Uncle Tom. "A distinguished English writer has asserted that it is nothing less than a big meeting of more or less idle people. He further declared Congress to be a despot, with unlimited time, unlimited vanity, and unlimited comprehension (by which he meant 'cheek'); whose pleasure is action, whose life is work. How does that strike you?"

"It's no strike at all; it's a foul ball," cried indignant Jack, roused to patriotic protest. "That's the way with all those Englishmen. They pitch into anything American, on principle."

"Oh, it's not so bad as that, Jack," said Uncle Tom. "It is simply that the English point of view is different from ours. We should never object to honest criticism. But the Englishman was wrong. Congress, indeed, has great power; but it is power given by the people and used for the people. A despot is always selfish; Congress is not selfish; it is, in intent, helpful, and there are but few of its members who do not have a sense of their duty and a desire to do this duty."

"Somebody," said Roger, "once sent my father a little book entitled, 'What this Congress has Done'—and, when he opened it, he found it a blank book!"

At this, Jack laughed immoderately; the girls looked puzzled, and Bert was silent.

But Uncle Tom said, "A partizan criticism, I fear, pushed to extremes for the sake of the joke. People are impatient. They have an idea that all Congress need do is to assemble, pass a few good laws or bills that will help the country and 'boom' business, and then adjourn."

"Well, why can't they?" queried Jack.

"Huh! a fine lot of lawmakers they would be," cried Bert. "Rome was not built in a day, Johnny, my boy."

"Indeed it was not," Uncle Tom commented. "The House of Representatives is a big and unwieldy body. It is not a debating society, like the Senate. It is a lawmaking assembly, doing business by proxy."

"By proxy! what is that, Uncle Tom?" asked Marian.

"Bert?" Uncle Tom said, turning to the student.

"Abbreviation of procuracy, from the Latin *pro* and *curo,* to care for," replied Bert.

"Which means caring for someone else's business," explained Uncle Tom. "In other words, my 'proxy' is some one who represents me in carrying on or carrying out my legitimate business."

"And who is the proxy of Congress?" asked Christine.

"Certain men selected from Congress to take charge of different interests," replied Uncle Tom. "Every measure upon which action by Congress is necessary after the proper examination, is handed over to these men for examination. They are divided into little groups called 'Standing Committees,' and upon one or the other of these Standing Committees every senator or representative must serve. There is where the bulk of the work of congressmen is done; for every Congress is flooded with bills of every description that go first to the Standing Committees for examination and recommendation. So

Congress, you see, makes our laws after they have been considered and reported by its Standing Committees."

"I don't see but these Committees have more to say than any one else," said Bert.

"They do," said Uncle Tom; "for upon their report on a bill the fate of that bill depends. In fact, it has been directly asserted that the United States of America is governed not by President, Senate, or House of Representatives, but by the Standing Committees of Congress."

"How many are there?" asked Bert.

"There are, I think, forty-six Standing Committees in the Senate and fifty-six in the House," Uncle Tom replied. "In the Senate, these Committees are chosen by ballot; in the House they are appointed by the Speaker. There are also in the Senate fifteen Select Committees, as they are called, for special but minor cases." [In 2010, there were 16 Standing Committees in the Senate and 20 Standing Committees in the House. There are 4 Select Committees in the Senate.]

"There; now I see why Mr. Speaker is so powerful," cried Marian. "Of course if he appoints these Committees in the House he can pick out the men he wishes to lead them, and so—"

"Becomes the biggest toad in the puddle," broke in Jack. "Don't you see, if he's a Democrat he can make the Committees all Democratic and freeze out the Republicans; or, if he's a Republican — *terra firma*."

"*Terra firma?*" "Oh, Jack Dunlap! "cried Marian and Bert, while the others laughed merrily.

"You mean *vice versa,* of course," said Bert.

"Well, perhaps I do," said Jack, a trifle cast down. "You seem to know what I mean better than I do myself. 'Just the opposite

was what I meant, whether the Latin for it is *vice versa* or *terra firma."*

"Oh, Jack, Jack!" said Uncle Tom, with one of his very rare attempts at a pun, "if you would only be firmer in your determination to study, your Latin wouldn't be quite such a terror."

Then, escaping from the "punching" administered by his nephews, Uncle Tom remarked, "Well, Jack's wrong anyhow. The Speaker, because of his power of appointing these important Standing Committees, is, indeed, an autocrat. His word is law, and the Committees he appoints really make the laws. In fact, there is often as much of a contest over the election of a Speaker of the House of Representatives as over that of a President of the United States. But Jack is wrong in his committee-making. Of course the balance of power in each Committee will be according to the politics of the Speaker who names the Committee. But he always allows a minority representation in the Committee. So, for instance, if the Speaker is a Republican, on a Committee of five, three will be Republicans and two Democrats, or—*vice versa,* Jack, according to the politics of the Speaker, who, of course, represents the political majority of Congress."

"But what things, for instance, do these Committees attend to, Mr. Dunlap?" inquired Christine.

"Oh, fifty different things," said Uncle Tom. "In the House there are, as I have told you, fifty-six Standing Committees. Of these the most important are the Committee of Ways and Means, who decide how the money to run the Government shall be obtained; the Committee on Appropriations, who consider all suggestions as to how this money shall be spent; the Committee on Elections, [there is no longer a Committee of Elections.]who decide which man was elected when more than one claims the seat; the Committees on banking and currency,

on accounts, rivers and harbors, judiciary (to consider changes in law and justice), railways and canals, foreign affairs, naval affairs, military affairs, public lands, agriculture, claims for pensions and relief (from old soldiers or those who think the Government owes them money), mines, ventilation, woman suffrage, liquor, irrigation, labor, and lots of others."

"Well, they do cover about everything," said Roger. "Where do they meet?"

"You saw some of the larger Committee Rooms in the Capitol, you remember," said Uncle Tom. "Both in the Senate wing and in the House wing. But even the great Capitol is overcrowded. Look there! Do you see that red brick building over across the Capitol grounds to the right of the Senate wing? That used to be a hotel — the Maltby House. It is now the Senate annex. And over there, to the left of the House wing, do you see a large gray stone house? That was built by General 'Ben' Butler, of wartime fame, and was bought by the Government. It is the House annex. Both those buildings are used by the smaller Standing Committees of Congress, simply because there is no room for them in the Capitol. That gives you an idea of the magnitude of the Committee government which acts as proxy for Congress and does all its business in advance — except actually voting it. How important this is you may know from the fact that nine tenths of the bills taken charge of by these Committees 'die in committee,' as it is called. The country and Congress never hear of them. They are either not worth anything or not good enough to stand a chance of becoming laws."

Jack looked at his watch.

"Mr. Speaker," he said, "I move that the House do now adjourn."

"Or that the Committee of the Whole rise and go to dinner," amended Bert.

As the tourists, unanimously agreeing to this proposition, strolled leisurely down the slope and along Pennsylvania Avenue, Uncle Tom told them many interesting stories of the busy but noisy House of Representatives. He told them how that eccentric Virginian, John Randolph, of Roanoke, used to stride into the House dressed in greatcoat and fur cap, homespun suit, white-topped boots and silver spurs, with his dogs at his heels and his riding-whip in his hand; how Corwin joked, and Edward Everett "orated," and Abraham Lincoln sat almost unknown as the congressman from Illinois; how, in fact, thirteen Presidents of the United States had served their constituents as members of the House of Representatives, and how one President and the son of a President—John Quincy Adams—was a member of the House after his retirement from the presidency, and died on its floor— literally "in harness." Then, turning from story to description, Uncle Tom summed up his study of the House in this wise:

"The House of Representatives," he said, "is a direct outgrowth of the principle in defense of which our fathers signed the Declaration of Independence and fought the Revolution: no taxation without representation. It is composed of a continually increasing number of members, arranged, as are our taxes, upon the basis of population. This basis, of course, changes with each census. When the nation started out in 1789 the proportion was one member of the House of Representatives for every thirty thousand persons. The original House had, therefore, sixty-five members. Today, with a population of sixty-five millions, the ratio, based on the census of 1893, is one member for every one hundred and seventy-four thousand people, or three hundred and fifty-six representatives. [In 2010, there are 435 representatives] Thus, you see, the House of Representatives actually represents the people. It was designed by the Constitution as a lawmaking body, a supply-granting body, a tax-raising body, and a money-spending body.

It has two functions that no other branch of the Government possesses. It alone can originate bills which shall spend the people's money; it alone can call to account, by what is termed impeachment, the highest officials of the Government. The members of the House of Representatives are elected for a term of two years. This two years' term is called a Congress; at the end of those two years Congress dies, and the representative goes out of office. He may or may not be re-elected to Congress. That depends upon the people and politics; and, as you know, politics change and so do people. Some congressmen have served many terms in the House; many have served but one term. The House of Representatives is big and noisy, and hard to handle; but it is run by rule, and so, even though you could not see it, order comes out of chaos. These three divisions of our Government,—the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives,— though practically separate and on their own hook, are still associated with one another in many ways, and by their powers of originating, making, and enforcing laws are really the governing powers of the nation — the representatives of the people's will — the shapers of the people's power into deed and act. But I am talking too much. The Committee on Mastication and Digestion is ready for deliberation. Its Committee Room is the hotel dining-hall. Come, young folks; get ready for dinner at once."

Chapter 7
The Supreme Court

The puzzled tourists —Dignity and silence — The old Senate chamber— A lesson in law — The Supreme Court and its branches — What it is to America and Americans.

At noon, next day, Uncle Tom and his tourists, wearied by a morning of sightseeing amid the marvels and relics of the Smithsonian Institution and the splendid National Museum, sought the cool corridors of the Capitol for rest and shade.

The young people were undecided between a visit to the dim and "spooky" crypt that Jack said he heard was away down under the Capitol — "Just like the deepest dungeon 'neath the castle moat in Scott's novels," he declared — and a test of the Whispering Gallery away up in the Capitol dome. But Uncle Tom solved the question by pausing before one of the swing-doors in the hallway, above which blazed out the arms of the United States.

"Come; we will go in here," he said.

The two leaves of the rubber-stripped door gave not a sound, so noiselessly did they open and shut; the silent doorkeeper simply bent his head in permission of their entrance, and the five children stood within a large, quiet, semicircular chamber, with high domed roof and marble columns. Tables, desks, chairs, and sofas filled but nowhere crowded the ample floor space, and at the rear of the room ran a long platform upon which, behind a curtained rail, a number of comfortable armchairs were ranged in line.

Behind the chairs a high, wide arch, hung with looped curtains of crimson velvet, half concealed a broad and pillared

recess, above which perched the American eagle, with outspread and protecting wings.

The tired tourists sank down upon one of the largest of the recessed velvet sofas, and looked curiously about them.

It all seemed so very quiet and solemn that even our young irrepressibles were awed into wondering whispers.

"What is it?" queried Christine in an undertone.

"Private theatricals or a minstrel show, I guess, by the look of the curtain and the chairs," said Jack.

The hands of the big clock that hung above the eagle met at twelve o'clock. A door at the right opened noiselessly and in walked a stately procession of nine dignified and grave-looking gentlemen robed in black silk gowns.

"Bishops, I guess," whispered Jack, and Marian laid a hand on her uncle's knee. "Is it a church, Uncle Tom?" she asked. Bert and Christine looked solemnly excited, and Roger, who was a choirboy at home, wished he had slipped his Church Service into his pocket.

But, as the nine robed gentlemen entered, every one in the room stood up, and a man at the left of the platform said in a loud and impressive voice of introduction:

"The Honorable the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States! "

Then the boys and girls knew where they were. Uncle Tom had brought them into the beautiful chamber devoted to the sessions of the third great department of the Government — the Supreme Court of the United States. [The Supreme Court now meets in the U.S. Supreme Court Building across the street from the U.S. Capitol.]

"That is the Chief Justice at the head of the line," said Uncle Tom.

As they looked upon those nine dignified and scholarly men, upon whose decisions so many great questions of law depend, the gowned justices bowed to the standing audience and then (the Chief Justice in the middle) they seated themselves in the comfortable armchairs awaiting them, "exactly like the minstrels," declared Jack, with just that touch of boyish irreverence that sees the comic side of everything.

Then everybody sat down, except the crier, who, still standing at his desk, said authoritatively but just a bit monotonously:

"Oyez! oyez! oyez! All persons having business before the Honorable Supreme Court of the United States are admonished to draw near and give their attention, for the court is now sitting. God save the United States and this honorable court!"

It was all very impressive. But, after a half-hour, the law questions that arose between the judges on the platform and the lawyers on the floor gave place to a long and dry legal speech by one of the lawyers. The tourists, rested as to their legs and weary of listening to what did not especially interest their excitement-craving natures, looked at Uncle Tom for permission, and then rising, filed slowly out of the room, as silently and as quietly as they had entered.

In the corridor without, Jack drew a long sigh of relief, and it almost seemed as if he would have cut a pigeon wing, save for the restraining hand of Uncle Tom.

"I can't help it. I feel as if I must holler," he said. "It was all so quiet and solemn and — stupid, in there. Is it always so, Uncle Tom?"

"Not always," replied Uncle Tom. "Sometimes there are very interesting speeches and discussions to be heard. And when your mind grows more thoughtful and legal you can enjoy even what you now call solemn and stupid. Justice, my dear boy, is never stupid."

"But what is it all for? What do they do there? Tell us all about it," said Bert, the tireless information-hunter.

Uncle Tom found a quiet resting-place in the Senate Extension portico, beneath Crawford's great grouping of the Progress of American Civilization.

"That is a notable and historic room that you have just left," he said. "Until 1860 it was the Senate chamber of the United States. There great statesmen have labored; there great orators have spoken. There Webster made his wonderful speech against Hayne—"

"The 'Liberty and Union now and forever one and inseparable' speech?" inquired Roger.

"That very speech," replied Mr. Dunlap. "There John Quincy Adams, 'the old man eloquent,' as he was called, stirred men to duty and action; there Henry Clay enchanted audiences with his wonderful gift of oratory, and Calhoun made his record as a politician without trickery and an orator of force and strength; there Douglas made good his nickname of 'the little giant'; there Sumner spoke for freedom and fell beneath the savage blows of an enraged opponent; there ten presidents of the United States served terms as senators; there the councils of the nation grew divided, as the struggle for the nation's life approached, and there for many years men now famous in our history labored, debated, argued, and worked for union and good government."

"My, though; I wish we had known all that when we were there," Marian said. "It would have made the room all the more interesting."

"But where was the Supreme Court held when that room was the Senate chamber?" asked Bert.

"Down in the basement of the Capitol," replied Uncle Tom, "in a low vaulted room which is now occupied by the Law Library, and which I will show you before we get through our investigations."

"Then one might say, I suppose," said Jack, just a trifle rhetorically, "that the Capitol of the United States had its foundations on law and order and was crowned by liberty."

"Meaning the Supreme Court in the basement and the goddess of liberty on the dome, eh, Jack?" queried Bert.

And Marian added, "Now, I call that not bad — for Jack — is it, Uncle Tom?"

"No, not at all bad — for Jack — or, for that matter — any of you," her uncle replied. "It is a good analogy; and, further, the Supreme Court took a step upward with the new order of things. For it was removed to its new home in the room we have just visited, when, in 1860, the new Senate chamber was completed, just at the time when the nation was entering upon the struggle that meant liberty for all and progress for America."

"But just what is the Supreme Court, Mr. Dunlap?" Christine inquired.

"It is the balance-wheel of the Government of the United States," Uncle Tom replied.

"But you said the Senate was that, Uncle Tom," said Bert.

"Well, it is," returned Uncle Tom. "But you have heard of a wheel within a wheel, have you not? The Supreme Court is the inner wheel that balances, by its fine exactness, all our machinery of government. It is what we call the 'conservative force' in our political system; for it keeps us up to the constitutional mark; it holds all the parts of our governmental machinery together and keeps each in harmony with the plan of the whole."

"Just like one of those great engines on the Sound boats, is it not?" queried Roger. "You look at that machinery through the big glass window in the main saloon and you wonder how all those parts fit and act together so perfectly. I suppose it all depends upon something that regulates the action and keeps all

the machinery working just as the designer meant it to. Isn't that like the Supreme Court?"

"That's the idea, precisely," said Mr. Dunlap; and Jack said, "Great head, Roger!" and patted the Boston boy approvingly.

"You see, in our national system," Uncle Tom continued, "we have parts that might pull away from each other and upset things, if they did not work together in unison. We have the divided sovereignty of the States and the concentrated sovereignty of the nation. Authority is, therefore, distributed between the States and the nation; and a man, by obeying a State law, might disobey a national one. So, serious questions as to rights and powers are continually arising; these would lead to disastrous conflicts, which might shake and almost shatter our framework of popular government were there not one power to regulate things and keep them going in good order. This power is the Supreme Court. It is the third great department of government. This is all in accordance with the Constitution. That wonderful document, you know, vests the first department of government— the legislative power—in Congress; the second — the executive power — in the President; the third — the judicial power — in the Supreme Court."

"But how is the Supreme Court the regulator?" asked Bert.

"By deciding things," said Uncle Tom. "The Supreme Court neither makes laws, originates business, nor executes laws. It can have nothing to say beforehand about what the Government does. It cannot prevent Congress from passing any law; it cannot interfere with any order of the President. But, if a law is made or an order issued, should the question be brought before the Supreme Court, that judicial body can say: 'This act of Congress, or that order of the President, is contrary to the law of the land; it is unconstitutional.' That settles it. The act of Congress is but waste paper; the order of the President is good for nothing."

"But is that right?" asked Jack. "Seems to me it makes the Supreme Court bigger than Congress or the President."

"It is, in matters of constitutional decision," said Uncle Tom. "And that is right. For a congressional majority may be tyrannical; a President may be selfish or bad. The Constitution limits their powers, and the Supreme Court, as the expounder of the Constitution, lays its hands upon bad lawmakers or bad executors and says: 'Stop! what you have done is contrary to the Constitution. It shall not stand'—and it does not."

"And do those nine men we just saw do all this?" asked Christine.

"Only as parts of a carefully regulated legal system," said Uncle Tom. "There are many questions that come to the Supreme Court for decision. It deals with questions of law that arise out of constitutional issues. In other words,— let me see if I can remember my 'Kent's Commentaries' that I studied in the law school,— it deals with cases 'which touch the safety, peace, and sovereignty of the nation, or which presume that State attachments, State prejudices, State jealousies, and State interests might sometimes obstruct or control the regular administration of justice.' Do any of you know what that means?"

"Why, I suppose," said Bert, slowly and thoughtfully, "it means that when any question comes up in which State laws might run contrary to each other or go against what the Constitution says, or when a State might try to get the best of a citizen of another State, out of jealousy or spite or selfishness, then the Supreme Court steps in to decide things, and what it says is final."

"Yes, that is about it," said Uncle Tom. "But these cases cover five classes of action: those that grow out of the Constitution, the laws, and the treaties of the United States; those that have an international character and affect

ambassadors, ministers, and consuls; those that come under the navigation laws of the United States; those in which the Republic is a 'party in action' on one side or the other; and those which grow out of troubles between States, between citizens of different States, and between citizens and foreign states."

"And are there many such questions arising?" Roger inquired.

"So many," replied Uncle Tom, "that all branches of the Supreme Court are overtaxed, and today a man who carries a case to the Supreme Court has to wait three years before it can be reached for decision." [In the 2008-2009 term, the Supreme Court received over 10,000 petitions. Only 1-2% receive some form of attention. That year, 83 full opinions were issued.]

"Gracious!" said Jack. "That's rough on the man."

"And on the court, too," said Uncle Tom. "One of the great questions now is how to relieve the Supreme Court from this pressure of work."

"How many branches of this court are there, Uncle Tom?" asked Marian.

"Well, let me see," said Uncle Tom, considering. "First of all, there is the Supreme Court, itself. It stands at the head of what is called our judiciary system. It has, as you know, a presiding chief justice and eight associate justices. It sits here in Washington; but its work covers the whole nation. Then come the nine circuits into which the country is divided. Each of these circuits, embracing a large section of territory, has a circuit court presided over by a circuit judge. These circuits are subdivided into districts, and in each district is a district court presided over by a district judge. There are now nearly sixty — fifty-six, I think — of these districts in the United States.[94 in 2010] So, you see, the Supreme Court, the nine circuit courts, and the fifty-six district courts form one great judicial system. They all deal with the same classes of cases. If the decision of the district court is

not accepted, an appeal may be made to the circuit court, and, if this is not satisfactory, the case may be taken to the Supreme Court. There it must rest; for from the decision of the Supreme Court there is no appeal."

"Well!" exclaimed Marian. "Perhaps you boys can understand all that. I can't make head or tail of it."

"Why, don't you see, Marian? It's like this," said Christine, judicially. "You live in New York. Roger lives in Boston. He has something that you think belongs to you, and he won't give it up. You go to law to get it, and the district court says he can keep it. You don't like that; so you ask the circuit court to help you, and the circuit court says the thing belongs to you. Roger doesn't like that, and he appeals to the Supreme Court to decide once for all whether it belongs to you or Roger. The Supreme Court says it belongs to Roger, and Roger keeps it."

"And Marian gets left," said Jack.

"Well, I think the Supreme Court would be very mean to take a boy's part against a girl," declared Marian.

"It would be a question of right and not of courtesy, my dear," said Uncle Tom. "If the Supreme Court said the thing belonged to Roger, why, Roger would keep it."

"I don't believe he would; now, would you, Roger?" Marian protested. "You're too much of a gentleman."

"I don't think we'd go to law about it, anyway, Marian," said Roger. "I should give it up to you right away, if I saw that you wanted it."

"Just listen to that!" cried Jack. "Sir Galahad, Chevalier Bayard, and Sir Philip Sidney will please take back seats."

"But was the way I put it the right way, Mr. Dunlap?" asked Christine.

"In brief, yes, my dear," Uncle Tom answered. "Of course, there are many details to be considered; but, in effect, the word

of the Supreme Court is final, and many of its decisions! even in what seemed little matters, have been really of the greatest importance and helped to make history."

"I should think its judges would have to be the best men that could be found," said Bert. "How are they appointed?"

"By the President — by and with the consent of the Senate," replied Uncle Tom. "They hold office 'during good behavior,' and can be deprived of their position only by impeachment. At seventy years of age they are 'retired,' as it is called." [There is no longer an age requirement for retirement.]

"That is, given a vacation for the rest of their lives," explained Jack.

"That's it," said Uncle Tom. "To be Chief Justice of the United States is the highest ambition possible to an American. It is the most honorable office in the gift of the American people."

"Who was the greatest one?" asked Roger.

"Chief Justice Marshall, I imagine," replied Uncle Tom. "He was a really great man. It was he who, as the great constitutional judge, raised the Government of the United States from an experiment to a success, and established it in the affections and confidence of the people. John Jay, John Rutledge, Oliver Ellsworth, John Marshall, Roger B. Taney, Salmon P. Chase, Morrison R. Waite, Melville W. Fuller — these are the men who, from the foundation of the Supreme Court in 1790, have been Chief Justices of the United States."

"Only eight in over one hundred years," said Christine. "Some of them must have been there a long time."

"Some were," said Uncle Tom. "Chief Justice Marshall served for thirty-four years; Chief Justice Taney for twenty-eight. In fact, for the period of sixty-three years, from the days of President John Adams to those of President Abraham Lincoln,

the great office of Chief Justice was filled by just these two men, each of whom lived to be very old men, but were always very useful, learned, and upright judges."

"So you see, boys and girls," continued Uncle Tom, "the Supreme Court of the United States is a most important feature in our governmental system. It is the safeguard of the citizen, the last resort of the State, the balance-wheel of the nation. It is American in design, in conception, and in operation. Within its sphere its power is absolute; but the Constitution puts upon it such checks that it can never be tyrannical. It protects alike the greatest of the American States and the humblest of American citizens. From its mandates there is no appeal; but those mandates can neither destroy the rights of States nor abridge the privileges of that local self-government that makes America free. Its decree is law; but that decree is not to establish the will of a judge, but to register the will of the people. The Supreme Court is our explanation of how liberty can work according to law. 'Without it,' said Daniel Webster, 'the Constitution would be no constitution, the Government no government' And Professor Bryce, the English writer on America, calls it 'the living voice of the Constitution.' Before its organization no nation had anything so wise, so just, so protective, so helpful. The noblest minds in America have been proud of its powers; the most eminent of European thinkers have been enthusiastic in its praise. Without it our nation might become a prey to jealousies, a victim to sectional disputes, and drift into disunion or anarchy. With it behind him every American knows that his liberties will be protected, his interests guarded, his rights maintained. It embodies the wisdom, the justice, the purity, and the power of all that is wise and just and pure and strong in American life. Indeed, as has been declared of it, the Supreme Court of the United States is the crowning marvel of the wonders wrought by the statesmanship of America. Come; our lecture for the day is

over. Let us go to luncheon, and then: All aboard for Mount Vernon!"

Chapter 8
The State, War, and Navy Departments

A trip to Mount Vernon — The "trolley" ride to Alexandria — Who directs the ambassadors, generals, and commodores? — The tourists visit and find out all about the three great departments (devoted to the business of the State, the Army, and the Navy — The Great Seal of the United States — West Point and Annapolis.

The young people had a delightful trip to Mount Vernon. They sailed down the broad Potomac, as, sparkling in the bright spring sunshine, it flowed between the Maryland and Virginia slopes on its way to the broader Chesapeake. Every mile of this beautiful waterway reminded them of that great patriot whose name they all revered, and whose work seemed so linked with everything they had seen and studied.

Here, as a boy, George Washington, coming from his Rappahannock home, had spent many a happy day. Here, a lad of the field and the farm, he had grown into that sturdy and stately manhood that was so filled with greatness and glory. Here he had fished and hunted; here he had trapped and tramped; here he had "practiced" as a young surveyor; here lay the green acres of his broad plantation; and here, between the trees, the boys and girls caught, at last, a glimpse of the comfortable old Virginia mansion forever famous as the home of Washington. They climbed the hill from the boat-landing. They stood, awed and silent, before the modest tomb within which they saw the marble sarcophagus that holds the ashes of the great American. They talked with the old negro who guarded that sacred shrine — the last of the slaves of the Washingtons; and then, touched and thrilled with all the memories that cluster about that most impressive spot, they

walked on to the rambling old mansion, with whose appearance every American is familiar, and whose broad portico, tall white pillars, and sloping roof are precious to every man and woman, every boy and girl in America or wherever, in the wide world, live those who reverence greatness and love patriotism, virtue, integrity, and nobility of soul.

They walked through that famous house, now so well cared for and kept in order by American women — the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association — and furnished in quaint, old colony style by the patriotism of American States and the affection of American schoolchildren. They looked, with strange sensations as to the apparent impossibility of the thing, upon the bed on which Washington died, and that little attic chamber in which his noble wife so soon after breathed her last. They saw Lafayette's gift to Washington — the key of the Bastille, that grim old prison of the French kings, destroyed by a long-suffering and liberty-desiring people; they saw the harpsichord, or old-time piano, at which pretty Nellie Custis had cried through her practicing and "shown off" before company; they looked into all the gate-guarded rooms of the mansion, fenced off from remorseless relic-hunters; they ranged the whole house from the wide door-sill to the wasp-haunted cupola. Then they strolled about the grounds. They saw the old deer-park that bordered the river; they looked at the spring-house on the slope; they sent the wild rabbits scurrying before them in the undergrowth of the Mount Vernon woods; they looked, again and again, at the beautiful river-view of which Washington was so fond, as lie would pace his pillared portico, or check his horse on the hill.

They passed to the rear — which was really the front of the house — where the broad lawn stretched off toward the highway; they saw the old conservatory with its English gardens and its famous hedge of box; they sat beneath the tree planted by Washington; they peeped into the well-kept offices and

outbuildings; they puzzled out the sundial on the lawn: they took a drink of milk at the buttery.

Then, strolling to the old entrance to the estate, they took — "Great Edison!" cried Jack, when the incongruity of the thing was thus forced upon him, "a trolley to Mount Vernon?" — they took the electric cars and whizzed across the Virginia fields, through buttercups and daisies, to famous old Alexandria, where Washington went to church, where Braddock had his headquarters, and where Ellsworth was killed in the early days of the Civil War.

Thence they went by train to Washington, only six miles away. And as they crossed the famous Long Bridge that spans the Potomac, and over which so many thousand boys in blue had marched into Virginia and to death, Jack said:

"Seems to me, Uncle Tom. all of our great Americans have been soldiers at some time, if ever there should be another war — "

"Which God avert," said Uncle Tom, solemnly.

"Of course I don't mean another civil war. Uncle Tom," explained Jack; "but a good old-fashioned war with some big bully of a foreigner — I'd like to be a major-general."

"Modest youth!" said Uncle Tom.

"I don't think you're right Jack," Bert declared. "It seems to me our greatest Americans have been statesmen like Jefferson, and Webster, and Marshall, and Clay, and Sumner, and Lincoln."

"We've had just as great men in the navy, too," said Roger, who dearly loved salt water. "I think it must be fine to be an admiral. Look at Perry, and Decatur, and Lawrence, and Farragut. and John Paul Jones."

"Well, they all did their share," said Marian. "1 think it would be as fine to be one as the other."

"But somebody has to be behind statesmen, and generals, and admirals, I suppose, to tell them what to do," said Christine. "How are they all selected — ambassadors, and generals, and commodores, and all that — and told what to do? Who has the directing of all these men, Mr. Dunlap?"

"I'll show you tomorrow, young folks," said Uncle Tom.

So it came to pass that, after breakfast the next morning, Uncle Tom guided his party up Pennsylvania Avenue, past the White House and the President's grounds. Then, turning into Fourteenth Street, they walked toward Executive Avenue and entered the southwest doorway of the magnificent building they had already visited the day they had hunted up the original Constitution.

"This is the power-house for the machinery that runs ambassadors, generals, and admirals," Uncle Tom announced. "This is the joint home of the State, War, and Navy Departments. Let us go in and investigate." [The War and Navy Departments are now housed in the Pentagon.]

They stepped into the elevator and, in the pleasant library of the State Department, they found again their friend the custodian. He greeted them pleasantly, and willingly showed them over the big building.

In the State Department they studied Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence, with notes and corrections made by the hands of Franklin and Adams.

They looked at the great seal of the United States, and inspected the strong steel safe, or "state-paper case," which is to be the resting-place and home of the great state papers of the nation until the separate and absolutely fireproof building which is in contemplation is ready to receive them. In this case, they were told, are to be kept the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, Washington's commission as commander-in-chief, the Treaty of Alliance with France, the

Definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, the Emancipation Proclamation, and other papers of equal value and importance.

They visited the richly furnished offices of the Secretary of State and his chief assistants; they saw the great and gorgeous reception room in which the Secretary gives audience to foreign ambassadors and ministers; they saw that repository of important official papers—the Bureau of Indexes and Archives; they visited the Bureau of Rolls and Library, crammed with the correspondence of the founders of a nation.

In like manner they roamed over the whole building. They saw the offices of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy; they peeped into many of the special rooms occupied by the officials of these departments; they saw the offices devoted to the use of the General of the Army, his aides-de-camp and staff, the portraits of all the secretaries of war and of all the commanders-in-chief of the army from Washington's day; they even saw General Jackson's sword, and the bullet that killed President Lincoln.

Roger lingered, with enthusiasm, about the splendid models of the new warships in the corridors of the Navy Department; while in the central court of the War Department the boys and girls studied, with interest, the life-size figures that showed the military costumes of the Revolutionary army and of the regular army of today.

There was, indeed, much to occupy the sightseers in that palatial building, with its four and a half acres of floor space, its two miles of corridors, and its five hundred and sixty rooms, in which three great departments of government carried on business. They were footsore and weary as they left the building by the wide north doorway; and, crossing Pennsylvania Avenue, they sat down to rest in one of their favorite havens, beneath the wide-spreading trees of Lafayette Park.

As he dropped upon the bench, Bert said, "Well, all that was worth seeing, wasn't it? But I've heard and seen so much that I don't know just how to check it all off. Let's see, Uncle Tom; the State Department stands at the head of the Government bureaus, doesn't it?"

"Yes, by age and custom," Uncle Tom replied, "though not absolutely by merit. The Department of State was not mentioned by name in the Constitution— in fact, none of the executive departments were. [There are now 15 Executive Departments.] It was established by an act of Congress on the twenty-seventh of July, 1789, and was first called the Department of Foreign Affairs. In September of the same year the name was changed to the Department of State. Its chief officer is known as the Secretary of State, and he, as you know, is appointed, as are all the heads of these eight executive departments, by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Secretary of State is not prime minister, as some people will tell you. Our nation recognizes no such officer."

"But he is the President's chief adviser, is he not?" inquired Bert.

"Well, he is so considered," Uncle Tom admitted, "and his position in the Cabinet is esteemed, what Jack might call, its 'plum.' He certainly occupies, by public consent, the place of greatest dignity and honor in the President's Cabinet; he stands first in succession, in case of the deaths of the President and Vice-President; but he has no more to say than any of his colleagues." [The order of succession today is: President, Vice-President, Speaker of the House, President protempore of the Senate, Secretary of State.]

"But just what does he have to do in that grand office where we saw him sitting?" asked Marian.

"He has many duties," her uncle replied. "Although the chief purpose of the Government of the United States is home development and protection, these depend very largely upon our relations with the other nations of the world. To conduct these relations properly is the business of the State Department. It is through the Secretary of State that our Government must communicate with foreign governments. Whether we make a treaty with the Queen of England or send our sympathies to France when her President dies, the communication must be prepared in the office of the Department of State and must be sent or signed by the Secretary. To look after our interests abroad, we have men called ambassadors, ministers, and consuls, at the courts or in the cities of foreign nations all over the world. The Secretary of State conducts all correspondence with these officials. In like manner, foreign governments have representatives living in the United States to look after their affairs here, and the Secretary of State is the only official through whom they can conduct official business. He is also the organ of communication between the President of the United States and the governors of the different States of our Union; in his hands are placed the conduct and charge of all treaties with foreign nations; he has the keeping, also, of all the laws made by Congress, after they have been approved by the President; he issues or publishes all laws, resolutions, presidential proclamations, and treaties; he records and issues to Americans who are going abroad the passport or certificate that all persons must carry to show that they are simply visitors and not dangerous persons."

"We don't need such certificates of good behavior here, do we. Uncle Tom?" asked Jack.

"No," replied his uncle. "The United States is a free country, and does not demand anything of visitors so long as they behave themselves. Besides these duties, the Secretary makes frequent reports to Congress on our business connections with other

countries and the opportunities for American enterprise abroad. He is also the keeper or custodian of the great seal of the United States, which is stamped upon all important civil communications, such as commissions or appointments of higher officials, executive proclamations, pardons, and so forth. A seal, you know, used to be the same as a signature when people did not know how to write; today it means authority and consent. A document bearing the great seal of the United States, together with the signatures of the President and the Secretary of State, means that such document is the official act of the United States of America. You saw the seal in the State Department. Who can describe it?"

"I think I can," said Roger, slowly. "It is a spread eagle with the shield of the United States on his breast, in his right talon an olive branch, in his left a bunch of arrows; above his head is a cloud-wreath encircling a sunburst in which are thirteen stars, and in his beak the eagle holds a scroll bearing our motto: *E pluribus unum."*

"Very good, Roger," said Uncle Tom; "that is capitally described. And what does *E pluribus unum* mean, Master Latin Scholar?"

But before Bert could translate, the whole party exclaimed in chorus, "Out of many, one!"

Bert, however, did not intend to lose all the glory of his classical information.

"That's from Virgil," he added. "Our Latin teacher told me so. It comes in a poem called 'Moretum,' and *moretum* was a kind of soup the old Roman 'hayseeds' used to make out of herbs and cheese well pounded together, and of which the poet said,

'Color est in pluribus unus.' "

"Good for Virgil!" cried Jack. "But say; doesn't that sound too much as if the United States were always in the soup?"

"Oh, Jack!" exclaimed the girls; and Uncle Tom protested, "Never, sir, never! For our great seal signifies by its olive branch and its bunch of arrows the power of peace and war, vested in our Congress; the thirteen stars in the sunburst stand for a new constellation or nation taking its place among the great powers of the earth; the shield on the eagle's breast, with nothing else to support it or hold it in place, means that the United States of America must rely for success solely upon its own virtue; and the motto in the eagle's beak takes us out of Virgil's soup, Master Jack; for, as Holmes says:

'As well might the Judas of treason endeavor
To write his black name on the disk of the sun,
As try the bright star-wreath that binds us to sever,
And blot the fair legend of Many in One.'"

"Holmes against Virgil, every time," cried Jack. "I accept the amendment."

"But what are the departments that the Secretary of State controls?" asked Christine.

"The Department of State is divided into seven bureaus," replied Uncle Tom. "These are: a diplomatic bureau, having charge of the correspondence with American ministers abroad; a consular bureau, which communicates with the consulates of the United States; a bureau of indexes and archives, which registers and indexes correspondence and preserves state papers; a bureau of accounts, having charge of appropriations and funds, and the buildings and property of the department; a bureau of rolls and library, that keeps all the rolls, treaties, laws, books, and documents." [51 bureaus and offices today.]

"That's the room where our friend the custodian is engaged, is it not?' asked Marian.

"Yes," her uncle replied, and continued his enumeration: "A bureau of statistics to compile and furnish facts as to our commercial relations; and a bureau of law for the investigation

of claims against or by foreign nations, and other law questions that may arise in the business of the department."

"My, though!" said Marian; "that is a good deal to do, after all. No wonder they keep so many clerks busy over there," and she waved her hand at the massive building of the State Department.

"But there are other clerks there, too, you know, Marian," Christine reminded her. "How is it with the War Department, Mr. Dunlap?"

"The Department of War was created by act of Congress on the seventh of August, 1789," replied Uncle Tom. "Its chief officer is called the Secretary of War. He has charge, under the direction of the President, of all our military affairs, and his department is divided into eleven bureaus, each under a chief who is an officer of the regular army"

"But I shouldn't think they would have much to do in time of peace," Bert said.

"To fight is not so much our duty as to guard against fighting," Uncle Tom replied. "And this is the meaning of many of the duties of the Secretary of War. He has the custody of all records relating to the army, to supplies, transportation and distribution of our soldiers' food, clothing, and equipments; he looks after the signal service, that collects and transmits information for the army by telegraph, telephone, or a code of signals. He also looks after the Military Academy at West Point, where they turn boys into army officers — "

"That's where I should like to go," said Jack, who had just been reading Captain King's "Cadet Days."

"You'd have to work hard enough there, Jack," said Roger, who also had read the story, and knew how the boys had to study and drill.

"The Secretary of War also looks after the survey and improvement of all our rivers and harbors; he locates bridges over all navigable streams; keeps our national cemeteries in good order and condition; and keeps track of all the State Militia, though he has nothing to say as to their enlistment, drill, or direction. His chief officers are the Adjutant-General, who makes public all military orders of the Commander-in-Chief, looks after the army correspondence, enlistments, commissions, and army records, and reports on the strength and discipline of the army; the Inspector-General, who looks after the condition of the army and its belongings and accounts; the Quartermaster-General, who looks after the houses, horses, equipments, stores and transportation of the army, and has charge of the soldiers' cemetery over there at Arlington, that we must visit, and the other national cemeteries; the Commissary-General, who looks after the food of the army; the Surgeon-General, who looks after the health of the army; the Paymaster-General, who pays the army; the Chief of Engineers, who looks after our forts, bridges, surveys, and harbor and river improvements; the Chief of Ordnance, who looks after the guns, swords, and weapons of the army; the Chief Signal Officer,—who is 'Old Probabilities,' Marian: the Chief of Records and Pension Office, who keeps all the records of the regular and volunteer armies and reports on pensions due retiring soldiers; and the Judge-Advocate-General, who looks after army trials and courts-martial and reports on questions of law. So, you see, there is a good deal to do, both in war and peace; for when I say the army, I mean all the matters and men that properly are under the control and direction of the Secretary of War."

"You say the Secretary of War keeps track of all the State Militia, Uncle Tom," said Bert. "How many men have we in the militia."

"The State Militia, sometimes called the National Guard," replied Uncle Tom, "has an organized force of more than one

hundred thousand men. Of these five thousand are cavalry, forty-eight hundred are light batteries, ninety-seven thousand are infantry, and the rest — over five thousand — include the general staff, signal corps, hospital and ambulance corps, naval brigade, and cadet corps. New York leads the list with twelve thousand National guards; Idaho ranks lowest with two hundred."

"And that other gentleman in the big building across the avenue," said Marian; "what does he do?"

"What, the Secretary of the Navy?" Uncle Tom queried.

"Ah! that's my man," put in Roger, the lover of the sea.

"Well, he is never much of a sailor, Roger," said Uncle Tom, laughing. "You might think the head of the War Department a soldier, and that of the Navy Department a sailor. But they are not. Their business is neither to fight nor to sail, but to direct those who know how to fight and sail. The Department of the Navy was a governmental afterthought. Up to 1798, the naval affairs of the United States were controlled by the War Department. But on the thirtieth of April, 1798, an act of Congress created the Department of the Navy, with the Secretary of the Navy as its chief officer. He has the supervision of all matters connected with the naval establishment of the United States. The bureaus of his department are nine in all, and they look after: 1, the building and good order of all United States docks and navy-yards; 2, the equipment of war-vessels and the recruiting of seamen and marines; 3, the supplying of war-vessels with rigging, stores, maps, charts, flags, lights, etc., the publication of charts and surveys, and the care of the naval observatory and chart-drawing office; 4, the making of war material for use at sea, the arming of vessels, the trial of big guns, small arms, and torpedoes; 5, the building, fitting out, and repairing of vessels; 6, the designing, running, and repairing of the marine engines and machinery that make our war-vessels go;

7, the purchase and supply of food and clothing for the navy; 8, the health of our gallant 'bluejackets,' and, 9, their punishment when they are bad. The men in charge of these bureaus are officers in the navy, not below the grade of captain, and they are expert sailors, even if the Secretary of the Navy is not."

"Where are all the navy-yards, Mr. Dunlap?" asked Roger. "I have visited ours at Charlestown, and it is mightily interesting."

"Yes, they are interesting," said Uncle Tom. "Let me see. There is a navy-yard here at Washington—I pointed it out to you yesterday, you remember, as we sailed down to Mount Vernon; it is also headquarters and ordnance yard. There is one at Brooklyn —"

"I've seen that," Jack broke in. "It was a busy place, I tell you, when they had the naval parade."

"At Charlestown, in Massachusetts—"

"That's the one I saw," said Roger.

"At Kittery, Maine, just below Portsmouth; League Island, Pennsylvania, not far from Philadelphia; Norfolk, in Virginia; Pensacola, in Florida; and Mare Island, near San Francisco, in California. There is also a naval torpedo-station at Newport in Rhode Island."

"And is there not a school for making midshipmen, just as there is a school for making soldiers at West Point?" Christine asked.

"Yes; the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, not so far away from here," replied Uncle Tom.

"When you go to West Point, Jack," said Roger, "I'll go to Annapolis."

"All right," Jack responded. "You'll have to study quite as hard there as I shall at West Point. But the day we graduate, you and I will clasp hands and strike an attitude, and, while the girls

here wave the star-spangled banner over us, we will all sing the chorus:

'The army and navy forever,
Three cheers for the red, white, and blue!'"

"Which reminds me, boys and girls, of one other thing in our present line of talk," Uncle Tom announced. "The Secretary of the Navy is the official custodian of the flag of the United States."

"Why is that?" asked Bert.

"Well, I can't precisely say," his uncle replied. "Perhaps from the fact that the flag is more in use by naval vessels at sea or in foreign ports than it is on the land; perhaps from the fact that the device of a flag bearing the stars and stripes came from the marine committee of the Continental Congress; perhaps because of John Paul Jones and the victories of our flag at sea. But, from whatever cause, the Secretary of the Navy is the custodian of the national colors, and that, certainly, is a charge of honor and glory. Come, are you rested enough for another trip? Let us go to lunch, and then to Arlington."

Chapter 9
The Treasury and the Post Office

The Soldiers Home—An old soldiers idea—A visit to the Treasury Department—How the Government makes and spends money—The Post Office Department — The Postmaster-General and his helpers — The children see the curious Dead Letter Office.

While at lunch Uncle Tom changed his mind and his plans. Instead of the trip to Arlington, he gave his young people a pleasant ride through fields and woods to the Soldiers' Home in the northern suburbs of Washington.

"You see," he explained, "we have just been studying the War Department, where they pull the wires that move the soldiers; now we will visit one of the places where they put the old soldiers on the shelf, when their fighting-days are over."

In a sightly spot stood the Soldiers' Home. "It was an old soldier's idea," Uncle Tom explained. "See! there he stands in bronze,— the hero of Lundy's Lane, the conqueror of Mexico," and Uncle Tom pointed to the brow of the hill where stood the fine statue of General Winfield Scott.

Jack took off his hat in salute. "He looks just as he must have appeared when President Jackson sent for him, doesn't he?" said Jack.

"When was that, Jack?" inquired Marian.

"Why! don't you know," her brother responded—"at the time South Carolina braved 'Old Hickory' and threatened to go out of the Union? Then the hero of New Orleans called for the hero of Lundy's Lane. He smashed down his corn-cob pipe on the floor — why! it must have been in that very room in the White House that you showed us, Uncle Tom! — and burst out,

'By the Eternal! the Union must and shall be preserved. Send for General Scott!' "

"Good for you, Jack! you told that story well," said Uncle Tom. "Yes; you did see the room in the White House in which Jackson smashed his pipe — and 'nullification.' The hero of Lundy's Lane became, you know, in 1847, the conqueror of Mexico. And it was from that very campaign in Mexico that this Soldiers' Home resulted. For it was built with the money that Scott forced as, what we call, an indemnity or fine from the City of Mexico when he captured that old Aztec capital in the Mexican War. The Home is maintained today by fines and forfeitures levied on the soldiers of the regular army, besides a tax of twelve cents a month that they all have to pay, whether they are good or bad."

"I shouldn't think that would support it," said Roger.

"Well, it might not seem to, at first," replied Uncle Tom, "but the accumulated fund is really a large one. Why, I remember to have heard that, a few years ago, the Government held more than a million dollars representing the forfeited pay of deserters from the army and the unclaimed money of dead soldiers. So, you see, the Home has quite a fund behind it."

"Isn't the idea of this Home something like that big French building where they have the tomb of Napoleon?" Bert inquired.

"What; the Hotel des Invalides, in Paris?" said his uncle. "Yes, something on that plan. It's not a bad place for these six hundred old soldiers to live in, is it? Just see what they have: this big marble building with its Norman tower, these beautiful cottages,—in that one over there President Lincoln used to spend his summers,—that stone chapel, the hospital, the library, these many acres of hill and valley, and this splendid view! See! off there is the ever-present and always-beautiful dome of the Capitol; and off this way—you can just see it, girls, a dim outline

on the horizon — is the dome of Sugar Loaf Mountain in the Maryland hills, a good sixty miles away."

It was, indeed, a beautiful situation and a superb view, and the tourists left, after spending a pleasant afternoon, feeling glad, indeed, that the faithful old and invalid bluecoats had so fine, so comfortable, and so well kept a retreat in which to spend their years of rest from active and honorable service.

The next morning Uncle Tom took his party of investigators to a great granite building on Pennsylvania Avenue to the east of the White House.

As they approached it Bert declared that it looked like some of the old Grecian temples of which he had seen pictures, and Uncle Tom told him that it was, in fact, a study in Grecian architecture, the east front being modeled after the temple of Minerva at Athens.

"It costs a great deal of money to run the Government of the United States, boys and girls," he said, "and to provide us all with money of a general standard. We should be terribly mixed up if every State and city made its own money. Values could never be depended upon, and a national currency is absolutely necessary. This is the building where our money is made, handled, and distributed to the people. Let us go in and study the Department of the Treasury."

"There's room enough here, I should think, to make lots of money," said Jack. "What a big building it is!"

It was a big building. The young people echoed the figures given them by the official who showed them around, with all that appreciation of bigness that young America delights in. The Treasury Building, he told them, was three hundred feet long by six hundred deep; it had nearly three hundred rooms above its sub-basement, and it gave employment to nearly thirty-five hundred people, without counting those employed in the mints and sub-treasuries in other parts of the Union.

"You will be interested to know, Jack," said Uncle Tom, "that your old hero, General Jackson, when President, is said to have marked out with his cane the size of this great building, and, striking that cane into the earth, with his usual emphasis announced, 'Here! right here, I want the corner-stone laid!' and there it was laid."

"Well, Old Hickory had an eye for big things, hadn't he?" said Jack.

"Yes," replied their conductor; "but, big as it is, it is not large enough for Uncle Sam's money-chest, my boy. We are a great country, you know; and to care for the money the country uses requires a great building. Even with all this to work in we are crowded for room. Already another big establishment has been built just below here on Fourteenth street for the use of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing; and, some day, additions will have to be made to the Treasury Building itself, or separate ones built for the use of some of its departments."

They found very much to interest them in this vast structure—"not so much the national storehouse as the national counting-house," Uncle Tom explained; "for here," he said, "the business of casting up the Government's accounts and paying out the Government's money goes on."

Under the conduct of their courteous guide the "tourists" visited the most interesting portions of the vast Treasury Building. They went from the money-vaults in the basement to the document-room in the attic, and after that walked down Fourteenth street to "the Treasury annex"—the interesting and busy Bureau of Engraving and Printing, where bank-bills, government-bonds, and revenue-stamps are made.

In fact, they saw so much in their tour of the Treasury Department, and their heads were so full of facts and figures, that Marian declared she was all ready to be folded up and filed

away with the other public documents, tied with red tape and neatly labeled "What I know about making money."

They peeped into the spacious offices of the Secretary of the Treasury; they inspected the portraits of dead and gone secretaries in the corridor (for no living secretary is permitted to have his portrait displayed in the Treasury gallery); they saw, in what is called the Secret Service Department, the ingenious things done by people who try to rob or defraud the Government by making counterfeit money.

They stood in the handsome bronze balcony and looked down into the splendid marble Cash Room, where a force of cashiers were paying out the people's money. They visited the Redemption Room, which Christine called a money hospital, because here the torn and worn-out bills were examined and counted before going to be "mashed up" into pulp in the room set apart for their destruction.

They saw the Life-saving Service Department[1], from which is directed that splendid corps of men who fight wind and wave to save the shipwrecked sailors on lake-shore and sea-coast. They saw the great steel vaults that hold millions of money, and Roger actually held in his hand for a single moment one hundred thousand dollars!

"My! wouldn't I like to own all that is in that building," Jack said as the tourists left it at last and turned down Pennsylvania Avenue.

"Covetous already — eh, Jack?" said Uncle Tom. "You'll have to go home and read the tenth commandment, I fear."

[1] The United States Life-Saving Service was a United States government agency that grew out of private and local humanitarian efforts to save the lives of shipwrecked mariners and passengers. It began in 1848 and merged with the Revenue Cutter Service to form the United States Coast Guard in 1915.

"And what good would all the money do you?" asked philosophic Bert. "Too much is as great a bother as too little."

"I'd be willing to risk it," said Jack.

"But it did seem to me," Christine declared, "as if that big Treasury Department was just full of detectives and guards against stealing, from top to bottom. Why is it, Mr. Dunlap? Is all the world dishonest?"

"By no means, my dear," Uncle Tom replied. "But one of the best ways to stay honest is to guard against temptation. Then, too, in all business offices, you know, checks and guards are needed, not so much against possible dishonesty as against carelessness and incorrectness. It is so in the Treasury Department. Carelessness could wreck the whole concern and seriously cripple the Government; so the officials have to be on the watch all the time and hold every person employed to a strict account. Accuracy is as necessary as patriotism."

"The Treasury is a very important department of the Government, isn't it, Uncle Tom?" Marian asked.

"As important as it is extensive," her uncle replied. "It was one of the earliest bureaus established, having been created by Act of Congress on the second of September, 1789. Alexander Hamilton, to whom, you remember, we owe the leading features of our Constitution, was the first Secretary of the Treasury."

"I don't suppose it was a very big treasury as long ago as that," said Roger.

"Just a little office with a few clerks," replied Uncle Tom. "But there Hamilton laid the foundation of our present vast financial system."

"And it is a very responsible position now, isn't it — the Secretaryship of the Treasury?" queried Bert.

"It is indeed," his uncle said. "The Secretary of the Treasury is the caretaker of the nation's money. He receives it; he pays it

out. He collects what is paid to the Government in taxes and customs."

"Taxes are what we pay, and customs are what outsiders pay — is not that it, Mr. Dunlap?" asked Roger.

"In brief, yes," replied Uncle Tom. "We pay a certain amount of money every year to run our Government; this we call taxes; an officer of the Treasury Department, known as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, through his army of assistants, collects these taxes. Customs are the moneys paid by those who bring into the country goods from foreign lands. The officer in charge of this department of the Treasury is called the Commissioner of Customs. When the money from the taxes and customs is paid into the Treasury, it is placed in the care of an officer of the department, known as the Treasurer of the United States. He has charge of the money vaults and the Cash Room we have just seen, and he pays every bill, from the salary of the President to the national debt."

"Just think what a lot of money he must handle!" said Jack, still thinking of the Treasury vaults.

"And this money, as you have now seen," said Uncle Tom, "is in gold and silver or in bills."

"But bills are not really money, are they?" Roger asked.

"No; they are, rather, promises to pay money, or orders on the Treasury for money," said Uncle Tom.

"Why, is that so? I thought bills were money!" cried Jack.

"Just look at a bill and see," said Marian.

So the boys stopped in the street and each one drew from his pocket a dollar bill for examination.

"This reads," said Jack, " 'The United States of America will pay to bearer one dollar in coin.' "

"And mine says," Roger read, " 'This certifies that there has been deposited in the Treasury of the United States one silver

dollar payable to the bearer on demand.' "[Now it reads 'Federal Reserve Note'.]

"Jack's is a Treasury note and Roger's is a silver certificate," explained Uncle Tom. "Never mind any more. Those show what I mean. Jack's dollar bill is a promise to pay; Roger's is an order to pay; for both of them the Treasury Department must pay you coin if you present the paper at the Cash Room we looked down upon. The bills are engraved and printed in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, which we visited; the gold and silver are made at buildings called mints — "

"From the Latin *moneta,* money," said Bert in a whisper to Marian.

"— located at different points in the country. The head of this coin-making bureau is called the Director of the Mint; the officer in charge of the making of bills is called the Comptroller of the Currency — "

"Because bills are currency," explained Jack.

"Why?" asked Marian.

Jack didn't know, and Bert informed her that when bills were held to be just as good as money, they were in what is called current use; hence currency is whatever has general adoption and use; and, though bank-bills were not coin, they were in current use the same as coin, and therefore currency.

"That's very good, Bert," said Uncle Tom, "and really tells the story. As you saw, however, the Treasury Department has to do with other things besides making and collecting money. It has to borrow when we are hard pressed, as we were in the Civil War, and thus run up what is known as the national debt — a debt the nation owed for money borrowed to carry on the war."

"How much was it?" asked Jack.

"Twenty-seven hundred million dollars," Uncle Tom told him.

"Gracious!" was all that the children could say. They really could not conceive the vastness of the sum. It was simply an immense figure to them.

"To borrow this money the Government gave bonds, or pledges that the nation would pay back the sums borrowed, or give up its property to those who loaned the money. All these bonds were issued, and the payment of the national debt attended to by the Treasury Department. As you saw, too, the department manages our lighthouses, our coast-surveys, and our revenue cutters; it sees that all steamboats are properly and safely run, and it directs the life-saving service on our coasts."

"That is very funny work for the Treasury to do," said Jack.

"I should think those things belonged to the Navy Department," said Roger.

"One would think so at first," said Uncle Tom; "but these matters really come under what is termed our revenue service, and that is in charge of the Department of the Treasury."

"There are many other duties that belong to this important department of the Treasury," Uncle Tom added, as he stopped before a great square building that looked like a vast Italian palace, "that I cannot now tell you of. But they all run in line with the management of the finances of the nation, and include such important matters as the management of the national debt, the national currency and coinage, the oversight and good care of the national banks, the internal revenue system, the customs and custom-houses, the merchant and passenger marine service, the lighthouse system of the country, the coast and land surveys, the inspection of steam vessels, the life-saving service, and the marine hospitals. So, you see, the Secretary of the Treasury and his army of assistants find enough to keep them busy, and they try to do the business of keeping the Government accounts in a businesslike way. Now, here's the department that sells you a

splendid steel engraving of George Washington for two cents. Let's go in and examine the place."

"Oh, Uncle Tom, do let us buy a lot of those portraits, can't we?' cried Marian. "Only two cents? and are they really fine! My, how cheap!"

"Goosey!" exclaimed Jack, with superior contempt. "You'll feel cheaper, I guess. Don't you know that old chestnut of a joke? Can't you buy a two-cent postage-stamp with Washington's head on it? This is the Post Office Department;" and, laughing at Marian's discomfiture, the whole party climbed the wide steps and stood within the portals of the Post Office Department.

"The department we are about to investigate," said Uncle Tom, as they entered the building, "is, to me, both unique and interesting. To you it seems but a simple thing to take a sheet of paper, write a line to a friend, fold the sheet, put it into an envelop, write your friend's address on the envelop, stick a postage-stamp on it, and drop it into the nearest mail-box, with the exclamation, 'There! that's done.' And when, before the week is out, the postman brings to your door an answer from your friend, five hundred miles away, you never think of it as a remarkable performance. And yet it is."

"Of course it is — to get an answer," said Jack. "The fellows I write to take more than a week; eh, Roger?"

"Well, I don't know; I think I'm a pretty prompt correspondent, Jack," replied the boy from Boston.

"The time between your dropping your letter in that mail-box and the moment the postman rings your door-bell and hands you the reply," Uncle Tom went on, "is filled with work done for you by the Government of the United States. For you men in gray uniforms have walked; for you horses have galloped, locomotives puffed, and cars rolled. For you, men in your own city, and men in the city in which your friend lives, have labored

day and night, in secret, behind closed doors, using locked boxes, locked bags, locked cars, and locked compartments — doing a public service in a private way, solely for your convenience, and at a cost to you of only two cents. And the power that does it all is this Post Office Department."

"Has it always been so, Uncle Tom?" Marian inquired.

"Not with such excellent and reliable machinery," replied her uncle. "The Post Office Department was created by Congress on the 22nd of September, 1789. The head of the department — who is not called a secretary, you know, but the Postmaster-General — was not recognized as a cabinet officer and adviser of the President until Andrew Jackson's day."

"My man, again," said Jack. "He was a 'hustler,' Old Hickory was."

"The duties of the Postmaster-General," Uncle Tom went on, "include, in the directing of his department, the management of both the domestic and foreign mails, contracting for the transportation of the mails on land and sea, the manufacture, supply and sale of postal necessaries such as stamps and stationery, arranging postal treaties, under the President's direction, with foreign nations, appointing clerks and postmasters — "

"I thought the President did that," said Bert.

"The Postmaster-General appoints all postmasters whose salaries do not exceed one thousand dollars," Uncle Tom explained. "He also sees to the establishment and discontinuance of post-offices, the proper management of all offices, and the spending of the money appropriated by Congress for the postal service of the nation."

"I don't see but that he has plenty to do," Bert said. "This handling of the mails is a big business. I never stopped to think of it before."

"We rarely think much about what has come to be a matter of course," said Uncle Tom, as they strolled leisurely through the corridors and hallways of the great building, reading the office and department signs, and peeping into one room and another, whenever it seemed proper or desirable.

"Just think of what the Postmaster-General is chief," said Uncle Tom. "He has nearly seventy thousand post offices to look after, doing a business that brings to the department an income of nearly eighty millions of dollars." [In 2009, there were 187,000 post offices with 656,000 employees and an income of $68.09 billion annually.]

"My, though! I didn't know the Post Office Department was as rich as all that," Marian exclaimed, with a laugh.

"Wait a bit, Marian," said Uncle Tom. "I didn't say it made that amount. The postal business of the country brings in nearly eighty millions of dollars each year, but it costs more than eighty millions a year to run it; so, you see, it is not rich after all. It loses money every year."

"Why, that isn't right," cried Jack. "It ought to come out square."

"We are getting there gradually, Master Jack," his uncle explained. "For whereas the Post Office is now nearly self-supporting, in past years the business used to run way behind. It costs to do work well, you know. Why, last year it is estimated that more than four thousand million pieces of mail-matter were posted in this country — more than in Germany, France, and Austria put together. Think what that means in work and care! There are over six hundred free delivery offices in the country — that is, towns and cities in which the postman leaves your mail at your door without cost to you."

"Well, why shouldn't he?" said Jack. "Don't we pay taxes to be looked after?"

"We do, and some day there will no doubt be both free delivery and free postage throughout the Union," said Uncle Tom. "But even now it is a great advance over the work of fifty years ago. Time was when you had to go to the post office yourself, even in large cities, or pay a penny for every letter brought to you from the office."

"Why, yes," said Roger; "I remember my father telling stories of the time he was a boy, and the fun the fellows used to have with 'Mr. Badger the penny-post.' That must have been the man they used to have to pay a penny a letter to."

"And I have seen letters," said Jack, "sent to my grandfather by his father when he was a boy that had no postage stamps and no envelops. They were just folded square, fastened with sealing-wax, directed and marked: 'postage one shilling.' "

"Well, to effect all this change in postal rates, postal facilities, free and special delivery, railway mails, postal-cards, money-orders, and postal-notes (which, by the way, the Government has just given up making) has been the business of this Post Office Department whose home we are now visiting," said Uncle Tom. "The postal service really dates back to the time of the Roman Empire, but it is only within the past fifty years that it has become the people's service, and this progress America has undoubtedly led."

"Hooray for us!" cried Jack.

"See; here is the office of the Postmaster-General," Uncle Tom announced as they peeped into a finely furnished room.

"Fine, isn't it?"said Roger. "But why general? He is not an army officer."

"The office of Postmaster-General," said Uncle Tom, "was formerly a government monopoly in European kingdoms. In Austria it was the feudal property of a private family, carrying with it the title of general, and the dignity was hereditary— that is, descended from father to son. So the title remained after the

dignity was transferred from private parties to government, and the director of the department in nearly all countries is called the Postmaster-General."

They passed rapidly by many pleasant and roomy offices.

"These are the other departmental offices," explained Uncle Tom—" the four assistant Postmasters-General, the superintendent of foreign mails, and the chief of the money-order system."

"What is that, Mr. Dunlap?" Christine inquired.

"The department handles money for the people who wish to send it from point to point. It would be unsafe to send real money in the mails; for there are bad people who steal letters. So the Government takes your money and gives you an order on another post-office. This order you send to your correspondent and his post-office pays him the money when he presents the order. This is a very great convenience. To show how much it is used and appreciated, I can tell you that last year there were sent in the mails, postal money-orders and postal-notes amounting to nearly one hundred and sixty millions of dollars.

"And here," said Uncle Tom, climbing the stairs to a small gallery room, lined with cases like a museum, and bidding the children look down upon a floorful of busy people — "here is where carelessness is rewarded."

"Rewarded? How?" cried Marian.

"This is the Dead Letter Office," said Uncle Tom.

"It doesn't look very dead," said Roger.

"No; it's about the 'livest place in the whole building,"Jack declared.

"The letters are dead, not the office," explained Uncle Tom. "A letter which is misdirected, poorly directed, or not directed at all, or one on which the postage is not paid, or only what they call short-paid, is said to be 'dead.' It is really not alive enough to

travel to its proper destination. And so it is sent here for treatment."

"The letter-hospital, is it not?" said Christine. "Are there many such pieces of carelessness?"

"Twenty thousand a day," Uncle Tom replied. "My-*ee!* are people as careless as that?" said Marian. "And some of the letters have money in them, I suppose," Bert suggested.

"Nearly three millions of dollars in money, checks, and drafts came to this Dead Letter Office last year," said Uncle Tom. [Today, the post office handles over 80 million pieces annually.]"Most of it, however. was carefully traced and returned to its owners. Just look here," he added, turning to the museum cases. "See what queer things people send by mail. These things have all been taken from letters or mail parcels that found their way to this office."

It was an odd display, indeed. There were rings and dolls and diamonds; salad-oil, false teeth, and Easter-eggs; brandy, Bowie-knives, and bibles; hat-boxes, washboards, barbed wire, kid gloves, and playing cards; fans and pans and wedding-cake; sea-shells, arsenic, and toys; old coins, coffee-pots, stuffed birds, skulls, snakes, and babies' socks — it was a collection that made the children wonder, alike at people's odd fancies, at the carrying power of the United States Mail, and at the carelessness of the world in general.

They saw, too, letters so poorly addressed that no one could make out who they were intended for; one of them actually read:

"The postmaster will please send this to my son out west who drives a yoke of red oxen and the railroad runs through his place."

"Gracious, Roger!" cried Jack. "That beats the letter I got last year."

"What letter was that, Jack?" asked Roger.

"Oh, yes, Mr. Innocence, you forget all about it, don't you?" Jack cried. "You remember it, Marian? It was addressed in poetry—and there's the fellow who sent it," he added, pointing to Roger.

"Oh, yes, I remember it," cried Marian. "I do believe I know it by heart. We all thought it was so cute. It was written up and down the envelop, and it said:

' Hey, diddle, diddle!
Right in the middle
Of New York City renowned,
There lives a youth
Of features couth,
And skin not freckled but browned.

' Mr. Postmaster bright,
Please use all your might
Young Jack Dunlap to discover;
And if it is said
The postage's not paid —
This letter you'll please to turn over.'"

"Good for Roger!" exclaimed Uncle Tom. "Why, you're quite a poet, and a clever one too — which is more than they all are, and I suppose the real address and the postage-stamp were there when the postmaster turned over the letter?"

"Certainly they were," said Jack. "But the real direction was quite small and modest, so as to make sure that the poetical address should attract attention."

"Well, the Post Office could tell many funny stories, if all its records and its doings were made public," said Uncle Tom. "Tired out, all of you?"

They were pretty well tired out with their morning tramp through two great departments; so, coming out of the big Post

Office Building, they stepped aboard the Pennsylvania Avenue "cables," and were soon speeding away to their hotel, for luncheon and rest.

Chapter 10
The Departments of Justice, of the Interior, and of Agriculture

Uncle Tom preaches rest — He shows the tourists the Attorney-General's Department—How the Government goes to law— What the Department of the Interior is— The Department that attends to the weather and that helps the farmers — A trip to Arlington — Christine repeats Lincoln's Gettysburg oration.

In spite of their opposition, Uncle Tom prescribed for his tourists an afternoon of rest.

They protested against this enforced idleness, but to no avail.

"I am the Health Department of this expedition," he declared, "and I am not going to have you meet the fate of too many excursionists, who follow out a cut-and-dried plan of sight-seeing only to go home shattered wrecks."

"Not much of a shattered wreck about me," Jack declared; "why, I could down any one of you in a football tackle now, or beat the whole team in a hundred-yard dash. Come, try me, Uncle Tom."

But Uncle Tom remained firm; so the girls rested in their room, and the boys took things easy in Uncle Tom's "council chamber," or sat in the comfortable chairs in the hotel reading-room and watched the passing people.

Toward evening, Uncle Tom relaxed his guardianship and mounting the boys on bicycles, he took the girls in a carriage, and the whole party rode out to that picturesque region of rocks and woods and ravines where, in the broken and beautiful lands

along Rock Creek, Congress has set aside a great tract of hill and valley for a future zoological garden and national park.

The next morning was cloudy and wet, but nothing could dampen the ardor of investigation, and the tourists, well shod and protected, sallied out seeking new fields to conquer.

Uncle Tom paused, first, before a handsome five-story building, on Pennsylvania Avenue, opposite the Treasury.

"This," he said, "is the Department of Justice. It is the office of the Attorney-General, the law adviser of the President and a member of his Cabinet."

"But I thought the Supreme Court was the law department of the Government," said Bert.

"Boy, boy!" cried Jack, "much sight-seeing hath muddled thy massive brain. These gentlemen in this building fight things out for us in the Supreme Court; don't they, Uncle Tom?"

"Yes, they do," said his uncle. "The Supreme Court is a branch of government; this is a department. The Supreme Court expounds and decides; the Department of Justice advises and pleads. They are in no way , related to each other. The office of Attorney-General dates back to the Act of Congress creating the office on the twenty-fourth of September, 1789; but the creation of the office into an executive department was not effected until 1870. At that time all the officers who, under the law, conducted the legal business of the Government, were united under a special head in this Department of Justice, and the Attorney-General was made its official chief."

"And he, you say, is the President's lawyer, is he?" asked Roger.

"In a general way, yes," Uncle Tom replied. "He is a member of the Cabinet, he advises the President on all legal questions that arise in the administration of the laws, and he gives advice and opinions to the heads of the other departments when

requested. You see, a great government has no call to be a tyrant; it must act cautiously if it wishes to serve the people who live under it; it tries to follow Davy Crockett's advice—"

"Member of Congress from Tennessee and hero of the Alamo?" queried Jack.

"That's the man; one of the most eccentric and picturesque figures in American history," replied Uncle Tom. "And his advice was, 'Be sure you're right: then go ahead.' That is what the United States wishes to do; hence we have this Department of Justice. So the Attorney-General is called upon for advice before action; he sees that the lands belonging to the nation have what is called 'clear titles' — that is, that the Government is really the owner; and he appears in person or by one of his subordinates on behalf of the Government when any question in dispute, to which it is a party, is brought into the courts for trial."

"Why, does the Government ever go to law?" asked Roger.

"Very often," replied Uncle Tom. "*The United States* against *Richard Roe* is a frequent case in court, and the Attorney-General, or one of his associates, has to appear in court, to plead in behalf of the nation. This is, especially, the duty of those lawyers all over the land whom you have, perhaps, heard of as United States District Attorneys. They serve in a certain district, set apart by law. They represent the Government in all cases in which the United States is a party in action. They conduct civil cases which the United States either brings or defends, and they prosecute all offenders against the laws of the United States."

"Oh, yes — the District Attorney! I've read about him in murder trials." Jack proclaimed. "He's the fellow who always tries to hang the murderer."

"Oh, Jack! you don't read those dreadful things, do you?" cried Christine.

"Why not?" said Jack. "It is the duty of every American, my dear child, to be up in all the questions of the day," he added, with quite the air of a patriarch.

"Very good, Jack," said Uncle Tom; "but you are confounding the State and the United States District Attorneys. The latter appear as prosecutors only in crimes against the United States; and murder — except upon the high seas — is a state rather than a national offence."

They continued their brisk walk down the avenue, and then Uncle Tom turned with his party into Seventh street and paused where a great portico, that reminded classical Bert of the famous Parthenon at Athens, gave entrance to a plain but noble-looking building.

"This," said Uncle Tom, "is the Department of the Interior."

"That's a funny name," said Jack. "Interior of what?"

"Why, the interior of the nation, Master Jack. It is what is known in England as the Home Department. It means the department in charge of the internal affairs of the nation."

They entered the great granite building.

"This used to be known as the Patent Office," said Uncle Tom, "because this whole first floor was used as an exhibition hall for the display of the models made by inventors who ask from the Government what is called patent rights, or the right to sole ownership in the machine or device they have invented."

"That's men like Edison, Morse, Howe, Whitney, Ericsson, and lots of other fellows who get up things to do something?" asked Roger.

"But, why shouldn't they have sole ownership?" asked Jack.

"They should certainly," replied his uncle, "but unless they show that they really did invent it, some one else might try to do the same thing and then no one could tell who should profit by it. The Patent Office was established to give the right of

possession to the one who puts in undeniable proof of invention."

"But this is not the Patent Office now, you say?" Marian inquired.

"No; the old exhibition hall that I remember, with its forest of tinted columns and arches and its floor of white marble, is a thing of the past," responded her uncle. "The business of the Interior Department has crowded out the models. They are now in temporary occupation of the upper portion of the Washington Post Office Building, awaiting the completion of the grand new District Post Office farther up the avenue; and this big building is now, really, the Interior Department."

"And what is attended to in this building now that the models of patents have been removed?" asked Bert.

"Look about you and see," his uncle returned. "The old hall of arches familiar to me has been partitioned off into a whole swarm of offices."

They walked hastily through the building, glancing here and there, reading the names of the bureaus and divisions that crowded the Department Building. Into some offices they glanced, others they entered, some they passed with just a look; and as they left the building and walked briskly toward its most extensive annex — the unique Pension Building — Uncle Tom discoursed upon the Department of the Interior.

"The Department of the Interior," he said, "meaning, as I told you, the department in charge of the internal affairs of the nation, was created by Act of Congress on the third of March, 1849. Previous to that time the affairs it now controls were in charge of the other departments. The Secretary of State looked after patents, copyrights, the census, and the public documents; the Secretary of the Treasury had charge of public lands, mines, and mining; the Secretary of War looked after the Indians; and the pensions or payments to disabled soldiers and sailors were

in charge of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy. In 1849 these matters were all grouped together and placed in charge of a new department, called the Department of the Interior; a Secretary was placed in command, and to its business were added, later, the Bureau of Education, the oversight of railroads, the geological surveys, the national parks (such as the Yellowstone and the Yosemite), the affairs of the Territories, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Department of Labor."

"Well," said Bert, "seems to me the Secretary of the Interior has a regular jumble of things to look after."

"Looks as if he were a national Jack-of-all-trades," was Jack's comment.

"Yes, it does seem as if his business is to do everything that nobody else looks after," said Uncle Tom. "But some of these are very important. Every ten years, you know, he has to 'count noses,' to see how many people live in the United States, find out what they are doing, and how the country is growing. This is called 'taking the census.' "

"From *censeo,* to count," said Bert, the Latin scholar.

"I reckon," put in Jack, the punster.

"Then, too," continued Uncle Tom, "he has to take care of the public lands. There is a great deal of unoccupied and unsettled land in the West that belongs to the nation. To any one who will settle on these lands and turn them into homes the Government gives one hundred and sixty acres — called a homestead—without charge, only stipulating that the man or woman to whom this tract is given (and called from this a 'homesteader') shall build a house upon it and live there at least five years." "That's liberal enough," said Jack.

"But I should think all the land must be given away by this time," said Christine.

"Oh, no," Uncle Tom answered; "we are a big country and there is yet a great amount of land not occupied. There is plenty of chance for an American citizen to get a home for nothing, if he has only pluck and push 'enough to go West and make one for himself."

" 'And Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm,' " hummed Jack.

"One of the most important duties of the Secretary of the Interior," said Uncle Tom, "is the care of the Indians."

"The wards of the nation — isn't that what somebody calls them?" queried Bert.

"Yes, they are that, in a certain sense," his uncle answered. "Sometimes the nation has been a most unwise and reckless guardian, and the Indian question was for a time quite a problem. But we are doing things better now, and some day the Indians will, I hope, be as good citizens as will be the other peculiar people who find homes within our borders. Then, too, the Government sells land for development, at low rates; it gives away, or grants, as it is termed, tracts of land to States and towns for public purposes; and, in order to open up new lands, it grants many acres of land to railroad companies who will build a line of railway in the new section. The management of this land business and the laying out or survey of the land thus opened up to settlement are in charge of the Secretary of the Interior. He also directs the explorers who go out to trace the rivers, measure the mountains, locate and test the mines and report upon the geological, scientific, and practical value of the hitherto unknown sections of our country. He looks after the printing and distribution of the annual reports of all the Departments of the Government; he superintends, as I have told you, the patent business of the country, so that inventors can have their rights and help on the progress of the nation; he collects and distributes, in what is called the Bureau of Education, a great

mass of valuable information in relation to schools and education in the United States; he gets together for the information and use of the people facts as to the condition and progress of labor in the land, and, in this big building we are now approaching, he makes up the accounts and distributes each year, in what are called pensions, monthly payments to those soldiers or sailors who have been hurt while fighting the battles of the nation, or to the widows and orphans of those who have died in its defense on land and sea."

"Well, he does have his hands full," said Marian; and then Uncle Tom and his party walked through the big Pension Building—a curious shell of a building, almost barn-like outside and a vast open court within.

"Why, it's more space than contents, isn't it?" said Christine, as they all stood by the central fountain and got, each of them, a "crick in the neck" trying to study the high iron roof and the encircling galleries.

"It does seem something like a spendthrift of a building with its vast waste space and its acres of air," said Uncle Tom. "But it is a departure from the Grecian temple style of most of the public buildings here, and so gives to their architecture that variety which is said to be the spice of life."

Then Uncle Tom looked at his watch.

"We have still time for the remaining department," he said, and crowding his company into a herdic he rode with them past the green spaces about the Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum and stopped at the entrance to the Agricultural Grounds.

They visited, first, the attractive looking brick building standing in the midst of its gardens, built for and occupied by the Department of Agriculture.

"This, too, you see, is, like the Pension Office," said Uncle Tom, "a rather pleasant relief from the Grecian temple style of

the other Government Buildings. It is said to be modeled, in design, after the palace of the French kings at Versailles when that famous building was a hunting chateau rather than the splendid palace it became in later years. And here the latest created department has its home."

"What is it, and what does it do?" inquired Bert.

"It is the Department of Agriculture," said his uncle. "It grew out of a gradually increasing demand that was occasioned by the development of practical and scientific farming in this country. Nearly every State in the Union has now what is called an Agricultural College where the science of farming is systematically taught. The Government, to develop this branch of useful information, created by Act of Congress, on the eleventh of February, 1889, the Department of Agriculture, and placed at its head the Secretary of Agriculture."

"He must be 'some pumpkins' then, I suppose," said Jack.

"Well, he has some really important duties," replied Uncle Tom, ignoring and yet answering Jack's rather flippant comment. "His duty is to collect and diffuse useful information on subjects connected with agriculture; he acquires and preserves all attainable information by means of books and correspondence, by practical and scientific experiments and by the collection of statistics, and of new and valuable seeds and plants; he cultivates and propagates such as may require a test or seem worthy of propagation, and he distributes both information and seeds among farmers, fruit-growers, and agriculturists."

"I call that valuable work," said Roger.

"It is, Roger," Uncle Tom answered. "Agriculture is as necessary to the development of a nation as art. It is more desirable than statecraft, more noble than war, more lasting than internal improvements, more productive than law; for upon it both the welfare and subsistence of a nation depend. To me, this

new department is full of interest and promise. Here; the museum will interest you most. Let us go in and examine it."

The large and well-arranged museum attached to the department did interest them. The boys and girls spent a pleasant hour visiting and inspecting it. They saw all it contained—from giant pumpkins to gipsy moths, and from sections of native trees to silk-worm culture, and the habits of prairie-dogs. They visited the arboretum and the plant houses; they brought away some choice seeds for planting, and learned that the divisions of the department included the Weather Bureau, the Statistician, the Entomologist, the Botanist, the Chemist, the Microscopist, the Propagating and Seed Division, the Bureau of Animal Industry, the Forestry and Ornithological Division, Irrigation and Road Inquiry, Pomology and Vegetable Pathology, and the Office of Experiment.

"Gracious!" cried Jack, "big names enough to cultivate and propagate and vegetate and irrigate and agitate the whole country, aren't there?"

"I like this, though," said Marian, as she wandered among the flowerbeds, admiring, inhaling, exclaiming. "It makes you think of the country and the spring flower-shows, doesn't it?"

"I like it, too," said Jack; "it's such a capital place for growing girls and boys. Can't they put us in the Agricultural Museum, don't you think, Uncle Tom, as healthy specimens of what the nation can raise?" and he stretched himself to his full height and worked his muscular arms with all the pride and assurance of a well-developed young athlete.

The rest of the party laughed at his fun and at what Bert called his "physical culture"; then Marian asked, "Well, where do we go now, Uncle Tom?"

"Now we go to luncheon, my dear," returned her uncle, glancing at his watch. "After that, if the weather is promising, we will ride to Arlington."

The weather did prove promising, much to the tourists' satisfaction. The lowering morning gave place to a brilliant afternoon, and Uncle Tom and his party, all in high spirits, filling the comfortable wagonette, drove through Georgetown to the Aqueduct Bridge and across the flashing Potomac to the heights of Arlington.

"You have studied our Government and its departments," said Uncle Tom; "you have, at least, gained an idea of the great truth our nation stands for, and the strength it has attained. You, no doubt, are ready to swing your caps and proclaim, with all the vigor of healthy young lungs, the ability of the United States of America to prove to the world the meaning and glory of liberty."

"We are; we are!" cried Jack, enthusiastically; "and liberty with a capital L, too."

"But do you know, boys and girls, through how much of struggle that ability has been attained?" Uncle Tom said, with more than usual solemnity in his voice. "Do you know that liberty can come only through loss, and progress only through pain? Here, at Arlington, we are to see how the nation honors the memories and shrines the bones of those who, by loss and pain, secured the liberty we enjoy."

They rode through the woods and up the slope to the shaded crest of the hill on which stand the barracks and quarters of Fort Myer, and so on, past the cavalry practice fields, to the gateways of Arlington.

"Why, it is just a big graveyard, isn't it — like Greenwood and Mount Auburn," said Christine, who really had not given thought to the purpose of the place they were to visit.

"Yes, my dear," replied Uncle Tom, "Arlington is one of the National Cemeteries devoted to the sacred care of the nation's dead."

"Then there are more than this one? How many, Uncle Tom?" Bert inquired.

"More than one, Bert! Why, there are eighty-two of these National Cemeteries, in which are buried nearly three hundred and thirty-two thousand of the nation's dead," his uncle answered.[Today, there are 120 National Cemeteries in 39 states with over 300,000 buried in Arlington alone.] "But, to my mind, this cemetery of Arlington and the one at Gettysburg are the most interesting and impressive."

They drove up the broad roadway between forests of shafts on the left and a seemingly countless array of low granite headstones on the right. At the great amphitheater they left their carriage.

"What does it say on that bronze tablet, Bert?" said Roger. "There are lots of them along the borders of the drive."

"It says — why, look here, Jack!" exclaimed Bert, "it is part of that piece you spoke at school last Decoration Day."

Jack inspected the low bronze tablet. "Sure enough; so it is," he said. "That splendid poem by O'Hara, don't you know."

"It is a splendid one, indeed, Jack," Uncle Tom assented. "Can't you repeat it for us, here, where it is so appropriate?"

Then, standing on the grassy plain of the column-bordered amphitheater, where older orators had spoken glowing words, Jack, with his usual facility at "elocuting," as the boys called it, recited part of O'Hara's noble lines perpetuated so many times in bronze along the driveways of Arlington:

" The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo!
No more on life's parade shall meet
That brave and fallen few.
On Fame's eternal camping-ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards with solemn round
The Bivouac of the Dead.

" No rumor of the foe's advance
Now swells upon the wind;
No troubled thought at midnight haunts
Of loved ones left behind;
No vision of the morrow's strife
The warrior's dream alarms;
No braying horn nor screaming fife
At dawn shall call to arms.

" The neighing troop, the flashing blade,
The bugle's stirring blast,
The charge, the dreadful cannonade,
The din and shout are past.
Nor wreck, nor change, nor winter's blight,
Nor Time's remorseless doom
Shall dim one ray of holy light
That gilds their glorious tomb.

" Rest on, embalmed and sainted dead,
Dear as the blood ye gave;
No impious footsteps here shall tread
The herbage of your grave.
Nor shall your glory be forgot
While Fame her record keeps,
Or Honor points the hallowed spot
Where Valor proudly sleeps."

For a moment no one spoke. Then they walked slowly up the path to the old mansion, touched at once by the beauty of the spot and the deep significance of its purpose.

Standing upon the great portico of that historic house, they looked — at first speechless with admiration, then vocal with little exclamations of delight — upon the famous panorama

spread before them—Washington city, the Potomac, the monument, and the dome, seen from the heights of Arlington.

"Oh! is it not beautiful?" said Christine.

"It is indeed," said Uncle Tom. "This is a view that never wearies, and yet, do you know, boys and girls, the sentiment of this spot is, for me. more impressive than its situation. Here you are standing on the portico of one of the noblest specimens of a Virginia manor-house of a century ago. Beside these tall white pillars great men have gathered and looked upon this same view that so holds us in admiration. To this spot came Washington, while yet the old manor-house stood near by; this mansion was built by George Washington Custis, Martha Washington's grandson; here, in his old age, came Lafayette, filled with tender memories of the patriot who had been almost a father to him, and here, until the opening of the Civil War, lived the Lees, descendants of Custis the builder. From its doors went General Robert Lee to assume command of the Confederate forces, and to its doors came the advance of that army of deliverers who marched to the defense of Washington. During the war it was camp, headquarters, and hospital; and, in 1864, the property was purchased by the United States for its present use. How well it has been cared for, and how largely Arlington has been used, these neatly trimmed terraces, these green lawns, these flower-beds, these splendid trees and these shafts and headstones testify. See! here, almost at our feet, rest those great heroes of the Civil War— Sheridan the general and Porter the admiral. All about us you may read names made famous in the great struggle for the Union, and out yonder, where the shaded grounds stretch away toward Fort McPherson, are camped, in what O'Hara called 'the bivouac of the dead,' twenty thousand private soldiers, victims of battlefield and hospital. Do you see that round summer-house, rather grandiloquently styled the Temple of Fame, there by the Amphitheater, blazoned with the world-famous names of Washington, Lincoln, Grant, and Farragut? In

that great granite sarcophagus, close beside it, are gathered the bones of twenty-two hundred and eleven 'unknown dead' — men who had as much ambition, as much at stake, as much to live for, as much to die for as Washington, Lincoln, Grant, and Farragut.

"It is these things, boys and girls," continued Uncle Tom, gathering his little congregation about him, "that touch me deeply and prompt me to try to make you restless young people see how great a boon is liberty, and how men have been willing to fight for it and die for it that their children—that you, boys and girls, may live in comfort and security beneath the folds of the beautiful flag that flies as the symbol of liberty and union. Whenever I look at that casket of unknown dead, shaded by the so-called Temple of Fame, I think of the words of one of the great writers of the world: 'By their stripes we are healed; by their deaths we have lived.' "

"We do feel it; I am sure we do, Mr. Dunlap," Christine said solemnly, and Jack, as quick to be touched by sentiment as moved to mirth, exclaimed with boyish emphasis, "Why, of course we do, Uncle Tom. You older folks think that we boys and girls are just up for fun and nothing else. But I tell you we think of these things too, and we know that what we enjoy today, and all that that white dome over the river stands for, are what they are because all these men who lie about us here marched away from their homes to fight and to die more than thirty years ago."

Uncle Tom dropped his hand affectionately on Jack's shoulder.

"I believe you do, my boy; I believe you do. And never, never forget it," he said.

"Somehow, it makes me think of Lincoln and that speech of his at Gettysburg," said Christine.

"You spoke that at school on Decoration Day, too, didn't you, Christine?" said Marian.

"Did you?" said Uncle Tom. "That marvelous speech? Recite it for us, Christine—here, right here — within sight of the city where Lincoln lived and labored; here, amid the graves of those he called to battle for the Union."

And Christine, a simple figure in her dark traveling-gown, standing out in relief against one of the great white columns of historic Arlington House, gave, quietly, modestly, but so sincerely and effectively that Uncle Tom's eyes grew misty and the tourists all stood hushed and silent, that brief but wonderful Gettysburg speech that is one of the brightest memorials left the world of the great martyr-president:

"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 battlefield 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 cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot 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."

Then they all rode back to Washington, impressed with what they had seen at Arlington and proud of their privileges as sons and daughters of the American Republic.

Chapter 11
The Office-Holder

An army of workers — Women in the departments — How men and women are selected to work for the Government — The Civil Service Commission — A talk on patriotism.

They were talking that evening, in Uncle Tom's "council chamber," of all they had heard and seen that day, alike amid the buzz of the departments and the stillness of Arlington. And, as now statistics and now sentiment would be uppermost in the conversation, Bert, with a mind bent on learning details, inquired:

"How many office-holders are there, Uncle Tom?"

"Under the United States Government, I suppose you mean — and in all branches of its service?" observed his uncle.

"Yes, sir," said Bert.

"Oh, there's a regular army of them," Uncle Tom asserted. "Let me see—I should say fully two hundred thousand; though it must be explained that considerably more than half that number are employed in the postal service of the United States."

"As many as that!" exclaimed Roger.

"Why, yes," replied Uncle Tom; "you must remember that there are nearly seventy thousand post-offices in the United States; knowing that, it will not take you long to use up at least one hundred and twenty thousand of the two hundred thousand government positions. The eighty thousand that remain are distributed among the other branches of the service."

"That, of course, doesn't include the army and navy," said Jack.

"No," his uncle replied, "nor such people as district attorneys. United States marshals, pensioners, and so forth. If we count in all who take the Government's money, either for work performed or for services formerly rendered, you can see that the two hundred thousand would swell to nearly a million. The civil list, however, if I may so term it, embraces in round numbers the two hundred thousand I first mentioned."

"What do you mean by the civil list, Mr. Dunlap?" asked Christine.

"By the civil list," replied Uncle Tom, "I mean the list or payroll of those persons who are connected with the civil service of the United States, and by the civil service I mean all those persons in the employ of the United States who are not in the military or naval service, and by whose labors the executive and administrative departments of the Government are carried on."

"That would seem to take in everybody," said Roger.

"Yes, everybody. Let me see," said Uncle Tom, "I have the number of those in departmental service somewhere among my papers, and these are the people who practically direct and control the actions of others throughout the Union and in foreign lands. "There are, you know, two classes of government officials — those who are elected and those who are appointed."

"But most of them are appointed, are they not?" asked Bert.

"Certainly," said his uncle. "The President and Vice-President, the Senators and Representatives, are elected, and yet, because they are in receipt of salary from the United States, they are, so far, to be included in its civil service."

Uncle Tom opened his table drawer and began a search for the memoranda he desired. "I don't often fling figures at your heads, boys and girls," he said; "but in this case they will enlighten without mystifying you. Ah, here it is."

And Uncle Tom read the list. It embraced the number of officers and employees in the service of Congress, at the White House, and in the several executive departments, showing the great army of office-holders employed at the nation's capital alone.

"Outside of the military and naval, the diplomatic and consular service, the postal service, *et cetera,"* said Uncle Tom, "the persons doing duty in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the Government are as follows: Congress, 583; Executive Office (that's the President's staff, or, as it was originally called, the President's household), 20; Department of State, 97; Treasury Department, 4176; War Department, 1640; Navy Department, 174; Post-Office Department (not counting postmasters, letter carriers, railway postal clerks, etc.), 663; Department of the Interior, 4102; Department of Justice, 102; Department of Agriculture, 458; Department of Labor, 66; Government Printing Office, 2960; the District of Columbia (which is 'run' by the United States, you know, in partnership with the people of the District, the Government paying one half and the local taxpayer the other half of expenses), 171; the Supreme Court of the United States, 23; and miscellaneous offices, more or less permanent in their character, nearly 1000. There! that foots up over sixteen thousand people. Add to these the postal service of the United States, with its ninety thousand postmasters, clerks, and letter-carriers, its inspectors, agents, railway clerks, special service; the officers of the United States Circuit and District courts, of the customs, the consular service, etc.,—sixty thousand and more in all.— and you reach the two hundred thousand people I spoke of as engaged in the civil employment of the United States."

"That's a big lot," said Jack. "I hope they all are 'civil.' "

"Well, they certainly should be," said Uncle Tom. "They are all servants of the people, as the President told you he was. Some

of them, I suppose, are gruff and sometimes lacking in courtesy; but as a rule they are gentlemen and ladies, and we must, here as elsewhere, make exceptions of such people as try to lord it over their fellow-beings, simply because they can't stand the responsibility of being what Shakspere describes as

' man, proud man
Dressed in a little brief authority.' "

"And woman, too," added Jack.

"And woman, too," admitted Uncle Tom. "For you must remember that quite a number of the persons in the service of the United States are women."

"Why, to be sure," said Marian. "You know we saw a lot of them in the Treasury Department and other buildings. How many are there, Uncle Tom?"

"Oh, I should say, from fifteen to twenty thousand—almost one in every ten," Uncle Tom replied. "There are over seven thousand women postmasters, you know."

"You see, Jack Dunlap, we're getting there," Marian said to her brother, with a toss of her head—for the Dunlap children were old-time disputants on the "woman question."

"I suppose the civil service has grown right straight along from the beginning, hasn't it?" asked Roger.

"Steadily," replied Uncle Tom, "though more rapidly of late years. In fact, the history of our civil service is the story of a rapidly growing nation. Before the adoption of the Constitution the civil service included only those officials appointed by the Continental Congress and the Congress of the Confederation. And these were scarcely worth mentioning. For, you see, there were no revenue laws and no revenue officers; there were no executive departments, no clerks and no employees. When the Constitution was adopted, it gave the General Government power to appoint men to serve it, but during Washington's

administration the employees of the Government were, as he himself declared, 'a mere handful.' It was possible for him to give his personal care and supervision to their selection and appointment. Gradually, as the business of the departments grew, the number of office-holders increased. The first official 'roll' of persons in the employment of the Government was compiled and sent to Congress by President Jefferson in 1802. This 'roll' shows that the entire number of persons holding office, including about a thousand postmasters, was twenty-six hundred and twenty-two, with a payroll of one million dollars a year. In 1850 the number of employees had reached thirty-three thousand; in 1880, one hundred thousand, and today it is just double that number."

"Well, I don't know as that is so very many for such a big country as ours," said Roger.

"It means that in our population of sixty-six millions about one person out of every three hundred and thirty has a hand in running the Government and draws a salary for his services," said Uncle Tom. [In 2010, the U.S. population is well over 300 million.]"The English civil service foots up half a million employees. So, you see, our proportion of office-holders is not so very great. And most of them do good service and faithfully earn the millions of dollars we pay out each year in salaries and wages."

"It is considered a fine thing to be ambassador or consul, is it not, Mr. Dunlap?" asked Roger.

"Yes," Uncle Tom replied, "and rightly so. For they are representatives of the nation in foreign lands. For the time being they are the nation. The friendless American abroad always feels that he has one friend at least to whom he can turn, and he knows that the flag that flies over the consulate is his badge of protection."

"And have not some of these offices abroad been filled by famous Americans?" Bert inquired.

"Indeed they have," said Uncle Tom. "Presidents have repeatedly honored those whom the nation honored by making them ministers or consuls to foreign parts. Thus did President Pierce appoint Hawthorne—"

"Who wrote 'Twice-Told Tales' and the 'Wonder-Book'?" broke in Marian.

Uncle Tom nodded. "Yes, and the 'Scarlet Letter,' esteemed one of the greatest of American romances," he said. "President Pierce made Hawthorne Collector of Customs in Salem, and afterward sent him across the sea as United States Consul at Liverpool. Washington Irving was sent to Madrid as American Minister at the Court of Spain, and there wrote his famous 'Alhambra,' and, later, James Russell Lowell, one of America's noblest poets and essayists, was sent as minister to Spain and afterward to England. Other men celebrated in literature or in professional life have served their country at home or abroad, as officials of the Department of State, and their country has felt proud of her representatives."

"But does the President have to pick out all these people?" said Marian; "and, in England, does the Queen have to? My patience! I don't know as I care to be either President or Queen. No wonder he looked tired out and said he had so much to do!"

"You can curb your sympathy, my dear," laughed Uncle Tom. "Neither the President nor the Queen has to choose the 'civil servants'—as Jack might call them. The President has, to be sure, a good deal more of this to do than the Queen, but both in Great Britain and in this country appointments to office are made either by the heads of departments or by a special board of selection known as the Civil Service Commission."

"Why, see here, Uncle Tom!" cried Jack; "I thought that in this country it was a question of the ins and the outs. I thought

that when my party, for instance, comes into power, I turn out all the fellows who belong to Roger's party, and when Roger's party comes in, it is—*vice versa.* Ah, ha, Mr. Bert! I got it right that time, didn't I?"

"Your Latin was right, Jack, but your statement not altogether so," said Uncle Tom, laughing. "It was formerly the rule that, upon a change of political parties in control of the Government, the ins showed the outs the door."

" 'To the victors belong the spoils,' " quoted Jack. "That was what 'Old Hickory' declared, wasn't it?"

"No, no, Jack," said Uncle Tom. "Don't try to pile too much on your old hero. It was not President Jackson, but a supporter of his, Senator William L. Marcy, of New York. He declared in a speech in the United States Senate, in 1832, that 'the politicians, when contending for victory, avow the intention of enjoying the fruits of it. They see,' he added, 'nothing wrong, in the rule that to the victors belong the spoils of the enemy.' "

"Well, isn't it so now?" asked Bert.

"To a far less extent," his uncle responded. "The nation has seen the unwisdom and experienced the risks of this overturn of offices at every change of political control and, by what is called Civil Service Reform and Tenure of Office, it has largely limited the power of crippling the public service that the removal of experienced workers and the appointing of green hands often meant."

"And what are those?" inquired Jack. "They sound big enough and hard enough to scare off the most persistent office-seeker."

"Tenure of office means that a man shall be appointed to an office and be permitted to remain in that office for a stated time—"

"From *teneo,* to hold," explained Bert.

"Thanks, awfully," acknowledged Jack the careless.

"So," continued Uncle Tom, "if I make Christine an inspector of dairies for four years, and Roger is elected President before those four years are up, he cannot turn Christine out of her office, until her time expires, unless she has done something that would make it wrong for her to hold office."

"Wouldn't voting for Roger's opponent come under that head?" queried Bert.

"No," said Uncle Tom. "She can be removed only 'for cause'; and political opposition is not cause."

"'Cause why?" put in Jack; "it's her privilege as an American, and not an offense to anything except Roger's feelings. He wouldn't like to have Christine on the other side, would you, Roger?"

"Of course not," said Roger. "But I wouldn't turn her out; I'd keep her in, or give her a better office, you know, because she's my cousin."

"Oh, Roger!" exclaimed Uncle Tom. "That's nepotism; and the people are especially down on that."

"Nepotism? What's that?" asked Roger, almost as if he were guilty of the crime already.

"Come, what is it, Bert?" Uncle Tom asked. "Air your classics again."

"Nepotism?" queried Bert. "Why, that's from — *nepos,* a nephew. I don't see how that comes in. Christine is Roger's cousin — not his nephew."

"I should think not! The idea!" exclaimed Christine.

"It really means favoritism to relations," Uncle Tom explained; "running back still further, Bert, to a Greek word signifying kindred. It is the old system of giving persons power because of relationship rather than worth, and our folks do not like that. The American people, indeed, have been opposed to

it from the start, and prefer to have their rulers follow Washington's example. He, you know, refused to appoint his nephew to a place in the Government, because he was his nephew; and that policy has held with most of our Presidents since Washington's day."

"Well, then," said Bert, who never lost sight of the real topic, however the others might wander off," tenure of office means holding office for a set time; now, what is civil service reform?"

"That means," said Uncle Tom, "a reform of the Civil Service, so as to put and keep in office those best fitted to do the work of the office, without respect to how they vote, or what party they prefer. It was long talked of by the best Americans — those who really desired the welfare of their country. And it led finally to an Act of Congress, passed in 1883, and known as the Civil Service Act, the object of which was to regulate and improve the Civil Service of the United States. This law provided for the appointment (by the President) of three commissioners, and also a chief examiner, a secretary, and other employees. They were to be known as the Civil Service Commission."

"Oh, yes," said Jack, "I saw their office in the Concordia Building on Eighth street. And does this Commission make all the appointments?"

"By no means," said Uncle Tom. "It really makes none. It examines and recommends. The head of the department appoints. But he is compelled to appoint to the vacancy one of the applicants recommended by the Civil Service Commission as having satisfactorily passed the examination."

"Gracious! it's like getting into college, isn't it?" said Jack. "I guess I won't apply for a position. It's too much like school."

"It makes merit and proficiency the test," said Uncle Tom, "and is therefore an excellent way of securing capable officials. Only a small proportion of the office-holders, however, are thus

appointed. But the law works well, and is gradually being extended so that in time it will doubtless be applied to most persons seeking offices under the Government. Today, out of the two hundred thousand offices in the gift of the Government, about fifty thousand come under the civil service rules, and are filled by applicants who have passed the examinations."

"Well, that gives us so many good officers, at any rate," said Bert.

"Yes," said his uncle; "you see, about one fourth of our public servants in numbers, but really nearly one half in importance,—so far as their duties are concerned,—are included in what is called the classified service; that is, those to whom the civil service rules are applied. This classified service, as it is called, embraces applicants for office in the departmental service at Washington, in the customs service, in the postal service, in the railway mail service, and in the Indian service."

"And the rest?" asked Marian.

"The rest," said Uncle Tom, "belong to what is called the unclassified service, and are appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate, or by the heads of departments subject to the approval of the President."

"What is the objection to this civil service appointment — if there is any objection?" Roger inquired. "Is there?"

"Oh, yes," said Uncle Tom; "some people do object. They are those who still believe in the old Jacksonian theory of the victors and the spoils, and those who say that permanence in office will create what they call an official aristocracy."

"By that they mean, I suppose," said Jack, "that the fellows who hold office without fear of removal will feel too big for their boots and just lord it over the rest of us, because they think they are in to stay. Isn't that it. Uncle Tom?"

"Yes, that's about it, in Anglo-Saxon, Jack," replied Uncle Tom, laughing at Jack's way of putting it. "The claim is that permanence in office will make those who hold office haughty and overbearing. But I do not think so. The American boy — yes, and the American girl — prefer to set their eyes on something worth attaining, toward which they can climb the ladder of success, step by step. A place under government leads to nothing. It is no goal for the ambitious, and those who till the offices have, as a rule, the desire for something better than to be all their lives nothing more than office-holders."

"Then, on the whole, Uncle Tom, you think," said Bert, "that our office-holders compare favorably with the rest of the people, do you?"

"Why, certainly," replied his uncle. "Bad men, lazy men, shiftless, unprofitable, and selfish men, creep in everywhere. You will find in our army of public servants, as you will in positions of trust everywhere, all sorts and conditions of men — and women, too. But I believe we are well served, and that the men and women to whom we intrust the details of government are, as a rule, loyal, conscientious, able, and efficient."

"Somebody's got to do our work," said Roger. "And if they didn't do it well, I guess they would hear from us."

"We are the people!" declared Jack. "And we've got the say, when it comes to that."

"Yes, and we have a large section to look after, too," said Uncle Tom. "The Government is not served in Washington only. Our public servants are at work for us all over our broad land and, indeed, throughout the world. Seventy thousand post-offices make just so many centers of federal authority in the nation. The ten assay offices and mints for refining our gold and silver and turning them into coin; the nine sub-treasuries, in as many of our large cities, for handling our money; the sixty-three customhouses by river, lake, and sea; the two hundred and fifty

lighthouses, and the same number of life-saving stations along our coasts; the two hundred big government buildings, in as many cities and towns, flying, every day, the Stars and Stripes,—these with land offices, weather bureaus, Indian agencies, and many other important government offices, to say nothing of our forts and arsenals and navy-yards, and our embassies and consulates in foreign lands, serve to surround the name of the United States with respect, to elevate it into power, and to dress it in authority."

"And let anybody assail it if they dare!" cried Jack, roused to enthusiasm. "'If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot!' Hooray for General Dix!"

"No one will attempt it Jack," said Uncle Tom; "so curb your combativeness. We shall never, I am sure, have a foreign war. Our position isolates us; our strength at home is a standing menace to foreign invasion. Our little regular army, supplemented by the organized militia of our States, is the nucleus for a fighting force of nearly eight millions of men, whom danger could call to arms. But defenses and defenders that might repel a foreign foe are of small avail if the people are not patriots. True patriotism means self-government. The people are the nation, and the people must be their own defenders. It is for them to see to it, not only that the thousands who serve them as public servants are honest, capable, and reliable, but that they themselves are filled with the spirit that responds when duty calls — whether that duty be to speak, to vote, to labor, or to fight in behalf of the land they love. This, after all, boys and girls, is what makes a people, what makes a nation, what makes a home land great. Give it to us, Jack, in the words of a poet. Tell us what constitutes a State. I've heard you rehearsing it to speak at school."

"What do you mean, Uncle Tom—that piece of poetry I learned last winter?" asked Jack.

"Yes, that ode by Sir William Jones—who, by the way, died just a hundred years ago this very year of 1894," his uncle responded.

And Jack, nothing loath, gave well and intelligently the lines his uncle asked for:

" What constitutes a State?
Not high-raised battlements or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled courts,
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No; Men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forest, brake or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain;
These constitute a State;
And sovereign law, that State's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.
Smit by her sacred frown,
The fiend, Dissension, like a vapor sinks;
And e'en the all-dazzling crown
Hides his faint rays, and at her bidding shrinks."

"Good for you, Jack, and many thanks," said Uncle Tom. "That is a capital text for us all to preach ourselves a sermon from, here in the capital of our country, or wherever in our native land our duty may fall. We must be men — and women,

girls, as well — ready to do the duty nearest us — worthy to be called Americans. The office-holder is our fellow-citizen; the public service is really what we make it. Unless we, as a nation, are worthy,— united, unselfish, patriotic, and progressive,— how can the men and women who labor for us in the public service be worthy? Remember what wise Ben Hanif the Arab said: 'Ye shall know a plant by its flower, a vine by its fruit, and a man by his acts.' It is our duty to see that we are good Americans, and then shall we be served by good Americans.

"But, come," he added, dropping his earnest tones of counsel, "many words parch the throat, and statistics are but a dry dessert. Let us have some ice-cream. Press the button, will you, Bert, and the bellboy will do the rest."

So they had ice cream all around and a half-hour of fun and laughter; after which came "good night" and bed.

Chapter 12
The Flag of the Union

The flags on the Capitol—The meaning of a flag—The history of "Old Glory "— and its glory.

Up go the flags on the Capitol! Congress is in session," said Roger, as, standing on the broad sidewalk of Pennsylvania Avenue, the young investigators looked down that never-wearying vista that ends with the Capitol dome. "Why do they run up the flag, Mr. Dunlap?"

"The flag is the badge of possession," Uncle Tom replied. "The American people, through their chosen representatives, are now in possession of the Capitol, officially. When Congress is not in session the Capitol is practically closed—although it is really always open. But it is not in use by the people for the business of law-making. The flag tells the story."

"Does a flag mean possession, Mr. Dunlap?" inquired Christine.

"In a general sense, yes," answered Mr. Dunlap. "But it means more. It means possession, protection, pride, and patriotism."

"Let us have p's!" cried punning Jack. "That makes me think of

> 'An Austrian army, awfully arrayed,
> Boldly by battery besieged Belgrade.'"

"Perhaps," said Bert, "those four p's mean that when an American sees his flag flying, it gives him the cue to behave himself — in other words, to mind his p's and q's!"

"Albert, my son," Jack exclaimed with mock solemnity, "when a giant intellect like yours takes to making puns it is a sign

for little wits like mine to take a back seat — in other words (as you say), to let my propensity flag!"

Whereupon the girls cried: "Oh, Jack!" The boys groaned; and Mr. Dunlap said, "Excuse me, good people, if I button up my coat; if it is true, as somebody said, that the man who will pun will pick a pocket, Jack and Bert are certainly dangerous company, and my thin little pocket-book is not safe.

"But, joking aside," he continued, "I was right in my four p's—they explain the meaning of the flag. Practically, a flag is but a trademark. When a man goes into business, the first thing he does is to put out his sign to let people know who he is. Then he puts a label on the goods he makes, to show that he is responsible for the excellence of those goods and to protect himself from others who might try to take advantage of him. When a people set up for themselves as a State or a nation, they run up their flag as a badge of individuality. That flag is their sign and label in the face of the world. But, more than this, a flag is a symbol of authority. The eagles of Rome meant power and possession, wherever they were displayed. So, now, do the red cross of England, the tricolor of France, the double eagle of Germany, the dragon of China, the stars and stripes of America; and, of course, we are, all of us, absolutely certain that, compared with the flags of other nations, our star-spangled banner is the most beautiful flag in the world. Victor Hugo, said, 'There are two things holy — the flag which represents military honor, and the law which represents the national right.' But, really, the flag means both honor and right. It means, to Americans, the noblest combination of liberty and law."

"Liberty and law!" exclaimed Jack, "that makes me think of that piece I used to speak in school— don't you remember it, Bert? Beecher on 'Our Flag.' Let's see. It ended up something like this"; and Jack, who was one of the prize elocutionists of his

school and loved to "spout," gave them this extract from Henry Ward Beecher's stirring speech — and gave it well:

"Our flag carries American ideas, American history, and American feelings. Beginning with the colonies, and coming down to our time, in its sacred heraldry, in its glorious insignia, it has gathered and stored chiefly this supreme idea: *Divine right of liberty in man.* Every color means liberty; every thread means liberty; every form of star, every beam or stripe of light, means liberty: not lawlessness, not license; but organized institutional liberty — liberty through law, and laws for liberty!"

"And there you have it!" cried Roger, pointing to the flag that streamed from the Capitol; while a gentleman who had evidently overheard the boy's repressed oratory (Jack declared he was a congressman who wanted to use it in a speech), clapped Jack on the shoulder, and said, "That's great, my son; I wish you could write it off for me. Don't you ever forget it."

"But did the Stars and Stripes begin with the colonies, as Beecher said in his speech?" Marian asked. "I had an idea that the flag came with the Constitution."

"Huh!" exclaimed Jack, "our troops had to have a flag to fight under, didn't they? They couldn't march along with a copy of the Constitution flying from a flag-staff or stuck on a bayonet — and it wasn't written then, either. Of course the flag came first; didn't it, Uncle Tom?"

"Well, in one sense it did, Jack, and in another it didn't," his uncle replied. "For, really, the first official regulation establishing the flag of the United States as we know it today, did not become a law until the year 1818. That act provided that 'from and after the fourth day of July, 1818,' the flag should be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white, with a union bearing twenty white stars in a blue field, a new star to be added whenever a new State was admitted into the Union. In

accordance with that act of 1818 we now have our flag of thirteen stripes and forty-four stars." [50 stars today.]

"But what about the flag that they saw by the dawn's early light, and so proudly they hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?" Jack inquired. "How many broad stripes and bright stars did that have in that perilous night?"

"Meaning the flag of Fort McHenry in the War of 1812, six years before the official act of Congress?" queried Roger.

"That's the very identical star-spangled banner I mean," said Jack.

"That," said Uncle Tom, "had fifteen stripes and fifteen stars. I saw it when it was exhibited in the old South Church, in Boston. It was a big fellow. It contained four hundred yards of bunting. It did, really, have 'broad stripes,' as the song says — each one was two feet wide. It is now, I believe, an honored relic at Yonkers, New York." [1]

"Then it was really the Stars and Stripes?" said Christine.

"Oh, yes, it was the Stars and Stripes, but not the well-proportioned flag we are familiar with," Uncle Tom replied. "The story of the Stars and Stripes is quite interesting. The flags first used in the American Revolution were got up on the spur of the moment, or were those borne by local companies and organizations. Such were the blue 'liberty flag,' the 'appeal to heaven' flags, the pine-tree flags of the North, and the rattlesnake flags of the South."

"Why rattlesnake?" queried Bert.

"A flag of warning," Uncle Tom replied. "One was a yellow

[1] The Fort McHenry flag is now permanently housed in the National Museum of American History, one of the Smithsonian museums on the National Mall in Washington, D. C.

flag; one was white; one was made with red and white stripes, and one with blue and red stripes. But all of them showed a rattlesnake coiled, ready to strike, and bearing the warning, 'Don't tread on me!' No colors were used at Lexington; none were displayed on the American earthworks at Bunker Hill. When the troops began to gather for defense after the Bunker Hill fight, each company of soldiers flew its own 'colony flag,' or the 'union flags' of varying colors. A month after the battle of Bunker Hill, General Putnam hoisted at his camp on Prospect Hill (now the city of Somerville) a crimson flag, bearing the motto, 'An Appeal to Heaven.' The first suggestion of the Stars and Stripes seems to have come from a committee on which Franklin served. The flag recommended by the committee was one of thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, and with no stars in the union, but, instead, the red cross of England. This was the flag hoisted by Washington at his camp on Prospect Hill, on the first of January, 1776."

"I have seen the very place where that flag was run up," said Roger. "It is within gunshot of my cousin's house. It is right on the edge of Prospect Hill, in Somerville, where you can sweep the whole country, from the Washington Elm at Cambridge to Bunker Hill Monument and the dome of the Boston State House. A granite slab marks the spot, and it says—here, I've got it in my notebook—I copied it off last fall when we had a talk at school on 'Historic Spots around Boston' "; and Roger showed a leaf in his notebook that read:

ON THIS HILL
THE UNION FLAG WITH ITS THIRTEEN STRIPES
THE EMBLEM OF THE
UNITED COLONIES
FIRST BADE DEFIANCE TO AN ENEMY
January 1, 1776

"That's one nice thing about Boston folks," said Christine. "They mark all the historic places. Why, you can ride from Boston to Lexington and just follow the march and retreat of the British; and there is a slab where the first flag was hoisted, and there is a slab under the tree where Washington took command of the army — and all that. It makes history so interesting, I think."

"I'm glad to have seen that inscription, Roger," Uncle Tom said. "A notebook is good to have for such things, though I did make it one rule of our personally conducted party that no memorandum books should be taken. Well; that flag was used as 'the Union flag' for some months. The next year Congress took the matter under consideration, and, on the fourteenth of June, 1777, ordered that the flag of the thirteen United States be 'thirteen stripes, alternate red and white,' the union to contain– on a blue field 'thirteen stars representing a new constellation.' This 'official' flag was first displayed at Fort Schuyler, near what is now Rome, New York. It was designed under the personal direction of Washington. It was made by Mrs. Ross, in Philadelphia, and she held for some years the position of 'manufacturer of flags for the Government' "

"G. W. was right 'in it' every time, when anything was going on, wasn't he?" Jack remarked.

"That is because he was interested in anything that bore in any way upon the business he had in hand—success," said Mr. Dunlap.

"I have read, somewhere," said Christine, "that the idea of the Stars and Stripes came from Washington's coat of arms. Was that so, Mr. Dunlap?"

"I have read the same thing, too," Mr. Dunlap replied. "But I imagine it was more a coincidence than a suggestion —just as it was a coincidence that the baptismal robe of little George Washington was of white silk, bound with red silk and trimmed

with blue ribbon. See: red, white, and blue! But I don't imagine any one would say that our national colors were taken from Washington's christening dress! I have seen Washington's bookplate, and his coat of arms was, certainly, a shield with four stripes and three stars. But I believe it is now admitted that the stars and stripes of the flag were not suggested by that bookplate nor that coat of arms."

"And I have heard," said Jack, "that Mrs. Washington had a big mottled cat. This cat's name was Hamilton, and it had thirteen yellow rings around its tail. It was that tail waving aloft that suggested to Congress the flag with thirteen stripes."

"Jack Dunlap, you are incorrigible!" laughed Uncle Tom. "Where do you hear such stuff?"

"No; honest Injun, Uncle Tom," said Jack, "I did hear that — though I must say, for the truth of history, that it was taken from the diary of a British officer, who also declared that he understood that Mr. Washington had thirteen toes to his feet — the extra toes having grown since the Declaration of Independence!"

"Oh, come now, that's sacrilege," said honest Bert; "I don't like it."

"I don't either," protested Jack; "I was mad enough when I heard it. But I gave it to you, just now, merely as a contribution to history."

"A contribution to satire, I imagine," said Uncle Tom. "You will always find one side poking fun at the other, whether in war, in politics, or in religion."

"Oh, I don't believe in Mrs. Washington's cat," Jack declared. "I had much rather take that poet's word for it who tells us that Mrs. Freedom, on her mountain height, 'tore the azure robe of night, and set the stars of glory there'; and then that 'she striped its pure celestial white with streakings of the morning light.' That's much prettier, even if it is just a little 'highfalutin.' "

"Well, it's a beautiful flag, anyway, whoever thought of the design," Marian exclaimed; and Bert said, as he waved his hand toward the flag flying from the great white Capitol:

"Look at it! Is there anything more beautiful than that?"

"It is beautiful," Mr. Dunlap assented, "alike in design, in colors, in proportion, and in significance. Think of what it means to Americans! Think of the ships it has sailed on, the forts it has waved above, the battlefields on which it has floated, the ceremonies it has graced, the heroes whose coffins it has draped, the protection it has afforded, the patriotism it has aroused! Practically, the star-spangled banner may be merely America's trademark; but, boys, it has really been our pride, our inspiration, our poem in bunting."

"Set to music by Washington and sung by all America," cried Bert with more than his customary enthusiasm; while Jack, as usual breaking out into elocution whenever a good opportunity offered, capped Bert's patriotic sentiment with Drake's stirring lines:

"Flag of the free heart's hope and home,
By angel hands to valor given!
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
And all thy hues were born in heaven.

Forever float that standard sheet!
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us!"

"Those are the sentiments I like to hear from you, boys," said Mr. Dunlap. "There is nothing that so thrills the beholder with pride and patriotism as the streaming flag of his country. Senator Hoar says that the fairest vision on which his eyes ever looked was the flag of his country in a foreign land. On board a man-of-war the flag is almost reverently saluted, and the bugle-call

'Evening colors!' leads to a most impressive and beautiful ceremony. Your father, Jack, as a small New York boy, first saw Abraham Lincoln on his way to Washington saluting the people as he rode down Twenty-third Street precisely at the instant when he was passing beneath a great American flag from which streamed the prophetic words, 'Fear not, Abraham; I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward.' That was a moment never to be forgotten. And one of the color-guard at West Point told me that among the most impressive sights he ever saw was stern old General Sherman saluting the flag as he once reviewed the battalion of cadets at West Point. It was, with the old fighter, both an act of reverence and a lesson in veneration. The flag, boys and girls, is, next to our parents, our most tender and stirring memory."

"Well, I guess I felt just as proud as General Sherman," said Marian, "when I marched at the head of our gymnasium class, as color-bearer, last Washington's Birthday."

"It is curious though, isn't it," said practical Bert, "to think of what a piece of bunting can do. For, after all, that is what it is."

"Yes," said Uncle Tom, "the flag, I know, is only a piece of bunting; but think what that bunting flies for! I wonder if I cannot recall what Charles Sumner said? Jack's eloquence impels me to a quotation, if I can only remember it. Sumner said of the flag: 'It is a piece of bunting lifted in the air; but it speaks sublimity, and every part has a voice. Its stripes of alternate red and white proclaim the original union of thirteen States to maintain the Declaration of Independence. Its stars, white on a field of blue, proclaim that union of States constituting our national constellation which receives a new star with every new State. The two, together, signify union, past and present. The very colors have a language which was officially recognized by our fathers. White is for purity, red for valor, blue for justice; and all together—bunting, stripes, stars, and colors, blazing in the

sky— make the flag of our country — to be cherished by all our hearts, to be uplifted by all our hands.'"

"That's fine," exclaimed Roger. "Oh, how I should like to be an orator!"

"Words are fine, Roger," said Mr. Dunlap, "but deeds are better. Remember what the greatest of our orators, Daniel Webster, said: 'When the standard of the Union is raised and waves over my head — the standard which Washington planted on the ramparts of the Constitution, God forbid that I should inquire whom the people have commissioned to unfurl it and bear it up. I only ask in what manner, as an humble individual, I can best discharge my duty in defending it.' That's the proper spirit, boys. Whether or not you can sway people by your eloquence, you can be Americans. To be a loyal American, you must be a good citizen; and to be a good citizen, you must believe that you have a duty to do toward others. You can't be a good patriot and be selfish. You must think of others as well as of yourself, and try to do what is best for all. You must help make the laws by your votes; you must help keep the laws by your lives. This flag of ours is the symbol of law — that is, it is the badge of America's freedom, America's power, America's justice, and America's protecting arm. It is not simply a holiday flag. It is, as Mr. Beecher said in that speech Jack quoted from, 'our whole national history. It is the Constitution. It is the Government. It is the people.' "

Chapter 13
The State, the City, and the Town

The tourists visit the Washington Monument— The tall shaft leads to a talk on the union of States—Uncle Tom explains what a State is—He tells them of the government of cities and towns — How we are governed yet free.

The next morning was cool, bright, and clear. "An ideal day for the monument," said Uncle Tom. And so, breakfast over, he and his "tourists" walked briskly across Pennsylvania Avenue and down Fourteenth street, headed for the Park, in which, half a mile south of the White House, there stood, springing upward from a little knoll, the one object that shares with the great dome of the Capitol the honor of never being absent from the eye of the visitor to the seat of our National Government — the tall, white shaft known as the Washington Monument.

The children had looked at and admired it from the very moment of their arrival at the capital. They had longed to visit the towering white marvel and look through the little slits they could just make out beneath its pointed top; but, true to their promise never to tease, they said nothing, and awaited Uncle Tom's word and lead.

They had viewed it from all sides and in all lights — from the city, from the Capitol, from the White House, from the river, from the heights of Arlington, and across the Virginia meadows — in the full glare of the sun, through the mist and rain, in the early morning, and in the soft twilight just before the night came down. It had held and attracted them from the beginning—a beacon fascinating by its very bigness (always an alluring quality for American boys and girls), and forever bringing to their

minds a thought of the great patriot and leader in whose honor it had arisen at the bidding of a grateful people.

"How high is it, Uncle Tom?" asked Marian, as, climbing the gentle slope, they stood at the base of the monument and let their eyes travel up its shining wall of stone.

"Five hundred and fifty-five feet, five and one eighth inches, from floor to apex," replied Uncle Tom, who had stored his mind with figures, in anticipation of just such questions.

"Well! that isn't so very high," said Jack. "Why, from here" — and he squinted his eye once more along the towering shaft—"it looks about ten thousand feet to the top."

"No, five hundred and fifty-five feet is not so very high for a mountain," returned Uncle Tom; "but it's pretty good for a monument. For, please to remember, Master Jack, this Washington monument is the highest artificial elevation in the world. For we do not count the Eiffel Tower at Paris as a permanency or a monument."

"That's good enough for us," said Jack. "We don't want anybody to get any higher, do we, fellows. But—I say, Roger—how is your Bunker Hill monument?"

"Oh, that's all right, Jack," said the Boston boy, good-humoredly. "Bunker Hill's two hundred and twenty-one feet. That's high enough to fall from, I guess. You know that is the place where Warren fell. But this is the spot where the name of Washington will forever rise. And, of course, there isn't anything that can get as high as that."

"Good for you, Roger," cried Uncle Tom, patting his young friend approvingly on the shoulder. "That's the time you got ahead of Mr. Jack. Come, let us go in."

They passed through the door in the base of the monument and stood within the hollow shaft of marble. Seated upon the

benches placed there for visitors they waited for the elevator which was to lift them to the top.

"When was this monument started and when was it finished, Mr. Dunlap?" Christine inquired.

"The idea of a suitable memorial to George Washington," Uncle Tom replied, "was started in 1783, at the close of the American Revolution. It was to be erected, so the Continental Congress voted, 'at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established.' The plan, however, developed slowly. In 1835 the Washington Monument Association was formed; the design of Robert Mills was accepted; but it was not until the sixth of December, 1884, that the capstone of the completed monument was placed in position amid booming cannon and pealing bells. The corner-stone was laid on the fourth of July, 1848, and it is significant to remember that at that ceremony the old and the new were present. For in the company that witnessed the laying of that corner-stone were Mrs. Hamilton, widow of Alexander Hamilton, 'the father of the Constitution,' and Abraham Lincoln, the father of our New America—then an almost unknown congressman from Illinois."

"That was curious, wasn't it?" said Bert.

"And how appropriate!" said Marian.

The cautious elevator slid down its iron ways, discharged its cargo of satisfied observers, speedily filled again, and rising, rising, rising—"Guess we're bound for Mars this trip," said Jack — it climbed to the top, and the boys and girls at last stood within the small chamber with its four windows, built beneath the roof stones of the obelisk, five hundred and seventeen feet above the city streets.

"Can't anybody say but that we're up in the world now, can they?" said Marian, taking off her hat, which the stiff breeze persisted in setting awry. "My, my; what a beautiful view!"

It was a beautiful view. At their feet lay the city — its great Department Buildings looking like toy houses, even the grand dome of the Capitol dwarfed by distance. Twisting this way and that, the Potomac, like a silver ribbon, wound its way from the highlands to the bay. To the south stretched the woods and fields of Virginia, once alive with hosts of fighting men; to the north lay the Maryland hills, with Sugar Loaf towering above them fifty miles away; while along the west, a misty line upon the horizon, young eyes could distinctly trace the mighty masses of the Blue Ridge of Virginia sixty-five miles distant.

From one window an amateur photographer was carefully capturing a comprehensive snap-shot of the White House and the President's grounds, while from every other window the "ohs" and "ahs" of delighted observers came in continual chorus.

At last they were satisfied and prepared to descend. But not by the elevator — or "the alleviator," as Jack had called it when he heard that it really saved them from climbing eight hundred and ninety-eight steps!

"It is easier to go down than up," said Uncle Tom — whereupon Bert murmured "*Facilis descensus averni*" and Marian said, "What does that mean, Bert?"

"The down grade is always easiest," said Bert, in free translation.

"We can take it leisurely," continued Uncle Tom, "for I wish you to see the memorial stones."

"What are they, Uncle Tom?" Marian inquired.

"Blocks of marble set inside the monument; the gifts of States and nations, corporations and societies, and duly carved and inscribed," explained Uncle Tom.

They saw and studied them all as they descended. There was the marble block from the ruins of the Parthenon sent by Greece, the stone from William Tell's chapel sent by

Switzerland, the blocks from China and Japan, and the memorial blocks from forty States and Territories of the American Union.

"Well, all the world and his wife seem to have chipped in to help build this monument," declared Jack; and Uncle Tom responded, "That is so, Jack. I consider the inside of this great obelisk a capital object-lesson of the world's regard for the memory of George Washington."

As they sat beneath the shade of the trees that make the Mall, near the Smithsonian, so restful and attractive, Bert said musingly, "It seems to me. Uncle Tom, as if all those marble blocks set up inside the Washington monument by the different States give a first-class reading of our national motto, 'Many in one,' do they not?"

"They do, indeed, Bert," his uncle responded. "And, more than that, they typify, for me, the very design of our republic—the union of States in a completed but ever-aspiring structure, towering far above all its surroundings. The American nation is liberty's memorial to the world's noblest desire — the freedom, the union, and the brotherhood of man."

"I don't know as I exactly understand about our forty-five States, Mr. Dunlap," said Roger. "They are separate commonwealths, I know; but just how were they made, and how is their governing separate from that of the nation they are joined together to form?"

"Well, it is rather a complex subject, Roger, but I'll try to explain it briefly," Mr. Dunlap replied. "To you young people a State, I suppose, is but a lot of people living in a greater or less area of ground, familiar to you by the colors and shapes you have studied on your maps at school — Maine, in outline like a grenadier's hat, leading the advance; Roger's Massachusetts, with bended arm and doubled fist 'squaring off at all creation,' as Dr. Holmes once said; Jack's New York, a giant wedge with

the little end at Buffalo keeping Niagara Falls from tumbling all over the State; shield-shaped Ohio; purse-shaped Florida; and California, like a great sea lion, rearing itself to face the Pacific breakers. But a State is something more than a geography question, to be located, bounded, and 'capitalized.' "

"Very good. Uncle Tom," said Jack, approvingly. "You're coming on, I see."

"A State," continued Uncle Tom, "is a certain stretch of country, limited to certain fixed boundaries and inhabited by a certain body of people, banded together for self-protection, self-government, and self-interest. But all these 'selfs' are combined for the general good, upon the theory that the good of one is the good of all, and the good of all is the good of one."

"How is that different from the nation, Uncle Tom?" inquired Bert.

"Well, it is much the same idea," replied his uncle. "The American Union is a State composed of States; it is a republic of republics; a commonwealth of commonwealths. But, as we are accustomed to use the word, a State is one of the units in our federal system. For each State in our Union is a separate and sovereign commonwealth, making its own laws, governing its own people and supreme within its own boundaries so far as its own affairs are concerned. But, being part of a federal nation, each State surrenders, to make that union a nation, certain of the rights that it would hold to tenaciously were it simply a nation by itself."

"That's just what I wanted to ask," said Roger; "what rights does a State have in the Union, and what does it give up to the General Government?"

"I will answer your last question first, Roger," Uncle Tom responded. "The States surrender to the nation the control of such matters as declaring war and making peace, military and naval affairs, treaties and relations with foreign nations, the

postal service, foreign and domestic commerce, the coinage and the currency, patents and copyrights, Federal Courts of Justice, and taxation for general purposes. These are matters that affect all the citizens of all the States, but, as I once explained to you, it would make a terrible 'mix-up' if each State were permitted to regulate these affairs to suit itself. So, for the sake of harmonious regulation, the control of these matters is surrendered to the General Government, which thus exercises direct authority over every citizen."

"But the State has a direct authority over every one of its citizens, too, does it not, Uncle Tom?" asked Bert.

"Certainly, it has," his uncle replied.

"Then I don't see but he is a sort of divided citizen, isn't he?"

"Not a divided citizen," replied Uncle Tom, with a smile, "but a citizen with a double—in fact with a triple allegiance."

"How do you make that out, Uncle Tom?" said Jack.

"Why, in this way," said Uncle Tom: "I am an American citizen; the nation manages for me all matters set apart, as I named them, for national control; to the nation therefore I owe allegiance. I am a citizen of the State in which I live, which manages for me its State affairs, its public-school system, its institutions for the bad, the sick, the poor, and the unfortunate, and its extensive internal improvements; to the State therefore I owe allegiance. I am a citizen of the city and county in which I have my home and which manage for me the proper and necessary care of all matters affecting my home surroundings and calling for home care and expenditure; to my own town or city therefore I owe allegiance. Do you see now how I am really three citizens rolled into one?"

"My, though!" said Marian; "I don't know but I'm glad I am not a man "; and, "Gracious!" exclaimed Jack, "I think I'll stay a boy a little longer. That's more to attend to than I care for just now."

"It sounds a lot," said Roger, "but I don't really believe it is — is it, Mr. Dunlap?"

"Well," said Uncle Tom, "I believe it is computed that the average American citizen devotes just ten hours a year to public affairs. He pays his taxes, which cover the cost of his triple citizenship; he votes for the men he wishes to put into office, and there — for too many of us — the worry ends."

"But whom does he put into office, Uncle Tom?" asked Marian. "You have told us whom he sends to Congress and the White House; now, whom does he put in office in his State and city?"

"Is not the State Government planned out much the same as the General Government?" inquired Roger.

"Yes, there is a similarity of design," Uncle Tom responded; "only it was the nation that copied from the States, and not the States from the nation. It is, in fact, an Americanized edition of the old colonial governments with the people as the sovereign instead of the king of England."

"They took the best ideas, I suppose," said Bert, "and improved upon them, didn't they?"

"Yes," replied his uncle. "The power of the State is vested in an executive, a legislative, and a judiciary branch on much the same lines as the Government here at Washington. The State has a central city for its capital, where the laws are made for the State as they are here at the capital for the country. The State capitol building is generally called the State House — "

"They are fine buildings, too," Jack broke in; "the new Capitol at Albany is a grand affair."

"So is the State House in Boston," said Roger. "It has just been enlarged into a fine large building. I went through the new portion just before I came on."

"Yes, and some of the other States have equally fine buildings for their State Houses. The lawmakers of the State are called the Legislature —"

"We call that in Massachusetts, sometimes, the Great and General Court," said Roger.

"That was its old title," said Uncle Tom. "But the Legislature is the name now given to the State legislative department. It consists of a Senate and an Assembly—which corresponds to the House of Representatives here — elected by the people. This Legislature looks after the civil and religious rights of the citizens; it also cares for the education of the people; it regulates the rights of voters; prescribes the marriage laws, and the relations of husbands and wives; of parents and children; it prescribes the powers of master and servant; of principal and agents in business arrangements; it regulates partnerships, the relations of debtor and creditor, the formation of corporations, the care and disposal of property, the relations of trades and contracts, and makes and enforces all laws against criminals, except such as involve crimes against the United States, those on the high seas, and those against the laws of nations—these are looked after by the nation. So, you see, the State has a great many duties to perform, and is the mainstay of its citizens in the interest of law and order."

"But are not some of these duties performed by the towns and cities?" asked Bert.

"In a more limited and local sense, yes," replied his uncle. "The State is divided into counties, the counties into townships. Thus the town and the city—even the smallest village—has its officers who look after its guidance and government. The head man — or executive — of the State is called the governor; the head man of the city is the mayor, and the city has its local board of representative men, known as its common council, as the county has its board of supervisors, and the village its selectmen

or trustees. In a word, we are governed in local, State, and national affairs by men whom we elect to serve us in such capacities. We have a constitution for the State as well as for the nation; and, as the latter is the law of the land, so the former is the law of just so much of the land as is included in the State, and both the National and the State Constitutions have been framed and followed for the benefit and welfare of all our citizens."

"Well, I don't see but that we are a much-governed people for all we call ourselves free," said Jack.

"And yet we are free, my boy," replied his uncle; "free, because we are so governed. For freedom is not letting men do as they please; liberty is not the absence of law. It is self-government that makes us free; it is law that gives us liberty. This is what the millions who come to make their home among us speedily discover, though they so often come with the insane idea that America is a land without laws, a country without checks. With us, power is of the people. But the people delegate that power to those who represent them in city councils, in legislative chambers, and in the halls of Congress. Liberty has open arms and welcoming hands; but her arm is a protecting power, her hand is strong to defend and swift to strike if the law is defied by lawlessness, or the right is menaced by crime. It is for you to remember that, boys and girls, when you count up the blessings that are so freely granted you, or when you hear, sometimes, of the punishment meted out to those, who, in high or low places, attempt to do as they please, to the hurt or harm of the public good. The State is a strong defender; the nation is a generous but a just parent."

Whereupon Jack, patriotic to the core, broke out with strong and musical notes which awoke the echoes of the leafy Mall:

" The union of lakes, the union of lands,
The union of States none shall sever;

The union of hearts, the union of hands
And the flag of our Union forever—"
"and ever!"
sang all the tourists in chorus,
"The flag of our Union forever!"

Chapter 14
The Citizen

A Talk on Citizenship — Voters and Citizens —Election-day methods— Citizens who help and Citizens who hinder—Natives and Naturalization— The best Government in the World.

Enlightened, under the spreading trees of the Smithsonian grounds, by this talk, as to the kindred relations of city, State, and nation, the "tourists" continued their walk toward the Capitol. Drawn again to that noble building, alike by interest and desire, they spent several hours in the study of men and manners, both in the dignified Senate chamber and in the noisier but equally earnest Hall of the Representatives.

Even in the midst of what seemed sometimes childishness and often aggression, they heard words of wisdom and sentences of weight and moment, as in the House they listened to breezy exchanges of questions and answers, and in the Senate they heard from Northern and from Southern lips expressions of loyalty, of affection, and of devotion that made Uncle Tom thank God that the old shadow of discord was forever dispelled, and led the young people to see that the men who represent the people had faith in the real union of the States and were loyal to the principles for which States and nation shall forever stand.

As they left the Capitol by the broad west front, and, at the entrance to the Botanical Gardens, waited for the green "cables" that were to carry them to their hotel, Roger remarked to Jack:

"I say, Jack; wouldn't you like to go to Congress?"

"Well, Roger, my son," replied Jack, "I think I should like to have just a hack at things. I believe I could straighten out one or two of them quite as well as some of those fellows at work under the big dome."

"I'm afraid it would be but a 'hack,' boy Jack," laughed Uncle Tom. "The well-balanced lawmaker becomes so only through experience and growth. The newly-made congressman often comes here with just your desire,—to have a 'hack' at things,—and the man or the boy who 'hacks' very often gets his fingers cut. You might come here, as does he, honestly full of plans for the bettering of your fellow-citizens and the good of your country, but you would speedily find how little you really knew and how necessary it is, if one would accomplish good results, to work toward those results amid the hints that help and the hindrances that arouse one. For, you see, it needs alike the stirrup of opportunity and the spur of opposition to ride successfully in the race for leadership."

"You talk as if it were some kind of a circus, Uncle Tom," said Marian, "in which the best rider gets the flag and the cheers."

"Well, in one way it is, Marian," her uncle replied. "Merit gets to the front here as in all the struggles of life. There comes our 'cable.' Get aboard, boys and girls. I'm as hungry as an office-seeker."

Their talk during dinner turned upon the men they had heard and seen that day in Congress, and Bert remarked:

"You say, Uncle Tom, that the choice of those legislators at the Capitol is one of the duties of citizenship. What is an American citizen?"

"A direct question, Bert," responded his uncle. "Come, Marian, tell us; what is an American citizen?"

"Oh—just a horrid man," the girl replied.

"Pardon me, mademoiselle," Uncle Tom said, with a low bow, "I forgot your pronounced views. But I think you are wrong in this instance."

"Why, how can I be, Uncle Tom?" Marian exclaimed. "Surely a woman is not a citizen, is she?"

"Yes. I am a citizen; thou art a citizen; he is a citizen; we are all citizens," her uncle conjugated,— "all the men, women, and children who are American by birth, by adoption, or by law."

"Oh, see here, Uncle Tom, we've caught you napping now," cried Jack. "A citizen is a voter. Women and children cannot vote."

"Did I say they could?" returned Uncle Tom. "I refer you to the Constitution, Master Jack. The fourteenth amendment to that immortal document distinctly says: 'All persons'—mark the word, Jack—'all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.' You can't go back on the Constitution, now, can you?"

"But I thought only a voter was a citizen," said Christine.

"That is your mistake, my dear," replied Uncle Tom. "But it is a natural one. It lies in this—all voters are citizens, but all citizens are not voters. All persons, irrespective of age or sex, who are born or naturalized in the United States, have the *rights* of citizenship. But they do not all exercise the *duties* of citizenship."

"Well, if we have rights, I don't see why we shouldn't have duties," protested Marian. "I'm sure I should be willing to. If I have a right to be in any place, it is my duty to behave myself, and if—"

"Ah! kindly remember that, Miss, the next time you go into my room," observed her brother.

"And if so," continued Marian, unheeding Jack's interruption, "is it not my duty, also, to put things straight if they are out of order?" and she darted a triumphant look at disconcerted Jack.

"There's a Roland for your Oliver, Jack," laughed Uncle Tom.

" 'Out of order'? Hear her!" cried Jack. "What she calls disorder is just my order."

"I don't doubt it in the least," said Uncle Tom, with an emphasis that Jack seemed to comprehend. "But Marian's case is well taken, though it does not precisely cover our point in dispute. She holds that being a citizen of her home it is her duty to keep that home in order — "

"Even if she upsets my room to do so," put in Jack.

"In one sense, perhaps," said Uncle Tom, "that is an invasion of the liberty of the individual. But, after all, rights and duties are not identical. In this matter of citizenship, for instance, the idea of voting sprang from fighting."

"From fighting?" exclaimed Christine.

"Yes—or rather from not fighting," replied Uncle Tom. "In the old days of blood and blows, the smaller or weaker party would sometimes decide by voice — in other words, by vote—whether to fight or not to fight. So, you see, only the fighters could be voters, and as all able-bodied men were fighters, or warriors, of course the suffrage — that is, the right to put down the broken piece of pottery that then stood for a vote—was given only to the men; and it has remained with them to this day." [The 19th Amendment gave women the right to vote.]

"But not the broken piece of pottery, Uncle Tom," said Marian.

"No, that has changed," replied her uncle. "At one time, tiny balls were used, for which the Italian name was *ballotta,* or little balls. From this we get our word ballot, which now means a ticket used in voting. The latest and best form of such a ticket is what is called the Australian system of balloting, because its

form came to us from the English colony of Australia. It is prepared in secret. The voter is supplied with a printed list of all candidates, arranged alphabetically. He takes this into a little stall or closet and with a lead-pencil marks a criss-cross (like X this) against his choice for the officers nominated. He folds the sheet over, slips it into the ballot-box, and his duty is done."

"But why do they need to be so secret and particular?" asked Christine.

"There are bad men everywhere, my dear," responded Uncle Tom— "men who abuse their privileges, do unmanly acts, and, from selfishness or greed, either buy or sell the right to vote which is given them by the Constitution. Even where men are not really bad, they are easily influenced, and so, to guard against all such possibilities, voting is made a personal and secret affair, while the 'machinery' employed runs things smoothly and quickly, and saves time."

"Then that, I suppose, is why voters must register before they can vote," said Bert.

"Yes," replied his uncle; "it saves time, guards against annoying delays, and, especially, prevents the crime of repeating, as it is called — that is, voting more than once for the sake of influencing the result."

"Why, do people ever do that?" asked Christine.

"Unfortunately some do, my dear," replied Uncle Tom; "for, as I told you, there are bad men or unprincipled men everywhere. A result secured by repeating is a living lie. It is our duty to build a barrier against evil in all its forms, and dishonesty in elections is one of the methods by which crime menaces liberty. To prevent what are called 'corrupt practices' in elections, every citizen entitled to vote is obliged to have his name—"

"His, not *her,* you notice, Miss Marian," Jack interlined. But Uncle Tom heard him.

"Yes, 'her' in some States," he said. "The 'citizen entitled to vote' means every male citizen over twenty-one years of age. But in certain States, for certain declared objects, and in at least four States and Territories for every object and office, the citizen-voter means men and women alike."

"I didn't know that," said Jack, a trifle disconcerted.

"Jack," said Marian, mischievously, "will you join with me in singing 'The Morning Light is Breaking'?"

"Four, did you say, Mr. Dunlap?" inquired Christine, with interest. "Four States and Territories now permit women to vote in all elections," replied Uncle Tom, "and nineteen States and Territories have, as it is termed, 'given them the suffrage' in certain specified cases — such as those that touch the public schools, the liquor traffic, and town improvement."

"Now, come back to the registration laws, please," said Bert, always "sticking to the question."

"That's so; where was I?" said Uncle Tom.

"You said," prompted Bert, "that every citizen was obliged to have his name recorded."

"Oh, yes," Uncle Tom went on; "he is obliged to have his name, age, and residence put on record, so that, when election-day comes round, the names of voters can be checked off as their owners appear at the ballot box. This is but a safeguard that no honest man or woman can object to or hold to be an invasion of their personal liberty."

"Who has charge of the polls, Uncle Tom?" Bert inquired.

"Officials specially appointed for the duty, and known as poll clerks and inspectors," his uncle replied. "They are selected, in equal numbers, from the two leading political parties, so as to insure fairness and squareness."

"But everything has all been made ready beforehand, has it not?" asked Roger.

"As far as the machinery of voting goes — yes," responded Uncle Tom. "The steps to an election are gradual; but a certain amount of machinery is necessary to avoid delays and complications. As election time approaches, the people talk over the men best fitted for the offices to be filled; but they do nothing until the leaders of each political organization summon what is called a caucus, or primary meeting. This preliminary meeting of voters selects certain men to represent their sentiments in a nominating convention composed of delegates from the caucuses. The nominating convention meets and selects men whom it declares to be best fitted for the offices. Each political party holds a nominating convention, and thus candidates, belonging to the different parties, are presented to the people for their suffrages, as it is called. On election-day, the names of these candidates appear on the printed ballots, and the voters deposit in the ballot box the slips containing the names they prefer. At a specified hour — generally at sunset — the voting stops; the polls are declared closed; the ballots are sorted and counted, and the men who have received the highest number of votes are declared to have been elected by the people to serve in the offices for which they were nominated."

"That all sounds simple enough," said Roger.

"Yes, it sounds simple enough," responded Uncle Tom, "but there are many complications; and much political machinery is set in motion before a decision is reached. These details are really interesting; some of them are wise and just; some of them are unwise and questionable; but all of them are worth studying, and the selection and election of our rulers — who are also our public servants — are matters which all of you, boys and girls alike, will, I trust, study up and try to understand. For their selection is one of the chief duties of American citizens."

"That's one of the things that will make me glad to be twenty-one," declared Bert. [The 26th Amendment lowered the voting age to 18.]

And Jack added, "Yes, it must make you feel really a man to have the right to say who shall be placed in power."

"It does—or should, Jack—though too many of us do not fully appreciate our privileges as freemen. Far too many American citizens fail to look upon voting as it should be considered—a sacred duty upon which the peace, the prosperity, and the welfare of our country depend."

"That is what makes us the sovereign people, is it not?" Roger asked.

"Yes," said Uncle Tom; "for with us lies the power of choice and creation—the right of criticism and censure, of honor and approval. Election Day is the American day of reward. Then every man, rich or poor, high or low, is equal; then the President and the porter, the senator and the farmhand stand on the same footing, and the word or wish of one is no greater than that of the other."

"It makes me think of that poem of Whittier's," said Roger. "What does he call it — 'The Poor Voter on Election Day '? "

"Yes; can you repeat it, Roger?" Uncle Tom asked.

"I think I can remember it," said Roger, modestly. "I'll try," and the New England boy recalled the inspiring lines of the New England poet:

"The proudest now is but my peer,
The highest not more high;
Today, of all the weary year,
A king of men am I.
Today, alike are great and small,
The nameless and the known;

My palace is the people's hall,
The ballot-box my throne!

"Who serves today upon the list
Beside the served shall stand;
Alike the brown and wrinkled fist,
The gloved and dainty hand!
The rich is level with the poor,
The weak is strong today;
And sleekest broadcloth counts no more
Than homespun frock of gray.

"Today let pomp and vain pretense
My stubborn right abide;
I set a plain man's common sense
Against the pedant's pride.
Today shall simple manhood try
The strength of gold and land;

The wide world has not wealth to buy
The power of my right hand!
"While there's a grief to seek redress,
Or balance to adjust,
Where weighs our living manhood less
Than Mammon's vilest dust? —
While there's a right to need my vote,
A wrong to sweep away —
Up! clouted knee and ragged coat;
A man's a man today!"

"That's fine, isn't it?" cried Jack, who always appreciated good poetry.

"Fine, indeed," responded Uncle Tom; "and a true picture, too, Jack— even if we cannot forget the wrong practices that bad men indulge in, the tricks and wiles of politicians, the indifference that makes shirkers of those who should be earnest, and the greed that leads thoughtless or un-American men into corruption and crime."

"And I suppose there are citizens," said Bert, "who are just as helpful and public-spirited as possible, even though they are not President, congressman, department-chief, or office-holder?"

"Millions of them," answered Uncle Tom. "It is this silent service and practical patriotism that make our Republic endure. The citizen has as great a duty and as much demand for courage laid upon him as any soldier or sailor who has ever faced the foes of the Republic on land and sea. By practical work among his fellows, by shaping public opinion, by showing office-holders how they can be citizens rather than politicians, by willingly sacrificing when duty demands, by using the wealth or the powers that God has given him for the benefit, the advantage, the bettering, or the salvation of his fellow-men, the true American citizen has, since the foundation of the Republic, given endurance and permanence to the national fabric."

"Was not that Mr. Corcoran, who gave to Washington the splendid art-gallery in Pennsylvania Avenue that we visited the other day, what you call a public-spirited citizen?" asked Christine.

"Yes; William W. Corcoran by his gifts to the national capital made equal proof of his philanthropy and his public spirit," replied Uncle Tom. "So, too, did George Peabody, whose gifts to charity and education are world-famous; and of equal benefit to their native land were George W. Childs, the Philadelphia editor, and Peter Cooper, the New York merchant, neither of whom waited till death overtook them to make their names the synonyms of generosity, philanthropy, and patriotism. In other

lines of action, but equally lavish of their gifts of wealth, eloquence, and brain power, stand such American citizens as Robert Morris, the financier, who backed the tottering cause of the American Revolution by pledging his entire fortune to its success, making the nation possible, and winning, for himself, an imperishable name; Starr King, who, literally working himself to death by voice and pen, saved California to the Union in the days of discord; Henry Ward Beecher, whose fearless words for justice and for right kept England neutral in those same threatening times; Horace Greeley, America's ablest editor, in whom, indeed, like the apostle of old, there was no guile: these and scores of just as self-sacrificing and just as loyal, though less famous men, have held our Republic firm to the principles it upholds, and kept it marching in the van of progress, purity, and freedom."

"Then they rule by force of example, don't they?" said Christine, "and should teach bad citizens to be good ones."

"I wonder, if women had all the privileges of men," mused Marian, "whether they would be led into the wrong-doing that the bad citizens are sometimes guilty of. I don't believe they would."

"You just wait, Maid Marian." said Jack. "Suppose you did vote and I should offer you a silk dress if you'd vote for me, and then Bert should bid higher and promise you a whole outfit if you'd vote for him — what would you do then?"

"What would I do then?" said Marian scornfully; "well, Mr. Jack, I'd just 'scratch' — isn't that what you call it, Uncle Tom?— both your names off my ballot — and vote for Roger."

"That is the voter's right, and Marian would be justified and upheld," said Uncle Tom.

"It is too bad, isn't it, that any American should be so unpatriotic as to be bought?" Christine declared.

"It is worse than unpatriotic, my dear; it is criminal," Uncle Tom replied. "But we must rejoice that, after all, the bad side of politics is but its cloudy fringe, and that most of us try to act according to conscience. For even a partizan may be conscientious. So fierce a politician as Jack, for instance, will, I know, act only from the best and purest motives when the time comes to him for decision and action."

"I shall certainly, Uncle Tom," Jack declared soberly. "With me it is going to be principles, not men."

"That is the only way to decide," said Uncle Tom. "We must remember what citizenship really means to us. It is twofold. It means allegiance and protection. You give your allegiance, and the State, in return, grants you full protection. It is for you to see that your allegiance is freely and gladly given; for the privileges of citizenship are great beyond calculation. Do you not remember Paul's proud answer to the Roman captain—or tribune?"

"When they were going to scourge him at Jerusalem?" queried Christine, eagerly; "I do."

"Let us hear it, Christine," said Uncle Tom. "To me it has always seemed a most dramatic incident."

Whereupon Christine, who was a good Bible scholar, dipped into her memory: "And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, 'Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?' When the centurion heard that, he went and told the chief captain, saying, 'Take heed what thou doest; for this man is a Roman.' Then the chief captain came and said unto him, 'Tell me, art thou a Roman? ' He said, 'Yea.' And the chief captain answered, 'With a great sum obtained I this freedom.' And Paul said, 'But I was free born!' Then straightway they departed from him which should have examined him; and the chief captain also was afraid,

after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him."

"Well done, Christine," said Uncle Tom, while the other "tourists" nodded approvingly. "It was Paul's proud declaration that he had the birthright of a Roman citizen that made those who were free only by purchase afraid to touch him. The privileges of free citizenship were prized in those days far above other possessions. Today in free America they are mightier and nobler than were those of Rome. American citizenship gives us all the rights of freemen. We cannot lose them save by our own carelessness or crimes."

"What do those rights include, Uncle Tom?" asked Bert.

"Everything, Bert—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," his uncle declared. "American citizenship gives us civil and religious liberty; it gives us freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of the mails; it makes every man's home his castle, into which no one may enter uninvited; it gives us the rights of citizens and voters into whatever State in the Union we may remove seeking a new home; it secures to us the protection of the United States wherever in the wide world our feet may wander; and before the words. 'I am an American!' tyrants dare not tyrannize and oppression stays its hand. How precious, then, should be this birthright! How low, and mean, and base is it for any one of us to barter that heritage, as did Esau of old, for a mess of pottage — that is, to place personal wants, personal safety, personal comfort, and personal pride above this right of freedom which our fathers fought to secure, to establish, and to maintain."

"But there are lots of people in America now whose fathers didn't fight to make the nation free," said Jack. "How can they be expected to make good citizens?"

"You mean our naturalized citizens, I suppose, or their fathers," said Uncle Tom.

"Yes, sir," assented Jack.

"What does it mean to be 'naturalized'?" inquired Marian.

"To be placed on the same footing as a natural citizen," Uncle Tom answered. "A foreigner, after living here five years, can say that he does not wish to be any longer a citizen or subject of the land of his birth, but does desire to be a citizen of the United States. So he goes before a judge and takes an oath to be true and loyal to the Government of the United States. This makes him a citizen, and makes citizens of his wife and all his children who are not yet twenty-one years old, giving them all the privileges that a natural-born American has, save one." [Requirements have changed over the years.]

"And that is?" queried Bert.

"He can never be President of the United States," Uncle Tom replied.

"Right enough," said Jack. " 'Put none but Americans on guard tonight,' so somebody said once, and I say 'amen' to that."

"Do not be selfishly American, Jack," returned his uncle. "We give all men a chance in the Republic. But in this matter of the presidency we cannot be too particular. Our Chief Magistrate must be an American to the core, and not all foreign-born citizens are this. The old loves and the old attachments formed in boyhood in the homes beyond the sea often grow stronger or come back again as men grow older. The emigrant in the crowded steerage coming to the land of liberty is full of anticipation and desire; but, even when success and station have been reached by him, he is, in the new home he has made, ever longing for his old home, and, forgetful of the land where his labor has brought him comfort and competence, he cannot part from his presence the memories and associations of the past. Our President must have no past save that of an American."

"I demand the previous question, Mr. Speaker," insisted Jack. "How can foreign-born citizens be expected to make good Americans, anyhow?"

"By the very composition of the Republic that welcomes them, shelters them, and makes free men of them," replied his uncle, "and by the force of our examples, Jack — yours and mine, and that of every native American who can say with Paul, 'I was free born.' The Government of the United States is based upon the equality of all men before the law. To prevent this equality from being turned to wrong ends by designing men, or lost through dissension and ignorance, is our chief duty as American citizens. A free and a fair ballot is the best means to this end. For, though our Government may make mistakes, as is often the case when too many cooks take a hand at making the broth, we have the ability and the right to correct mistakes and to change or criticize our cooks. With all our shortcomings, with all our differences of opinion, with all our selfishness, and with all our boasting, it is still true that we have the best government in the world—"

"Hear, hear!" said Jack, in his energetic whisper; and Uncle Tom went on without a break:

"—the most wise, the most conservative, the most progressive, the most permanent. It will lead all the world our way at last, if but you, boys and girls, and those who are with you, will be, when you grow up, loyal, true, devoted, earnest, and patriotic American citizens."

" 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty,' " quoted Jack.

"It is, indeed," said his uncle; "and patriotism means doing one's best toward making his country worth the loving and worth the living in, by helping it to become better in every way—broad, noble, Christian, imperial, progressive, free. Do you but work, as you all can, toward this end and you will help to hasten the fulfilment of the poet's dream when he

' Dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world and all the wonder that would be.'

For he saw what you can help to bring about — the reign of universal peace, universal brotherhood, and universal law, when

' The war-drum throbs no longer and the battle-flags are furled
In the Parliament of Men, the Federation of the World.'

That Federation is coming some day, and the dream of universal brotherhood must be realized. Well, have you finished your ice-cream? My coffee has grown cold with talking. Waiter! bring me a cup of hot black coffee, please. There; now, boys and girls, let us take a stroll as far as Thomas Circle."

Chapter 15
The National Capital

"You can't see everything" says Uncle Tom— What his Tourists had seen in Washington— What Washington is and why it exists —A unique town— Who dreamed it, who planned it, and how it grew—Our Show City and an historic one.

The day of departure drew near. "Uncle Tom's tourists," personally conducted and capitally ciceroned, had seen Washington thoroughly, intelligently, and delightfully.

"Not that you could expect to see everything here," Uncle Tom remarked. "That, I neither hoped nor intended. You have, I suppose, skipped many things, places, and persons notably worth seeing. There are hundreds of details in government work and methods that might be studied to advantage; there are countless things, both curious and entertaining, I should like to hunt up for you in library, museum, safe, and alcove; there are reams of really historic documents worth investigating that are filed and docketed in department bureaus, closets, and pigeon-holes; there are many creative shops and workrooms that might yet be inspected, where government belongings, from cannons and cartridges to pulp and postage stamps, are made; there are places of minor interest really worth visiting, if only one could see all and know all. But one can't. Life is too short; feet will get tired; brains will get to buzzing; there is a limit even to the endurance of wide-awake boys and girls. And you have fathers and mothers at home, to whom I am responsible for your health and happiness. So, as the end must come, it may as well come speedily. Tomorrow we say good-bye to Washington. But you have seen a great deal."

They certainly had. They had delved in vaults and crypts; they had climbed into domes and monuments. They had "done" the departments, "covered" the Capitol, and "seen" the city. They had sailed the Potomac, climbed the heights of Arlington, roamed the grounds of Mount Vernon, and, afoot, awheel, or "acable," as Marian said, they had seen the squares and gardens, the streets and suburbs of the National Capital.

In the splendid National Museum, crammed with relics and wonders, they had feasted their eyes on historic or beautiful things; in its near neighbor, the Smithsonian Institution,— the gift of an English gentleman to the American Republic,— they had seen many a marvel, and studied hundreds of rare and curious things. They had seen the workmen "jacketing a gun" in the Naval Gun Factory; at the Marine Barracks they had witnessed the morning guard mount, and heard a morning concert of the famous Marine Band. They were familiar with the President's grounds and the Capitol grounds; they had seen all the fine monuments to soldiers and sailors, statesmen and patriots that adorn the city squares and circles. They had seen where Lincoln was assassinated, the mean little house in which he died, and the spot where Garfield fell. They had seen the store of books in the departmental and special libraries, and had visited the future home of the mighty collection of a million books and pamphlets — the splendid new Library of Congress, facing, with its golden dome, the east front of the great Capitol.

They were fascinated, impressed, almost awed by the grandeur of the buildings, the beauty of the "environment," the air of greatness and of power that make the capital city of the nation its pride, its glory, and its central point.

Sated with sight-seeing, they wished now to know just how and why the city came to be.

Uncle Tom was bombarded with questions, and on this last day in the capital, as they all sat in their favorite haven of rest

and shade beneath the big trees of Lafayette Park, he endeavored to give arrangement and form to his reply.

"Every nation, you know," he said, "must have its seat of government — a place where king, council, or president resides and dispenses justice as the head of the nation. Such a place is called the national capital."

"From *caput,* the head, because it is the head or chief city of the nation, I suppose," put in Bert.

"But Washington is not the chief city of our nation," objected Roger.

"Not by a long chalk," echoed Jack. "What do you call New York?"

"West Brooklyn — so I have heard it called, since so many people moved across the big bridge," said Roger.

"I call it the place where mother lives," said Christine, with just the shadow of a sigh. For Christine was described by her friends as "a real mother-girl," and, so Marian declared, would have been homesick even in Washington if she had not been too busy to indulge in such luxuries.

But Jack scorned both the gibe and the sentiment.

"No, sir," he said. "New York is the metropolis of America."

"And second to Boston—the seat of learning, intelligence, and culture, and the hub of the universe," asserted Roger.

"Huh! Boston!" cried Jack.

"Huh! New York!" retorted Roger.

Whereupon the respective champions of size and culture would have fought out their case most doughtily had not Uncle Tom dropped down as umpire.

"Cry 'quits!' boys, or give Chicago and Philadelphia a chance," he said. "It should be a fair field and no favor when the Knights of Civic Pride couch lances in honor of the Queen City

— whichever she may be. But that is not the question now before the house. Whichever American city stands at the top, Washington is the capital of the nation, and to her we must all doff hats in salute. You know her now. Is there one of you who will not sturdily maintain that she is worthy such salute? From the hem of her green gown, trailing in Potomac's waters, to her crown and diadem of the great white dome, she sits an empress—and yet lives enslaved."

"Oh, see here, Uncle Tom; go easy; go easy, do!" protested practical Jack. "You reel it off like a poet; but, when you talk of her being enslaved, I call it — well — to put it mildly — poet's license."

"Well, perhaps I was just a trifle rhetorical," Uncle Tom admitted. "And yet I spoke the truth. The city of Washington presents to the world the singular spectacle of the capital of a great republic governed by an absolute monarchy."

"No! is that so?" cried Bert.

"A monarchy!" exclaimed unbelieving Jack. "Then who's the king?"

"Congress is king; the American people is king," replied Uncle Tom. "Washington, the national capital, is the creature of the National Government. Its inhabitants are practically disfranchised, for they have no voice in the management of affairs. They have absolutely no vote either on national or local questions. Congress collects the taxes, Congress pays the bills, Congress makes the laws. The schools, the streets, the parks, the affairs, and the people of Washington are ' run' by Congress and administered by a board of three commissioners appointed by the President."

"But isn't that most un-American, Uncle Tom?" asked Bert, still greatly astonished at what he heard.

"Why, that's just what our forefathers 'kicked' against," said Jack. "It's taxation without representation."

"At first sight it might seem, as Bert says, un-American," Uncle Tom admitted. "But remember—Washington is the seat of government; its affairs are matters in which the Government, for whose convenience it exists, is more directly concerned than any one else. It is therefore, as I told you, the creature and protégée of the Federal Government, and it exists for the people of the whole country; they really govern it through their representatives in Congress."

"But how did it come to be here?" Marian asked.

"It is really the coming true of a dream of George Washington's," replied Uncle Tom.

"But they tell us at school.

'George Washington was no dreamer,' " put in Jack.

"Sometimes, Master Jack, you are altogether too practical," Uncle Tom declared, just a bit non-plussed. "When I called it a dream I meant, of course, a well-conceived and admirable plan."

"And you can dream a plan, Jack Dunlap," said Marian, with conviction.

"It has been said of the city of Washington," went on Uncle Tom, "that it is a city planned and built solely for the purposes of government, named after the one man in American history who himself seemed likewise planned and built solely for the purposes of government. In fact, this same shrewd observer declares that the plan of Washington the city reminds one of the face of Washington the man; for it has large, quiet features, calm symmetry, and singularly unobtrusive individuality. We have no other city like it, as we have had no other man just like the great patriot from whom it takes its name."

"Now I wonder," mused Jack, "just what city you look like, Bert? Perhaps Cork—you're so light, you know!"

"And you are so fresh, dear boy," retorted Bert, politely but pertinently. "that I should say you were like London in the days of the Puritans — you need a psalter."

When sufficiently recovered from the full weight of this retort. Jack asked his uncle:

"Well, how did the dream materialize, Uncle Tom?"

"In the opening years of the national existence," replied his uncle, "Congress was like the Arab — a wanderer. It met in various places, and no one town or city could really be called the seat of government until the year 1800. The question of just where the national capital should be was almost serious. There were rivalries among the States; for each one wished the honor of having within its borders the capital city, and all were jealous lest the preference of location should give to the State determined upon an importance that would make it 'stuck up' and arrogant. Many places, some now almost unknown, had the honor of being offered as the permanent seat of government; New York, for instance, presented the town of Kingston as entitled to consideration; Morrisania, the home of the Morrises, was also offered. Maryland supported the claims of Annapolis, and of Charlestown, at the head of Chesapeake Bay; New Jersey's legislature offered the township of Nottingham, Elizabeth, Trenton, or Princeton. Williamsburg, then Virginia's capital, and Germantown, Philadelphia's 'annex,'also presented their claims. Other places were offered, and very liberal were the inducements tendered by each. I remember one—Princeton, I think—where Congress was assured that the comfort of the 'inner man' would be especially looked after, and 'fish, crabs, and lobsters at least three days in the week— the lobsters and crabs to be brought to Princeton alive'—were temptingly hinted at in the event of that place being selected. Washington knew that men and States were apt to be selfish; he foresaw the difficulty of selection, and he felt that the only solution of the problem lay

in compromise. He advocated the setting aside of a tract of land as a 'neutral territory,' that should belong to no State in particular, but to all the States in general. After much discussion and considerable 'back talk,' as you boys say, this decision was taken and the offer of Maryland and Virginia to cede to the Federal Government a certain section of land on the Potomac was accepted. The Federal territory, known for a long time afterward as the Territory of Columbia and nowadays as the District of Columbia, was ceded to the Government, and, in the very region over which Washington as boy and youth had hunted, fished, trapped, and surveyed, a city was laid out and built to order. To this city was given the name of the one man whom all Americans united to honor, and the capital of the nation was called the city of Washington. Washington himself, however, as modest as he was great, never associated his own name with it, but in speaking and in writing he always called it The Federal City."

"Was it really built to order, like St. Petersburg, Mr. Dunlap?" asked Christine.

"Perhaps not quite so autocratically, but quite as deliberately and with as definite a design," Uncle Tom replied. "As a matter of fact the city grew slowly. A Frenchman who had fought for American freedom, and whom Washington regarded as a man of ability, planned out the new city. The scale upon which he proceeded was so generous, so colossal, and, apparently, so impossible that men laughed while they admired, and ridiculed even while they approved. In his plan, L'Enfant — "

"L'Enfant—the infant? Was that the Frenchman's name, Uncle Tom? How funny!" cried Marian.

"I think it most appropriate," said Bert. "The city was an infant at the start — the same as the nation it represented. And look at it now! and he swept a comprehensive hand, as if to embrace the whole city in his observation.

"Just so; it was quite in the nature of a prophecy," Uncle Tom admitted. "Well, L'Enfant took Capitol Hill as the center of his scheme. This was to be the hub of his wheel, and from it the streets and avenues were to radiate like the spokes of a wheel, intersected by cross streets. So we get the avenues, with some of which you are so familiar. Pennsylvania (called here, you know, The Avenue), Massachusetts, New York, Louisiana are some of the spokes of the wheel. But, as I told you, the city grew slowly. In 1800, when the Government took possession of its capital, the unfinished, White House stood at one end of Pennsylvania Avenue, and the uncompleted Capitol at the other. And this splendid Pennsylvania Avenue was only a muddy roadway cut through an underbrush of alders. The town then, and for years after, was simply a straggling, Southern village, without beauty, finish, comfort, convenience, or society. I wonder if I cannot recall Thomas Moore's poetical sneer—"

"What, the Moore's Melodies man?" asked Jack.

"Yes," replied Uncle Tom; "he visited America at the beginning of the century, and his sneer at our capital city, with its unkempt streets, its huts of houses, its unfinished public buildings, and its general frontier-like appearance, was but an expression of the world's ridicule of what it appeared to be — like the Republic itself—a pretentious impossibility. Moore described Washington, which he saw in 1804, as —

> 'An embryo capital where Fancy sees
> Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees;
> Where second-sighted seers the plain adorn
> With fanes unbuilt, and heroes yet unborn.
> Though naught but woods and Jefferson they see
> Where streets should run and sages ought to be.'"

"Well; that's a great note!" exclaimed Jack, indignantly. "I'll never sing any of Moore's Melodies again. Think of Tara's Halls

and then look at that splendid Capitol! I wonder what that Corkonian would say if he could see it now."

"Everything depends upon standpoints, Jack," said Uncle Tom, "and Thomas Moore was neither seer nor prophet. In 1804 his sneer may have been justified by the facts. For sixty years the city of the office-holders — for it was little else — was far from attractive. Only after the war had closed, and men were more truly American than ever before, did the nation awaken to the fact that its capital city should be a place to be proud of, and not a place to sneer at. Soon after the change came. The story of Aladdin's palace was almost repeated. New and magnificent buildings sprang into being; hills were leveled, swamps drained, and streets laid out and finished; fine residences were built; a forest of trees was planted; people came, saw, and marveled; the population grew rapidly, and the new Washington you see today is the realization of what seemed so long an impossibility: a noble city embowered in trees, dotted with parks, with great public buildings looming up in all their Grecian symmetry and modern massiveness, from the peerless dome that crowns the Capitol Hill to the enormous State Department at the other end of the avenue—the largest granite building in the world. It is Washington's dream come true."

"With some little things that he never could have dreamed of thrown in," said Jack; "such as electric lights, and cable-cars, and telephones, and bicycles, and ice cream soda."

"How many people live here now, Mr. Dunlap?" Christine inquired.

"Nearly a quarter of a million," replied Uncle Tom; "and of this two hundred and fifty thousand, fully one tenth are in the employ of the Government. [The population of Washington D.C. in 2010 is about 600,000.] So, you see, Washington is really a Government city; for when you sum up the families that these twenty-five thousand employees represent, the tradesmen

who are here to minister to their wants, and all the other industries that flourish here because of them, you can see how the bulk of the city's population lives because of the Government which has here established its capital. Washington has neither manufactures nor commerce, and yet it is a hive of industry. Its business quarters are small, its residential quarters large."

"Something like Brooklyn," said Bert.

"Yes, though from a different reason," Uncle Tom replied. "Every large city has an attendant town which exists because of its greater neighbor. It is so with Brooklyn. It is New York's overflow—a city of homes; it exists because of New York, and is practically a part of the metropolis; and yet it has a trade, a commerce, and manufactories of its own. Washington is our show city. It exists because the nation exists, and its population, though always increasing, is yet ever changing with each new administration and every turn of national politics."

"But I thought you said the Civil Service rules put a stop to that business," said Bert.

"They have, to a certain extent," Uncle Tom answered. "Of the twenty-five thousand persons in Government employ in Washington, over ten thousand are appointed under the Civil Service rules. They might safely count on making homes here, but, fortunately for them and for the nation, Americans are ambitious and aspire to something better than office-holding as a permanent occupation. So Washington's population is always a changing one, and the ins and the outs are forever exchanging places."

"Well, that lets just so many more people know what a beautiful city it is," said Marian.

"That's philosophic, my dear, but it is cold comfort for the outs," laughed Uncle Tom. "The ins do find a beautiful city to live in, though. It is a delightful winter city, and, in fact, is our

best all-the-year-round town. The new Washington is, as you see, a handsome and generously planned capital, with broad and well-kept streets, well lighted and well drained. It has splendid public buildings, and a society that is said to be delightful by those who know it, though it is largely what we call 'cosmopolitan'—that is, of all grades, sorts, and conditions —"

"And therefore American," put in Jack.

"And therefore American," Uncle Tom repeated; "from the reception at the White House to the literary club at the professor's; from the social party at the bureau clerk's to the grand dinner at the legation; and from the cakewalk in the southeast section to the five o'clock tea at the Senator's."

"All kinds, aren't there?" commented Bert.

"I speak for the dinner at the legation," said Marian.

"I choose a look at that cakewalk," said Jack.

"I think I'd like to be the girl who gives the five o'clock tea," said Christine.

"The Senator's daughter, eh?" said Jack. "Well, you're modest, ma'am."

"I'm sure my father would make as good a senator as any of them," Christine declared loyally.

"Oh, better, better, I'm sure," cried Jack. "Send me a card for the tea, won't you? If it were yours, of course, I should like it better than the cakewalk."

"I don't see but that the Frenchman's 'infant,' " said Marian, "has grown into a very healthy and promising child, Uncle Tom."

"That is just what it is, my dear," said her uncle,— "the child of the Government, brought up by hand, perhaps, but grown at last into an elegant young person who invites all the world to her five o'clock tea. She is a delightful and most attractive hostess, as finished as the towering monument in her back yard, and as

graceful as the great Liberty poised on the superb dome at her front door. I think that, as Americans, we may well be proud of our central city — our nation's capital."

"But it isn't exactly our central city, is it?" asked Bert.

"No; not as related to the geographical centers of population or position," said Uncle Tom. "But it does stand midway between North and South, and so my adjective is, at least, allowable. As regards distance, Washington is about two hundred and thirty miles from New York, four hundred and fifty from Boston, six hundred and seventy-three from Savannah, eleven hundred from New Orleans, five hundred and fifty from Cincinnati, eight hundred from Chicago, nine hundred from St. Louis, eighteen hundred from Denver, thirty-one hundred from San Francisco, thirteen hundred and fifty from Key West in Florida, and forty-five hundred from Sitka in Alaska."

"That's a good way to show our size, isn't it?" said Jack. "It makes me think of a song I remember— I don't know who wrote it:

' See our prairies, sky-surrounded!
See our sunlit mountain-chains!
See our waving woods, unbounded,
And our cities on the plains!
See the oceans kiss our strand,
Oceans stretched from pole to pole!
See our mighty lakes expand,
And our giant rivers roll!
Such a land, and such alone,
Should be leader in the van,
As the nations sweep along
To fulfil the hopes of man!'"

"Well, this is where they have helped to fulfil them — right in Washington here," said Uncle Tom. "There is something in

association that even so practical a people as we Americans take pride in, and these associations live here in the national capital. For it is the city that Washington founded and Lincoln saved, and in whose halls have spoken or in whose streets have walked such historic figures as Adams and Jefferson and Jackson, Marshall and Clay and Webster, Calhoun and Douglas and Sumner, Davis and Phillips, Benton and Greeley, Grant and Lee, Sherman and Johnston and Sheridan, Farragut and Porter, Stanton and Seward, Chase, Bancroft, Bayard, and Blaine. To these vast buildings that we have visited are linked the names of famous men whose lives and deeds are part of our nation's history; within their walls have worked thousands of men and women, spending lives of quiet industry in the business of the nation. In this beautiful city have occurred events that have won a fadeless place in the annals of the world, and to it, today, come people from every part of our broad land, proud to be Americans, proud to call so attractive a city 'our' national capital, proud to feel that they and their sons and daughters are and will be citizens of the United States of America. This pride, I know, is yours; but if, with it, you will also feel and recognize the duties it demands and the responsibilities it entails, you will go back to your homes better boys and girls, better citizens of the republic, better Americans. Seeing is believing. You have seen for yourselves; now, believe for yourselves, and not because I say so, that upon you depend the future of your native land and the success of America's experiment in free government. Come, let us go to the hotel and pack up. We take the morning train. Tomorrow night you will be telling your adventures and detailing the wonders you have seen to all the dear ones at home."

And soon the tourists were struggling with hotel bureau-drawers, and puzzling over the problems of trunks and valises—wondering "how under the sun Mother did it so easily!"

Chapter 16
America's Marvels and America's Station

The same goddess — The dinner-party at Jack's home — A new kind of game — Material and intellectual marvels—What patriotism is— America's growth and station —Good night and good-bye.

From goddess to goddess and yet the same goddess! My, though!" exclaimed Jack. "But wouldn't that just have been a riddle for the old puzzle-solvers of Greece and Rome?"

"Ædipus and the Sphinx simply wouldn't have been in it, alongside of you, Jack," said Bert. "What is it? Read us your riddle, won't you? "

"There it stands, that he who runs — or he who rides in a Pullman — may read," said Jack. "We left Liberty perched on the dome of the Capitol just six hours ago, and behold! here she is, calmly enlightening the world and New York harbor to boot."

Their train had swept across the long reach of the Newark Bay, and, parting the low hills on the eastern shore, had come into full view of the noble harbor and the metropolis flanked by its two broad rivers.

"That is funny, isn't it!" said Marian. "The goddess of liberty was the last thing we saw as we left Washington. She is the first thing we see as we reach New York."

"It beats 'Sheridan's ride' all hollow," said Jack. "Mrs. Liberty would seem to be—what do you call it, Uncle Tom? — ubiquitous."

"It is a good omen to greet us on our return from Liberty's central office, Jack," observed Uncle Tom. "God hasten the day

when liberty shall indeed be ubiquitous. For that means — what, Bert?"

"Existing everywhere," translated Bert.

Then, as their train ran into the Jersey City station, the tourists gathered up their traps, took the ferry-boat across the Hudson, and before long were dispensing kisses and handclasps in their own dear homes. Their "tour through government" was over.

The day after their arrival Jack's father and mother gave a dinner-party to the "tourists" to fitly celebrate their return.

It was a jolly affair. All the fathers and mothers were there — even Roger's parents coming over from Boston to be at the gathering and hear a comparison of notes and experiences.

A fine dinner was served— "It really, Mother, compares favorably, don't you know, with our hotel *menu"* pronounced Jack, patronizingly, as one who had become quite a critic in gastronomy. There were toasts and speeches, in which latter Jack extended the thanks of the "tourists" to their "guide, philosopher, and friend" Uncle Tom Dunlap, for his excellence, his eloquence, and his erudition—that last word came hard, but emphatically—as the conductor of the party. He also, "on behalf of his colleagues," made acknowledgment for favors to the several Secretaries of the Treasury (otherwise the fathers) who had made the expedition possible, and to the Secretaries of the Interior (otherwise the mothers) who had so well stocked the tourists, as he expressed it, with suitable equipments and acres of good advice.

After a round of patriotic songs in the music-room — from the "Star-Spangled Banner" and "Yankee Doodle" to the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "America"—the party settled down in Mr. Dunlap's pleasant library to talk over their experiences;—as if they had done anything else since their return!

How those five tongues clattered! — six, in fact, for Uncle Tom was as talkative as his tourists,—while the fathers and mothers listened and laughed, applauded and criticized, and concluded that they had done a wise and practical thing when they allowed their boys and girls to make that personally conducted trip to Washington.

"I am glad to notice one thing," said Mr. Dunlap; "the trip has really educated the taste for intelligent investigation so well begun by some of you at the World's Fair at Chicago. Uncle Tom has surely proved himself the prince of cicerones — who knows what that is?"

"A fellow who Ciceroes, I suppose," said Jack. "That is, one who spouts well, isn't it?"

"Why, Uncle Tom didn't spout so much," Marian declared. "When he had anything to say, he said it — and in such a way that we understood all about what he was trying to show us or teach us."

"Well, Cicero did that, didn't he?" said Bert. "I suppose that, as Jack suggested, cicerone did really come from Cicero and means — a man who knows it all and knows just how to tell it."

"That's about it, Bert," said Mr. Dunlap. "I only wish Uncle Tom could show you over the whole country in the same way he helped you 'do' Washington."

"Oh, how delightful that would be, wouldn't it?" cried Christine.

"Oh, can't you, Uncle Tom?" came the inquiry in chorus.

"Can't do it, fellow-citizens; Economy is the duty of the hour," said Uncle Tom. "We've got to pay the National Debt, you know."

"But wouldn't such a trip put just so much money into circulation and help pay the Debt?" asked Bert.

"Well, my young social economist, it might," replied Uncle Tom. "To trot you all over the country would be a big contract, though. And yet I suppose it could be done — with so bright a lot of boys and girls, and such capital travelers as I took to Washington."

"Just think what a lot of things and places there are to see in America," said Roger. "The trouble would be, I suppose, to pick out just where to go and just what to see."

"Yes," answered Mr. Dunlap; "America has many marvels—alike of man's invention and God's handiwork."

"And all of them would interest us?" asked Marian.

"Surely, my dear," her father replied. "Under proper direction you would, I am certain, get just as much entertainment and instruction from the Brooklyn Bridge, the Eads Jetties at New Orleans, the Pennsylvania oil and coal mining industries, and the lofty Masonic Temple at Chicago, as from the Great Geysers, Niagara Falls, or the Yosemite Valley."

"Well, almost every section of our country has some marvel to show — some wonder of creation or some freak of nature," Uncle Tom remarked. "I remember how greatly I enjoyed my trip through the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, with its domes and chasms, its sunless lakes and its eyeless fish, its subterranean river and its crystal grottoes that make one keep repeating those opening lines of one of Coleridge's poems:

'In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure-dome decree,
Where Alph, the sacred river, ran,
Through caverns measureless to man,
Down to a sunless sea.'"

"Brrr!" cried Jack; "don't that sound nice and spooky?"

"Oh, wouldn't I like to see it!" exclaimed Marian.

"Which? Xanadu or Mammoth Cave?" queried Bert.

"Oh, home sights are best — especially the eyeless fish," said Marian. "Besides, Uncle Tom would show me Mammoth Cave, and I'm not acquainted with Mr. Kubla Khan — whoever he may be."

"Bayard Taylor declared the Mammoth Cave to be the greatest natural curiosity he ever visited," remarked Mr. Dunlap; "but there are others in America equally marvelous. I don't know which was the greater revelation to me — Niagara Falls or the Mountain of the Holy Cross in Colorado—the one with its torrent of water, the other with its great snow-filled ravines armed and glittering in the sun like Constantine's vision of the Cross. But do you know, boys and girls, that Niagara, instead of making me feel small and insignificant beside its rush of water, always sets me to thinking, as Shakspere puts it, 'how wonderful a thing is man'; for he can control the mightiest forces of nature and by brain and hand drive even such a resistless cataract as Niagara in harness, to work his will and give employment to his fellow-men."

"That's it," cried Uncle Tom. "Man, after all, is the mightiest of nature's forces; think how American ingenuity has tunneled our mountains, spanned our chasms, bridged our rivers, and made what seemed obstacles and hindrances only so many helps and instruments toward union, growth, and progress. Why, I believe that for every natural marvel that you can point out in America, I could give you an intellectual one quite as great."

"Such comparisons are not always easy," said Mr. Dunlap. "and I think I could set you a task. America is a wonderland."

"I know it — and in every sense of the word," said Uncle Tom. "That is why I propose the test."

"Oh, what fun!" cried Marian; "do try it, Papa."

"Well," said her father, "let us see. I'll give you, first, our giant peaks — such as St. Elias and Wrangell in Alaska, Tacoma (or Rainier) in Washington, Shasta in California and Pike's Peak in

Colorado, beside which even the Alps have to stand tiptoe to touch shoulders, and the White Mountains and the Catskills are but foothills."

"Good, father! Now, Uncle Tom!" cried Jack—just as if, so said Marian, he was "setting them on."

"I'll match those cloud-capped summits," replied Uncle Tom, "with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States — the highest points ever attained by man in human freedom and civil liberty."

"That's good!" cried Bert; and "Matched him there!" exclaimed Jack.

"Go on, Papa," prompted Marian.

"The Mammoth Cave," said her father, "a perfect marvel of darkness and devious underground turnings."

"The Emancipation Proclamation," responded Uncle Tom, "a perfect marvel of light and a flashing highway toward liberty."

"That was Slavery's mammoth cave, wasn't it?" chuckled Jack; "she just slumped right in after that."

"More," cried Marian.

"Niagara Falls," said Mr. Dunlap, "the world's greatest cataract."

"The telegraph and the telephone," retorted Uncle Tom, "which act quicker than Niagara and save time where that wastes water."

"The Yellowstone Park," came Mr. Dunlap's next offer, "a museum as big as the State of Connecticut and packed full of wonders."

"The sewing-machine, smaller than a trunk, but capable of wonders in the way of work," returned Uncle Tom.

"The Great Lakes," said Mr. Dunlap, "one fourth of all the fresh water on the globe bunched together in the heart of a continent."

"Ericsson's Monitor," Uncle Tom responded, "a little cheese-box on a raft, that turned the world's wooden navies into iron ones, and gave America the fastest armored cruisers in the world."

"Hurrah for you, Uncle Tom; you get there every time!" cried Jack. while the others were roused to enthusiasm over this new game.

"The Mississippi River," said Mr. Dunlap, "one of the mightiest of the world's waterways."

"The Pacific Railway," returned Uncle Tom, "the world's longest and speediest highway."

"The Yosemite Valley — a marvelous mile-long chasm, unequaled in the world," said Mr. Dunlap.

"Our public school system, that bridges the deepest chasms of ignorance and floods with sunlight the darkest caverns of crime."

"I'm afraid you'll get the booby prize, Papa; Uncle Tom's too much for you," Marian said.

"Just see what an effect our society has had upon him," observed Jack. "He's as up-and-coming as one o'clock."

"I see he hasn't been able to put the brakes on your reckless language. Jack, my boy," said Mr. Dunlap; "I had hoped that the task of studying government would have rather sobered your slang into sense; but I am afraid it will take a special proclamation, martial law, and the riot act to bring your tongue into harness."

"Therein, I suppose, he does but display his Americanism," remarked Uncle Tom. "Slang, extravagance in talk, recklessness in speculation, and a tendency to rush to extremes, alike in effort

and action, are, it seems to me, the things that need the brake here in America, and too often, I think, we rather pride ourselves upon them as native American qualities, and falsely call them patriotism."

"You are right there, Tom," his brother assented. "I would like to set these young people, who are now so full of the national glory, on the right track toward real patriotism and true Americanism."

"Why, father!" Jack exclaimed, "aren't we patriotic? Didn't you hear us sing 'America,' just now?"

"That's just it, Jack," said his father; "we sing and shout and wave our hats and think we've done it all. But that isn't patriotism. Patriotism doesn't consist in making the eagle scream, in flaunting flags and raising a great hullabaloo on holidays. Bragging and boasting are not patriotism; even eloquence is not patriotism any more than are mere promises of devotion or avowals of love and affection for the Union and the flag. Patriotism is performance. It is to do when it costs to do, to assert when plain speaking is dangerous, to stand firm when yielding would be so much easier; it is doing one's duty always. Patriotism is love of country put to a practical end. It is to do our best for our land in whatever direction effort may lie. This alike the lowest and the highest in the land can do, from street-sweeper to President. Patriotism is action; patriotism is thought; patriotism is life. So think and act and live that you may be real patriots and therefore true Americans."

"After what we saw in Washington," said Bert, "it would seem to me we could not help being true Americans."

"You certainly have a country worthy your love and loyalty," said Mr. Dunlap. "I said boasting was not patriotism; but even boasting is better than the criticism which is forever unfavorably comparing America with Europe and which, as I heard Senator

Lodge once say, 'looks scornfully on the Sierras because they are not the Alps.' "

"Those are the fellows who try my patience, too," said Uncle Tom. "Sometimes I think we do not estimate our country highly enough. Indifference is the bog in which, too often, we flounder and sink. In fact, I should like to establish in our colleges a professorship of enthusiasm to teach young men and women to be energetic Americans. And the first lesson in the course of study should be to learn by heart, and recite standing beneath the flag, that sonnet of Professor Woodberry's. You know it, Jack. I suggested it to you for your Washington's Birthday exercises at school."

"What, do you mean 'Our First Century,' Uncle Tom? Oh, yes, I remember it." And Jack, always ready to 'elocute,' recited that spur to patriotism, Woodberry's noble sonnet:

"It cannot be that men who are the seed
Of Washington should miss fame's true applause;
Franklin did plan us; Marshall gave us laws;
And slow the broad scroll grew a people's creed—
One land and free! Thus, at our dangerous need,
Time's challenge coming, Lincoln gave it pause,
Upheld the double pillars of the cause
And, dying, left them whole — our crowning deed.

Such was the fathering race that made all fast,
Who founded us, and spread from sea to sea
A thousand leagues the zone of liberty,
And built for man this refuge from his past —
Unkinged, unchurched, unsoldiered; shamed were we,
Failing the stature that such sires forecast!"

" 'Unkinged, unchurched, unsoldiered' — that's great, isn't it?" cried Roger.

"That's the highest kind of freedom, isn't it?" said Bert, "and that is America!"

"Why shouldn't we grow up to the stature our sires forecast?" demanded Jack. "Nothing is too big a contract for true Americans."

"I told you that there was enough in our history to create enthusiasm," said Uncle Tom. "And you have the spirit in you, I know from experience. Just see what is America's station in the world today. When this century opened, the United States had but a little more than five millions of inhabitants; today they number sixty-seven millions. Our possessions, then, extended only from Maine to Georgia and from the Atlantic to the banks of the Mississippi; westward, beyond the great river, all was unexplored and almost unknown. The total area of the United States in 1800 was less than eight hundred and fifty thousand square miles; today the great Republic incloses an area of more than three and a half million square miles; her helmet-top is white with Arctic snows; upon her sandals break the warm ripples of the tropic seas. The unexplored region of 1800 has been carved into great and growing States. Our original thirteen today are forty-five; we lead the world in many departments of production and trade, of intelligence and ingenuity, in natural advantages, in freedom, in energy, and in ability to do. Within one hundred years of life we have first conquered and then saved a continent and added to the world's hero-roll the names of Washington and Lincoln."

"What shall we do in the next hundred years, I wonder?" queried Bert.

"Think how much, boys and girls, the answer to Bert's question depends upon you," Mr. Dunlap said. "The future of America is in your hands. Today there are in this Republic

twenty million boys and girls. They are to be the citizens of the new America in the new century fast coming on. If they will but study aright the lesson of liberty and know that it can be held only at the price of eternal vigilance, all will be well. Since 1820 eighteen millions of foreigners have found a home in these United States. Millions more will come. They bring hard problems for us to solve, but we can solve them — you will solve them, boys and girls, if you will but teach those newcomers, by your lives and actions, the real meaning of liberty, and show them that the very spirit of unrest they bring and which fills the world today is really the best possible ground-point from which liberty can work, if her sons will but recognize the truth and grandeur of the Golden Rule."

The party broke up at last. But, as they separated, Uncle Tom asked for a final statement by each of the tourists as to what had most impressed him or her at Washington.

The answers were as varied as their natures. Roger replied unhesitatingly: the Capitol and the hundred thousand dollars he held for a second in the Treasury vaults. Marian declared the Washington Monument and the phantom eyes that glowered at her above the glass panels of the White House doors. Bert picked out the Supreme Court and the ceaseless purr of the cable on Pennsylvania Avenue, and Jack decided for the President and the glee club of the musical herdic-drivers in Lafayette Park.

As for Christine, she hesitated. Then she said, "Why, Uncle Tom — oh, excuse me, I mean Mr. Dunlap —"

"That's all right, Christine," laughed Uncle Tom; "I'm glad you have admitted me to relationship at last."

"I suppose I should say," continued Christine, "everything impressed me. Everything did. But, do you know, I think I shall remember, as long as I live, the bird's nest in Washington's tomb at Mount Vernon."

"A bird's nest?" queried Mr. Dunlap.

"Yes, sir," Christine explained. "It was built right across a corner of the old tablet just above Washington's sarcophagus. There were four little birds in it, and the straws of the nest trailed over the inscription: 'I am the resurrection and the life.' I don't believe I shall ever forget that. It gave me such a queer feeling — almost as if it were a prophecy."

"It was," said Uncle Tom. "Out of the ashes of the great may spring new life and effort. And the wings of a young bird — they mean growth in freedom! Do not forget your bird's nest, my dear. It may serve as an excellent text for your life as a true American woman."

Then, amid a chorus of good nights and good-byes, the tourists separated. Their personally conducted trip was at an end. But its good times, its sights, its experiences, and its lessons remain with them as pleasant and enduring memories, cementing friendships and making our girls and boys, as time goes on, the very best kind of American citizens.

The American's Creed

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag and defend it against all enemies.

The American Flag
The Red, White and Blue

The red says: Be brave. The white says: Be pure. The blue says: Be true. The red also reminds us that every true patriot should be willing – to die for the love of country; to shed his blood, if necessary, in the hour of the Nation's peril, and reminds us of that Divine love which should dwell in every breast and be the ruling passion in every soul.

The white stands for the ideal virtue, humility and charity and for everything that is godly.

Stars are symbols of light and heavenly protection. Every star should be a symbol of light, of righteousness, of truth and should remind us that Heaven is above us, underneath, and around us, and that in the darkest hour of the Nation's peril God's eye is upon us. All hail, Old Glory, flag of the brave and the free.

Note: Both "The American's Creed" and "The American Flag, The Red, White and Blue" are taken from *Facts for Patriots*, by Clyde Davis Connelly, Kansas City, Missouri: Clyde Davis Connelly (1919).

Story of the Constitution of the United States

Alicia Barnard

Preface

The author of this "Story of the Constitution" of the United States feels that every grammar school teacher will agree with her in saying that the "Constitution" is one of the most difficult subjects to teach; and for the most part because there is no simple presentation of the subject suitable for use in the grammar grades

The following story is the outcome of a teacher's attempt to present historical lessons of interest to the children, and at the same time be consistent with her all-time pleading that in history reading, above all reading, the child should train himself to look for sequence, cause and effect; for initiative acts and results.

It ought not to detract from the child's respect for the Constitution to know that it was fought for and fought over; that there was no perfect agreement between parties then any more than now, and that compromises had to be made then as now.

This story method has been used with much success in the school-room, and the author feels that it will generally appeal to the average child of our grammar school grade.

The Author

The Forefathers

The English forefathers of America's first settlers were men of brave spirit. To appreciate rightly the Constitution of our own United States we should know well the story of these English forefathers' struggle for liberty; for out of their struggle grew our own independence.

When the Puritans left England to come to America they left the common people of England struggling against the tyranny of the Hanoverian kings, and the struggle against them went on for years, both in America and in England. We do not always appreciate this. Too often we forget that when the Puritans, together with the Cavaliers of the south, gained Independence for the colonies, the common people of England rejoiced also.

The Hanoverian family came to the throne of England in 1714. At that time, the people of England were angry with the behavior of that royal family — the Stuarts— which had so long been ruling England, and they were determined to have a change. George, Elector of Hanover, Germany, was therefore called to the English throne at the death of Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts.

George I knew little of England's people and less of England's history, customs and ideals. Indeed he could speak so little English that during his reign the country was ruled by his English advisors, rather than by himself.

Fortunately, however, there was a Parliament, which represented the people well, and no harm was done by George I, who stood, at least, for the liberty of the people, rather than for the "divine right of kings and no rights for the common people," as had the recent Stuart kings.

For a long time there had been associated with the King of England, a Council. King George, however, not being able to know what his Council might be planning, realized his need for some one person who should stand closer to him than a Council and upon whom he could depend as upon a personal friend.

Consequently, as the direct outcome of the inefficiency of George I, the office of Prime Minister was created; and from that time every king of England has had his personal counselor — the Prime Minister — whose rank is next to the king and head of the Cabinet, the Cabinet having been introduced during the reign of Charles I (a Stuart). The Cabinet consisted of a few strong men chosen by the King from Parliament; but George I brought about the custom of a Prime Minister, who should himself choose a Cabinet of which he should be head.

The first Prime Minister was Sir Robert Walpole, a name of note in the history of England. It is worth while to notice just here that Sir Robert Walpole selected his Cabinet from men in sympathy with the House of Commons; and that this policy has never been changed by the government of England. Should it chance that during the office of a Prime Minister the political sentiment of the country and of the House of Commons should change, the Cabinet and Prime Minister would have to change to meet the demand for harmony between the Cabinet and the House of Commons.

How Slave Trade Began in America

During the reign of George I, a terrible panic brought about untold misery to the people of England. This panic came about through the South Sea Bubble as the enterprise has since been called, an enterprise which, as time went on, also affected the colonies seriously. The plan of the enterprise was this: A company of London merchants, calling themselves the South Sea Company, were to raise money, form a stock company, and establish a large trade in negro slaves between Africa and Brazil. In order to secure the confidence of the common people in the scheme and so get them to put their money into it, the government was asked to give its sanction and to stand back of the company in the way of certain grants and privileges which would give them all necessary freedom to carry out the plan. In return for this government backing, the company agreed to pay off the national debt of England.

From the beginning, Walpole, the Prime Minister, was opposed to the scheme as being one unworthy the backing of a government. Then, too, a similar scheme had been worked in France and with the same promises to the government. It had never paid, however, and the people of France — the stockholders — had lost their money, and with it faith in the integrity of their government. Walpole feared a similar ending for the South Sea Company and fought against it from beginning to end. The Company, however, succeeded in interesting several members of the Cabinet in their venture and in making them believe that the Company had a better plan than had the inventors of the French plan. The Company, then, went ahead with its scheme, sending out pamphlets promising fifty per cent interest upon the money invested. This was, of course, a great

temptation to the people; and, as the Company had the backing of the government, the investing public felt perfectly secure.

The scheme prospered for a while, and the stock market was filled with people fighting to get a chance to invest their little earnings. But one day the Bubble "burst," and the people learned that the whole enterprise was a fraud. Thousands lost all they had invested — ruined by the failure of the South Sea Company.

The condition of these people seemed pitiable; then came the cry for vengeance. Investigation was demanded by the House of Commons. One of the members of the Cabinet who had been implicated in the fraud was imprisoned in the Tower of London; and another member killed himself rather than endure the disgrace which investigation was sure to bring to him as well as to many others.

Although this Company failed, and in failing defrauded many people whose money had been taken and invested, nevertheless its promoters had reserved enough money to enter into another project as bad, or worse. Now, the slave traffic on the coast of Africa was fast becoming lucrative; and, accordingly, this Company asked George I for royal authority to enter into this slave trade and to retain the monopoly of it for the colonies; that is, virtually force slave labor upon the colonies.

The colonists proved averse to slave labor on the ground that it was better to give labor into the hands of the poorer white people who needed work in order to earn a living for themselves. Of this the company complained; and, in keeping with the methods of those times, the colonists were told that they must submit to the importation of slaves and must encourage it; for in those days, English kings and merchants seemed to think that the colonies existed for no other reason than to create commerce and trade for the home country. This principle, as we shall soon see, was what finally brought on the Revolution and

the Declaration of Independence. In the course of time, then, slave importation became a regular traffic between Africa and the American colonies; and in time so many slaves had been imported that they became an actual necessity. White men would not work side by side with these unfortunate half savage, half civilized laborers, and the south was now forced to import slave labor whether they wished or not.

It is interesting to read the arguments used in these days of the opening of slave traffic, by the merchants of the London Company, and also by some members of Parliament.

"The emigrating white," they said, "shows himself a dangerous freeman. He is defying the English authority and is fast becoming a rebel. Let us, then, import black men rather than emigrate white men; for negroes will never attempt independence." This argument we find in a political pamphlet of the times — 1745 — entitled:

The African Slave Trade
The Great Pillar of Support
of the
British Plantation Trade in America

Then too, the pamphlet goes on to say that "if the southern colonies are peopled with white men from England, they will soon begin to manufacture, and we should find our home manufactories suffering from the competition. We have just read of the development of the colonies. Negro workmen, however, will keep our home industries secure, for negroes will never be able to manufacture; therefore through them we shall keep our proper authority over the colonies."

Georgia, which was now a well-established colony, appreciated from the first what this frank doctrine meant to the colonies themselves and so made an early law restricting slave importation. This, however, only brought down the more

heavily upon Georgia, the anger of those financially interested in the success of the South Sea Company.

Any restrictive measures which the colonial governors urged upon the king were ignored, and word was sent to each governor commanding him to see to it that slave importation be pushed to its utmost and that no tolerance be shown towards anti-slave agitators.

Such, then, were the beginnings of slave trade in our colonies; a trade which was carried on with increasing vigor during the reigns of the rulers who followed until after the Revolution. Then a clause in the Constitution prohibited it — the prohibition to go into effect in the year 1808.

George II succeeded to the throne at the death of George I. This king could at least speak English and it is to his credit that he tried to understand the country over which he was to rule. But his reign is a story of foreign wars, and there was little time for Parliamentary matters in behalf of the people.

First came a war with Spain; then war in behalf of the Austrian succession, which concerned the interests of England; then war with the "Young Pretender "— a son of the "Pretender" — who had now grown up and was demanding the throne which he claimed should have come to his father on the death of William and so in turn to him. Then war in the East — in India; and finally that war which came to mean so much to the Colonies — the last and great French and Indian War.

The war in the East gave India to England; the war in America gave North America to England. The period was, then, a period of great national expansion; but it left England so deep in debt that the next king, George III, was distracted; Parliament turned every way to raise money, and in the end the colonists rose in rebellion at the seeming injustice of the taxes which were levied upon them with which to pay these heavy national debts. It was a great thing for England to have gained India; but it

brought about serious national dissensions, as we shall soon learn, for which the country and the colonies paid a bitter price.

"I glory in the name of Britain," said George III, in his first address before Parliament.

"What a lustre doth it cast upon the name of Britain," said the fawning speaker for Parliament, in reply, "that you, Sire, are pleased to esteem it a glory."

And with this exchange of compliments, George III began his reign.

Now it will be worth our while, since this period is one so full of thrilling interest, and is so closely connected with our own American history, to understand the political parties in existence at the time when George III came into power.

The Whigs , who stood always for progress in matters of liberty for the common people and for due restraint upon the king and his advisors, had been in power for the last half century; since the overthrow of the Stuarts.

The Tories, who were always supporters of kingly power and the rule of the Established Church, conservatives we would call them today, had been almost entirely shut out from political power during this long period; and yet, for all the Whigs had been so long in power, they had accomplished very little for the people, because their energies, their time, their thought, had been almost wholly consumed in the struggle to keep the Hanoverian kings upon the throne, and in thwarting the schemes of the Tories who were ever on the watch for an opportunity to restore the Stuarts. For a half century, then, progress had been at a standstill. During this period, Sir Robert Walpole was the leader of thought; and no easy time did he have of it, for many of his own party had grave doubts whether, after all, it was right to have ignored the son of King James Stuart and to have put a Hanoverian upon the English throne. Stories are told how, in one Whig family, it was observed that whenever the

head of the family began to pray for George III, a goblin which had for some time persecuted the family, would appear and in some way or other manage to disturb the household.

The effect of this unsettled state of mind had its effect upon the politics of the time. Indeed, a peculiar condition had come about. The Tories, who were always in favor of giving large power to a king, were now arrayed against a king. On the other hand, the Whigs, who were always working to restrain the power of a king, had been forced to place more power than they really approved in the hands of each of the Georges; for the simple reason that the Georges had needed considerable power in order to protect themselves from the intrigues of the Tories, who were always on the watch for some opportunity to strengthen the cause of the exiled prince.

At last, however, under George III, who was at least English born, and who, there was no doubt, had the welfare of the English people at heart, the Whigs began to feel that the Hanoverian family was secure upon the throne, and that the king could afford to lessen a little his grasp upon the reins of government. But strange to say, at the same time that the Whigs began to arrive at this conclusion, the Tories began to reason that if they could not have the right king upon the throne — the king "de jure" — it would be better to make the best they could of this usurper — this king "de facto." Would it not be better, they asked, to re-establish, even through this Hanoverian king, some of the conditions that belonged to kingship? That is, would it not be well for them to support the office of George III and so restore to the Court and Cabinet those kingly rights and dignities, which they believed were best for any country? "We do not for a moment," said the Tory leaders, "pretend any loyalty to George III himself — it is his office only that we respect. Little, it is true, can be done with this dolt of a king; but there is a grandson — a mere child — and let us remember that the mind of a child is like wax to receive impressions and like marble to

retain them. Let us, then, surround this grandson with conditions which shall influence him and train him into our ways of thinking."

Now the Earl of Bute, who was George Ill's closest advisor, was just the man to work into the hands of the Tories at this time. "It was Bute," says one historian, "who took the first step backward towards absolutism. It was he who formed the political opinions of George III, he who grafted the notions of king-craft upon the plain, homely, farmer stock of the Hanoverians. The result was peculiar; for it made George III, who was a painstaking, plodding man of business, into a king filled with the ambitions of an aristocrat; and he toiled like a 'warehouse clerk' to restore royal authority to the place where, influenced by the Earl of Bute, George III now believed it should be."

The divine right of kings! Yes, George grew more and more convinced that kings were in truth ordained by God to rule; and that it was, in truth, best for any people to be so ruled. Poor foolish Hanoverian! Had he been left to live his life as an Elector of Hanover, he might have lived in peace, at least, have done no harm. But now, placed upon the English throne at a time when English politics needed the wisdom of a statesman he found himself under the influence of a man as weak as himself and compelled to act as the ordained agent of God for the good of the country."

"Some writers," one historian says, "describe King George as a fool with flashes of madness. This, however, seems hardly fair; for although he was indeed simple and short-sighted and easily influenced, he had in many respects good sound sense. His mind while sane, was dull, prosaic, and literal; it was only when his authority as divinely appointed king was brought into question that he became insanely angry. Then, it is true, he was beside himself with wrath. He describes himself as trembling

from head to foot with rage; and it is quite true that his first attacks of insanity or insane anger were brought on by Grenville and Wilkes, whom he hated with all the power within him.

In his sanity, he is plain Farmer George and with little that is kingly about him, hurried and flurried in speech and manner, undignified in appearance, and behaving, when his kingly rights were neglected, irritably and obstinately — more like an irascible partner of a business firm than like an imperious monarch.

When George III became insane, he became a sadly tragic figure in history, as we get glimpses of him, now tormented by a semi-consciousness of his own condition, now talking of high affairs of State with Ministers long since dead."

Indeed, the overthrow of the Stuarts, in consideration of the Hanoverians, who were chosen to supplant them, was not a wholly good thing for England, since it brought so weak a king to the throne and placed the political parties in so strange and strained a position — both parties standing for the support of the king, but each with such wholly different motives. One of the famous toasts of this period, gives us an idea of the feeling of the parties toward each other and of the feeling of the common people for the parties:

Long live the King! Down with the Pretender! God save the King, And bless our Defender. But which the Pretender is, And which the King is, God bless us all — that's another thing!

So it was, then, that at this critical period in the history of England, in those years which meant so much to us as Americans, there sat upon the throne a king who was chosen by the Whigs and supported by the Tories; a king who, though dull and stupid and half insane, had it in his power to give his own weak character to the whole English Court and Cabinet; and at a time when England needed the wisest and the best of influence and advice.

Not only was the English Government rent by these two conflicting parties — the Whigs, who stood for the progress of the Common people, and the Tories, who stood for the Divine Right of Kings to rule and the natural duty of the people to obey — but a third party had sprung up, Pitt's party, it was called. This party had as yet little control over Parliament, but Pitt was the idol of the Common People, and whatever he said had great influence.

The Tories were still clamoring for continuance of war with France either upon European soil or upon the sea. The Whigs, too, were, on the whole, in favor of continuing the war; for they felt that they had not made enough out of it as yet to pay for the money expended or the blood wasted. Pitt's party, however, was strong against war upon land. "To carry on this war," said Pitt, "and to make treaties with other European countries, as we should have to do, will mean keeping a standing army. "This," he added, "would be most unwise. We have debt enough already; and more than that, we would better put our money into fleets rather than into an army; for, situated as we are, a mere island, we are naturally a maritime people. Trade is our natural employment; and trade and a navy go hand in hand. If we enter into a European compact, we shall have to take part in every European quarrel; and in pursuing such a course, we shall dribble away our money and shall have wasted our forces in attacking France at her strongest rather than her weakest point."

To this wise view, England was won over by the eloquence of Pitt; and there was no continuance of war with France at this time. Indeed, even the opponents of Pitt were on the whole glad when the war discussion was dropped; especially as taxes now began to rise with which to pay off the debt incurred by the French and Indian War in America. Until the rate increased, there had been great rejoicing in England over the wholesale defeat of the French in America, and no little self-glorification; but now another side of the war was being pressed upon the

attention of the common people. There was a National Debt now to be worked off, taxes to be raised to pay for the glory that had come from the Seven Years War.

Now, the very merchants who had brought on the war began to grumble and to growl; and the noise of their grumbling and growling began to harass the ears of George III and his Cabinet.

"The war debt! the war debt! the war debt!" the air was filled with the cry. No one talked of anything else; and the people began to condemn and criticize. Certainly we can afford to excuse much of George III's irritability and irascibility and confusion of ideas during this period, when we consider what a task lay before him and what a swarm of criticisms buzzed about his head.

"What shall we do? What shall we do?" George asked of his Prime Minister, the Earl of Bute. But the Earl of Bute was not the man to give aid in a time like this. Never before or since has there been so unpopular a Prime Minister in England, nor one who appeared more stubborn and short-sighted. His great aim was to keep up the idea of divine rights, to make a real and lasting peace with France, and to keep out of alliances with Germany. These were his three interests; and for them he worked honestly. As to how to pay off the debt of the French and Indian War, however, he had no advice to give.

"We must find some new way for taxing the people of the realm, for we cannot expect the colonies to pay the whole debt," said George.

The matter was brought up in Parliament where, over and over, the Ministers of King George recited the story of England's National debt incurred in protecting the American colonies.

For days the debate in Parliament ran high. Many schemes were suggested, but none were satisfactory to the majority. In despair, Grenville, a later Prime Minister, rose to his feet and

exclaimed, "Where, where, tell me, sirs, where can we lay another tax?"

Pitt, who was keen and quick, began at once to sing softly a line from a popular song which was just then going the rounds in England — " Gentle Shepherd, tell me where."

At this the House burst into laughter and Grenville sat down discomfited.

In the end, however, it was decided to place a tax upon all French wines and also upon those farmers in the fruit sections who made and marketed cider.

At this, however, the cider merchants rose in rebellion. "You are ruining our trade," they said. "We cannot sell cider at the price we would have to ask with this tax added to our present expenses. More than that, such a tax is an Excise, and we, the English people, will have no more of Excise. Should this bill for taxing cider go through the House, the Excise officers could raid our houses; and if one found a gallon of cider he could declare the householder an enemy of the government; nor could the accused so much as attempt self-defense without laying himself liable to a fifty-pound fine."

George had hated Grenville from the first; and after this he delighted in calling him the Gentle Shepherd in private and storming at him in public. "He is insolent; he is disobliging; he has no reverence for the king"; and he might have added, "he is as stubborn and mulish as the king himself." This dislike of the king for Grenville and Grenville's equal dislike for the king, we must keep in mind; for it is often said that King George and Grenville were hand in glove and that Grenville did whatever the king bade him. This was not so, however; and it helps us, knowing this, to understand the better how it was that Grenville, driven to distraction by the ravings of George III for money, and feeling that something must be done, invented the Stamp Act as a last resort. It helps us to appreciate that he was not wholly to

blame if he acted not quite in harmony with the demands of the common people both in England and in America, that there should be No Taxation Without Representation.

"Are there not Navigation Acts," asked George III, "which have not been properly enforced?"

"Yes," said the Cabinet; "but Navigation Acts are unwise; and have thus far failed to perform that for which they were intended."

"Failed!" cried George III, "but why have they failed? Because there has never been a Cabinet with force to carry them out! Let us, Sirs, see to it that from this time on, revenue come from these Acts and that the revenue be used in paying the interest on the £2,800,000 which we must borrow."

"Navigation Acts will never succeed," said Grenville wisely.

"Why not?" roared George, who hated Grenville as he hated vipers, and who declared that Grenville knew nothing except to thwart the orders of the king.

"Bring out the Navigation Acts!" said George. "Let us see them! Of what use are laws if they cannot be enforced? We will see that they are enforced!" So the Navigation Acts were brought before the Cabinet and were read to the king.

The first Navigation Act, it was recalled, was passed during the reign of King Richard II, who realized, even in his time, that England's need was a large and powerful navy. "The way to increase a navy, at least, a merchant navy," he said, "is to demand that all merchandise passing to and from the colonies of England be carried in English ships. The more merchandise, the more ships; the more ships, the stronger the navy." Certainly this was simple. "Any one could see that," said George.

Edward IV was the next king who had his attention called to the matter of Navigation Acts; and he declared that henceforth

no foreign ships should carry English wool, nor should any English merchant freight any foreign ship with wool.

"Excellent reasoning," said George III.

Henry VIII continued the policy of Edward IV; for under his reign we find a statute saying that no wines shall be imported except by British subjects upon British ships.

"Most excellent," said George.

Henry VIII, however, began selling licenses to certain merchants, permitting them to buy and sell, import, and export in contradiction to these laws.

James I went a step further. He sold monopolies to certain merchants, that is, he sold the exclusive right to import and export certain goods. For example, he allowed the London Company to impose a tax upon articles bought or sold outside the realm.

Sixteen years later, James issued a proclamation forbidding the colonists from cutting lumber of a certain size. Also he forbade anyone but the colonists trading with the Indians.

Ten years later. Lord Baltimore's Charter declared that all merchandise from that colony must first be brought to England; but that it might afterward be re-exported to other countries.

Later James declares that no tobacco should be sent from the colonies except in English ships. When Charles I came to the throne, he issued a similar proclamation and also ordered that the original Navigation Acts be put in force.

"That is right! that is right!" exclaimed George. "And that is what we shall do again." Accordingly King George's Parliament re-issued the Navigation Acts and the colonies were informed that henceforth they were to be obeyed; and that the money from the shipping would be used in paying off the National debt incurred in carrying on the French and Indian War, which had been for the defence and protection of the colonies.

"For the defence and protection of the colonies!" laughed the colonists. "Does George III think that we Englishmen on this side of the Atlantic know nothing of England's interests? Does he think that we do not know that England's feud with France was in existence before either he or we were born?"

Now, as if the increased debt and the new taxes were not enough to cause rebellion and unrest among the people, there came this year one of the most terrible droughts that England had ever known. This Drought of 1762 was so far-reaching in its disastrous effects, that thousands of cattle lay dead in the field; and when later a great flood followed, an equal number of sheep and lambs were drowned. The grain crop was ruined; wheat rose to fifteen shillings a quarter, meat was proportionally high; and the country swarmed with homeless and starving people.

"The debt is still £140,000,000," said King George, when he laid his papers before his Cabinet. And the burning question is, "How is the money to be raised?"

"We must raise another tax," said the Cabinet. "But this is more easily said than done; £2,000,000 can be taken from the sinking fund; £1,800,000 can be raised by striking exchequer bills; but there are still £100,000,000 yet to be raised. This might be borrowed, it is easy to borrow; but where is the money coming from with which to pay the interest?"

King George groaned in spirit — for the misery of his people, let us hope; but certainly for the condition of the National Debt, which, under these conditions, bid fair never to be paid.

The Navigation Acts, meanwhile, had not proved the success that George had sworn they should, and, worse still, the colonists were shirking their part of the responsibility, so George felt, in that they were smuggling and on every hand defying the port officers.

"Devise some way to bring those ungrateful colonists to terms," George demanded of Grenville. "Devise a way!" And had George III reigned a century earlier, he would have threatened Grenville with imprisonment or hanging if he failed.

It was at this time, then, that Grenville brought forward his Stamp Act. The stamp scheme, Grenville had himself presented to Franklin who, as Minister from the Colonies, was then in London; and Franklin, knowing the starving condition of the common people, and knowing that the colonists were in deep sympathy with their suffering fellow-countrymen, and also knowing that the Colonists were quite willing to pay a fair share of the National Debt, told Grenville that he believed he had indeed invented a method that would be as acceptable to the Colonists as any scheme could be at this time; when Representation rather than Taxation itself was the bone of contention between George III and the American Colonists.

Accordingly, Franklin himself wrote to the governor of each colony, telling him of the proposed tax and asking that the matter be presented to the people in the colonies, after which the governor would please write Franklin of their opinion.

The weeks passed; and replies came to Franklin from only two out of the thirteen colonial governors. "It seems," said Franklin to Grenville, "that the Colonists make very little rebellion. Certainly, they do not, as I requested, offer any better method of raising money for the National Debt."

And so it came about that when Grenville at last put his stamp bill tax before Parliament, it was accepted and the bill became a law. No one dreamed of the convulsion this well-meant tax was doomed to bring about. Indeed, it was considered of so little import that there was little debate in the House and the newspapers hardly mentioned it, so many other matters were there before Parliament of much greater interest.

Now it chanced that when George III was being crowned the largest jewel in the crown fell to the floor. "An omen! An omen!" cried the people. And in the years to come, after the American Colonies had separated from England (and largely because of this Stamp Act) people were fond of recalling the incident at the Coronation and declaring that the American Colonies were the largest jewel in the crown of England.

The story of the excitement in the colonies when the Stamp Act became known, and especially when the Stamp Act Agents came over with the stamps, is well-known to every American boy and girl. What happened in England at the same time and over the same Stamp Act, is not so well-known.

While excitement over the Stamp Act was going on in America, George III was taken very ill; the first of the many illnesses which finally destroyed his mind and left him a helpless wreck.

Grenville had by this time become so unbearable to him that it is said that he could not bear to see him enter his door.

Once it was suggested that Pitt be made minister in Grenville's place; and bitterly as George III hated Pitt — The Great Commoner — as he was called, he said, "Yes, yes; any one, any one, so that I be rid of this hateful Grenville!"

Grenville, however, went on in his office of Minister for some time yet, and Pitt was quite content to wield his power from his seat in the House of Commons.

The time had come, however, when something must be done in regard to the matter of home protection. Every day business in England grew less and less; failures were frequent and bankruptcies more frequent. Once when George went out to ride, his carriage was surrounded by a procession of weavers all in black, waving black banners. These weavers were men who had been thrown out of work and who were starving. Everywhere there were riots and some of the sailors mutinied.

Something must be done; and so a day was set aside by Parliament for a debate upon the subject of American Taxation.

"If I can crawl or be carried, I will be there to free my heart and my mind," said Pitt, whose gout was growing worse.

At the appointed hour, Parliament assembled and George III made his opening speech. In spite of all that the Navigation Laws and the Stamp Act had done in America and in spite of all the misery that had come from them in America, George's speech contained not one word of promise, not one word of suggestion. Not a line was there tending to pacify the colonists, much less to yield them justice. From everywhere in England, from the colonies, and even from Jamaica, where commerce had been destroyed and the beautiful island laid waste because of the foolish and short-sighted Navigation Laws, petitions had come to George III and to Parliament. All told the same story of trade destroyed, of factories closed, of workmen thrown out of work and of suffering and starvation. But of all this George III said not a word. He closed his feeble speech and the Great Debate opened January l0, 1766. The question before the house was not so much whether or not the Stamp Act was to be allowed to stand, as whether Parliament had or had not a right to tax the Colonies.

"There cannot be two rights existing at the same time," said Lord Lyttleton; "the right of a Parliament to make laws and the people to disobey them. Government," he said, "must rest somewhere or there is an end to government. Are the colonies a part of Great Britain or are they not? If not, we have no right to tax them, and that admits that they are independent. If they are a part of Great Britain, they are subject to Great Britain and they should pay their taxes. If the colonies are excused, we shall next be asked to excuse the crown's subjects in England."

"I am not contending that the colonies are independent," said Lord Camden, "but I say that there are superior legislations

and there are inferior legislations; and there are some things which superior legislation cannot do — it cannot take away private property; it cannot condemn a man by a Bill of Attainder without giving him a hearing. Guernsey, the Isle of Man and Ireland tax themselves. Why not allow the American colonies to do the same? And, gentlemen, even though the Colonies had no right to tax themselves, I maintain that it would be an excellent plan to allow them to do so."

"British Parliament," said Mansfield, "represents the whole British Empire, and it has power and authority to bind every part of it and every subject within it. There is no need for 'representation.' The Crown represents the entire empire."

"The gentleman who has spoken is right," said Ex-Treasurer North; "every government has the right to impose taxes arbitrarily upon all its subjects. It is best for the American colonies themselves that they be obedient to authority. Already they have fought among themselves and if we are to have no authority over them, it will end in continual feuds. The Englishmen in the colonies are as much represented in Parliament as are the Englishmen upon English soil, for out of nine million Englishmen in England only one million have the franchise. Why, pray, should we favor these Americans? What have these Americans done to deserve favor? They have called meetings and have passed Resolutions by which, in my opinion, they have forfeited their charters. The colonies have grown too large to be governed by the simple charters which were granted them in the beginning, and it is best that the Crown form some plan of laws for them. If they withdraw their allegiance, we will withdraw our protection and then, what?"

And now came the war of words between Pitt and Grenville. Pitt rose to his feet, and in a voice so low that every man was forced to listen, he began: "As to the late Ministry," said he, turning to Grenville, "every measure they have taken has been

entirely wrong. As to the present ministry, I have no objection, I have never been sacrificed to them; still, I cannot give them my confidence. Some of them were kind enough to ask my advice; still I cannot give them my confidence, for confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged breast, for methinks I see in comparing events, that we have an overruling influence — looking straight at Bute as he spoke. "Could I have submitted to influence, I might now be in the Cabinet! But I could not; I would not be responsible for the acts of others.

"It is a long time since I have been in Parliament; I was not here when this tax was laid upon America. Had I been able I would have been carried here and laid gently down upon the floor that I might have borne testimony against it. It is now an act that is passed. I would speak with decency of every act of this House, but I would speak with freedom. This, gentlemen, is a subject of greater importance than has ever come up in this house since a century ago when the question was whether we ourselves were to be bond or free.

"I will speak on only one point — on the right of the Crown to tax the colonies. Gentlemen, I consider that the Crown has no right to tax the colonies. And yet, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be supreme in every circumstance. But the colonies are the subjects of this kingdom; they are equally entitled with ourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen. They are equally bound by its laws, they equally participate in its constitution. The Americans, gentlemen, are sons of England! Taxation is no part of legislative power. Taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the House of Commons alone. In ancient days, the Crown, the clergy, and the Barons possessed the lands. Even then the Barons and the clergy made their grants to the Crown. But now the common people possess the land. The church has but a pittance; the property of the Lords is little in comparison with that of the commons. And this House represents these

Commons! When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant that which is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? Do we give and grant that which is our own? No, we give and grant that which belongs to the Commons in America.

"There is an idea in the House that the Commons in America are represented. I fain would know how they are represented. Are they represented by the Knights in any county of this kingdom? Are they represented by any Representative of any Borough? The idea that America is represented in this House is an absurdity. It does not even deserve refutation. We have bound the colonies by restrictive navigation laws, we have bound them by our own laws; we have done everything except to take money out of their pocket without their consent."

And now George Grenville took the floor. "I am not able," he said, "to understand the difference between an external and an internal tax. That this country has supreme authority over America has been acknowledged. It cannot be denied; then it has a right to tax America. It is a right which any government has. It has always been exercised over people who were not represented. It is exercised today over the India Company and over the London merchants and over the proprietors of stocks; why, then, not over the Americans?

"When I proposed to tax America, I asked if anyone in the House had any objection — no one had. Great Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience to the country that protects her. When America needs the protection of England, she asks for it, and she has always received it, amply and generously. The nation has run itself into enormous debt to protect the colonies; and now when we ask them to assist in defraying this expense, they object. They renounce our authority, they insult our officers, and break out, almost I might say, into rebellion.

The seditious spirit in the colonies is due to the factions in this House. Gentlemen in this House care little what they say if only they may oppose. When the matter of this tax came up, they told us to expect rebellion — to expect disobedience. What was this but encouraging the Americans to resist?"

Here Mr. Grenville ceased speaking. In a second, a dozen men were upon their feet, among them Pitt.

"Pitt! Pitt! Pitt!" cried the House, and Pitt was given the floor.

"I am not making a second speech," said Pitt, "but rather did I reserve this part of my speech that I might save the time of the House. I am compelled, however, to proceed. We have been charged, gentlemen, with giving birth to sedition in the colonies. We spoke our sentiments on the subject and now this act is considered a crime. Has it come to this, that free speech in the House of Commons is a crime? The gentleman who has just spoken tells us that the Americans are obstinate — that they are almost in rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people so dead to all feelings of liberty, as to submit voluntarily to be treated as slaves, would be a fit instrument, indeed, to make slaves of.

"I am no courtier of America. I stand for the kingdom, I maintain that Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. I maintain that the right of Parliament over the colonies is supreme; but when one country rules over another, she must so rule as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

"The gentleman asks when were the colonies freed from the rule of the Crown? I ask when were they made slaves? The profits from the colonies last year were two million; it was the fund with which you carried on the war. Thus has America paid for her protection. ... In closing, I beg the House to allow me to

express what is my opinion: it is that the Stamp Act should be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately."

Following Pitt came Nicholson Calvert. "I have changed my mind since last year," said he. "I then thought that nothing could be more fair than that the colonies be taxed and so pay for the expense of the war which was carried on for her protection. But Mr. Pitt's argument that we should bear in mind that the colonists carried with them into their new homes the same spirit of liberty which abides in the heart of every Englishman, I see that the right honorable gentleman's reasoning is right. Two principles he places before us — one that in every free country no man can be taxed without his permission; the other that in every land there must be a supreme power, a supreme legislature. But whether right or wrong to tax the colonies, I ask, is it expedient to do so just now? Taxation of a country like America is a very different thing from quelling a mob like that which recently came out to meet our sovereign.

"It matters little just now whether the colonists are right or wrong. The question is, dare we tax them? Dare we drive them on? Let us not, sir, drive them to despair. The despair of a brave people always turns to hate."

Colonial Administration

It was about this time that a pamphlet written on "The Administration of the Colonies" was printed in England. This pamphlet set forth very plainly what certain Tories thought of colonies and their duties to a Mother Country. It began by setting forth the commercial conditions then existing between England and the Colonies, and then went on to state the duties of each to the other. It is valuable to us here because it helps us to understand the real story of Colonial resistance.

"Commerce now rules the world," the pamphlet said. "At the beginning of the French and Indian War, commercial honors were about equally divided between England and France. Today, the honors are all with us, the English. The great thing, then, is to keep these honors. How then shall we do it? There is no denying that the Colonies have their own interests, and that those interests are not at one with those of the Mother Country.

"It is evident, too, that the Colonies have large opportunities, situated as they are, so far from the Mother Country, to set up independence of trade.

"This, however, is the very thing that we must not allow. We must see to it that the profits from colonial produce and manufactures come to England. We must see to it that we remain the only buyers from the colonies. Again, we must see that these colonies are encouraged to keep separate from each other; for should they learn that they can combine they will soon learn to throw off the English government and set up for themselves. Fortunately these colonies have, as yet, little in common. Let us see to it then, that they remain separate. Better will it be for us to allow them great freedom in home

government, each distinct from the other, rather than that they become dissatisfied and so find it necessary to combine.

"We must see that they remain our 'appropriated customers'; that they export only to an English port, that all exports come through the hands of English officers. Already these colonies have large trade with foreign countries. This we cannot now kill; but we may establish in every port an English office and demand that all Colonial ships unload only at the command of our sovereign and at the warehouses of these English offices.

"We should see to it that whatever laws we make for the colonies are enforced. For example, we have now the law forbidding cutting down trees which are twenty-four inches in circumference. This law is not enforced and the colonists evade it by cutting down trees before they reach that size. This is good neither for the trees nor for the colonies nor for the government."

This pamphlet, written by an English merchant, shows us how candidly the merchants spoke in those days on colonial restrictions and what they thought. They knew that their own commerce was in danger, and they hesitated not to admit their fear and suggest methods for protecting themselves.

Another Englishman, interested in commerce, wrote at this time, "If the American Colonies manufacture steel and send it to England, they will injure our trade. If they are allowed to make steel and draw it with tilt hammers, they will soon manufacture steel articles. If they manufacture steel articles, they will export them to our Country; and if they export them they will sell more cheaply than we can and so will ruin our own industry."

For a whole century this attempted suppression of colonial commerce had been going on through Navigation Acts, and Trade Laws — twenty-nine in all! And each one for the express purpose of reducing Colonial manufactures and American commerce. Is it any wonder that one-fourth of the signers of the

Declaration of Independence were Colonial merchants? Is it any wonder that smuggling had grown in America to be a profession? Is it any wonder that the colonies rose at last in rebellion?

Still, we must keep in mind, for the sake of being absolutely fair, that all Mother Countries treated their colonies in the same way, and all sovereigns considered it right and just. "Colonies must submit to the protecting Country," they said. "And colonies must not injure the Mother Country — for their own final good." And so, while we condemn George III for his course with the American Colonies, and while no government in the world would today uphold so foolish a policy, we must, if we would keep our historical balance, keep in mind that after all, George III did only what any other king at that time would probably have done.

George III was dull and stupid; he could grasp nothing that was new; and he was inflated with his new-born theory of his own divine appointment to rule, and also with his new-born theory that the common people have no rights of their own; but his great mistake was that he did not recognize that his Colonial "Children" had grown up and that therefore he could not and ought not to disregard wholly their grown-up opinions.

The Stamp Act was repealed, to be sure; but the dogged stupidity of George III and his advisors as to why the colonists had rebelled still remained unchanged. Not yet could George see that the colonists, still considering themselves Englishmen, were resenting treatment which they felt would not have been meted out to Englishmen living upon English soil. He could not see that in no wise were the colonists politically different from the Englishmen upon English soil. Neither could he see what the colonists meant when they asked that their Assemblies be considered as branches of the English Parliament and that they work in cooperation with that Parliament.

"British Parliament must remain supreme," was all the stupid King could say in reply, although Pitt had thundered out his arguments.

And so an act was passed, the Declaratory Act, in which Parliament declared its stand, i.e., that there could be one and only one Parliament and that Parliament considered itself invested with supreme power to make whatever laws seemed best for the colonies.

Rockingham who was now Minister, had, if possible, less sympathy with the colonies than Grenville and his cabinet had had. Accordingly, Rockingham resurrected the so-called Mutiny Act which, although it declared that colonies should furnish English troops with bed and food and shelter, had never been put into force.

There seems to have been no good reason why this Mutiny Act should have been dragged out just here when the colonists were still chafing under the Stamp Act. And it would seem as if any large minded Minister would have realized that nothing would be gained by applying another lash. It is so often said that this Act was brought to life as a simple matter of vengeance to show the colonists that Parliament was yet supreme in spite of the apparent victory of the colonists. It is hard to believe, however, that any man versed in politics should have stooped to so petty a revenge. For the most part, the behavior of George III and his advisors were acts of stupidity, rather than of vengeance; and it is possible, even probable, that this too was an act of stupid inappreciation of what the uprising of the Englishmen who were now living on the other shore of the ocean meant.

When the Mutiny Act reached the New York Assembly, it was carefully read; but the Assembly politely refused to accept it. This Act, said the Colonial Speaker, is so carelessly drafted, that even though we were willing to comply with the spirit of it, we cannot pledge ourselves to accept a Bill capable of so many

interpretations. Accordingly a Compensation Bill was drawn up by the Assembly and sent to George III.

The Compensation Bill was coolly ignored by Parliament and the ship that brought back the report to the colonies also brought a report that Parliament was about to invent a new scheme of taxation.

The Rockingham Ministry of England lasted only a short time — about a year and twenty days. It was a stupid, aimless Ministry, but there were two or three advances made along lines of liberty during its brief existence. The cider tax was repealed, General Warrant was abolished, a resolution was introduced in favor of abolishing the right to seize private papers, and American trade was freed from some of its restrictions.

The next Ministry was that of William Pitt. In the government formed by him the Duke of Grafton became the nominal head, and Charles Townshend was made Chancellor of the Exchequer — Charles, the spoiled child of Parliament, as he was sometimes called. "Charles, the rollicking, brilliant, irresponsible, whom the papers caricatured with a whirligig in his hands, or as a Jack-at-both-ends in a game of see-saw." Such is the description of him by one English historian.

The matter of forcing the colonies to pay for the keep of English troops was the important matter before Parliament when Charles became Minister. Grenville, who was the parent of this scheme, quoted many acts of Parliament in the past in support of his scheme. He even quoted his Stamp Act, declaring yet that had Parliament held out with troops there need have been no repeal; and that, moreover, the colonists would have been taught a lesson which would have made future dealings with them more tolerable. "There is no reason," said Grenville, "why the colonies should not, as Ireland does, support its own affairs. I propose, then, that they be taxed; £400,000 per year for

the support of English troops which we may, if we need, quarter in America.

Townshend arose when Grenville had finished and said, "The Administration has already thought of this; but I have a plan for raising money for our National Debt which, while it will relieve England, will not burden the colonies."

"Hear! hear!" the House applauded.

Townshend continued. "I too am still in favor of the Stamp Tax. But for undue excitement it would indeed have been a success. I laugh to think of the delicate distinction which the colonists make between an internal and an external tax." And in the end, he cried tragically, "Alas! alas! if the Colonists are to pay no taxes, England is ruined — ruined!"

At this, Grenville sprang to his feet. "Cowards!" he thundered. "You dare not tax America!"

"Cowards!" cried Townshend springing again to his feet. "Cowards, did you say? Did you say I dare not tax America? Did you say that I am afraid of America? Then dropping his voice, the excitable Townshend said, "I will tax the colonies. I will prove to you that I dare tax the American colonies."

"I hope I may live to see it," sneered Grenville.

"You will live to see it," cried Townshend.

"Has Townshend a scheme in his head or is it only high tragedy?" the Members of Parliament asked each other, as the days went on; but no one could tell.

At last, however, after some time had passed, Townshend came forward with his scheme. Parliament made itself ready to listen; for he had insinuated so much that the members believed that Townshend had indeed invented some unique plan for raising money from the colonies.

"I propose," said Townshend, "a bill which we shall call A Revenue Bill. It is, of course, a method for raising money in the

colonies; but since it is not called a tax I am hoping that the pride of the colonies will be spared offense. Through this revenue bill, I propose to lay a tax upon the following articles: paper, glass, paint, and tea."

"There will be little revenue from those articles," sneered some member of the House.

"These articles would, I admit, bring not more than £400,000 a year," said Townshend. But when he was asked what then was his object in making a revenue bill based upon these articles, he made no reply. Historians are yet wondering what his object was. Did he do this to punish the colonists? Did he think such a bill really worth while? Or did he invent the scheme simply to show Grenville that he dared tax the American colonies?

"This is foolishness," Grenville said; "I have a better scheme myself. Let us make paper money and loan it to the colonists, they paying their tax thus in the form of interest."

"That is a good plan," said Townshend; "I had myself thought of it." Nevertheless the "good plan" was not passed, and the Revenue Bill was.

Townshend 's next scheme was that a suspension act be passed. "By that I mean," he said, "an act by which the Assemblies of the colonies be made to suspend — disband — until the colonists are ready to agree to take care of our troops as we have asked them to."

The Suspension Act was passed and Townshend perhaps showed his true spirit when he said, "This will teach the colonies a lesson!"

When the Revenue Bill reached the colonies no words can express the indignation of the colonists. "This is an insult," they said. "Paper, glass, paint, tea! Mere trifles! Has this bill been passed as an intended insult? Intolerable!"

In Boston, a meeting was called in Faneuil Hall and a vigorous protest made.

A long, fiery debate followed — no, not a debate, for not a man was present who did not agree with the speakers, that this Revenue Bill was an insult and an added offense. At the close of the meeting, a document was drawn up petitioning the king. In the petition, the colonists declared that home industries must be encouraged; that some fifty or more articles would no longer be imported from England since these could readily be made in the colonies themselves. "The time has come," said one speaker, "when we must make England's king and his advisors understand that it is not the amount of taxation which we resist, but that it is the principle."

When this petition reached England, the Ministry was indignant. "This," they said, "is what comes from having given way to the colonies in the Stamp Act. We have taught them that we are afraid of them, that we dare not legislate against them."

"We had supposed," said one member of Parliament," that America would be grateful for all we have done for her. We had supposed that she would gladly give her part towards removing the heavy debt that was incurred in protecting her from the French and Indians! Alas, alas! the pernicious idea of independence has seized upon the American colonies and already they unite to injure our trade! This combination is, I say, illegal. They have no right to combine against our sovereign! Let us destroy this combination. It may be that we cannot force America to buy of us, but at least we may break up this combination!"

"There is but one thing to do," said Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer after Charles Townshend, and who had now succeeded the Duke of Grafton as Prime Minister. "That is to send troops to Boston and force these rebellious colonists into obedience.

"And how shall it be done?"

"We can seize upon their commerce."

"They complain that we have already done that."

"There is more that we can do, and we will. We can close the Boston Port, since the Puritans of Boston seem to lead in this insolence."

Accordingly, the Boston Port Bill was passed, forbidding any merchant vessels to pass either in or out of the Boston Port. This was a serious thing to do — closing a port — whatever insolence the Cabinet may have felt had been offered them by the rebellious colonists; for to close a port means to cut off trade, and that means cutting off money with which to buy food. The Cabinet, however, was at its dull wits' end; they saw only that something must be done.

The news of the Port Bill was, therefore, sent across the ocean. The vessel bearing it came sailing up into the harbor one bright morning and the officer on board went at once to the governor.

It would be impossible to describe the scenes that followed. The people as a whole were in a fury of rage. Riots and mobs threatened, and it was all that the authorities could do to prevent bloodshed. More sober citizens, however, were very brave; for they realized the full meaning of the act. It was one that no self-respecting colony could overlook or attempt to conciliate. There was nothing for a colony thus besieged except open rebellion. And open rebellion meant — The thoughtful men dared not think what it meant, for down in their hearts they knew that but one thing remained for them — open rebellion, and the throwing off of English rule. This no one wished to do; for in all things the colonists would have been glad to remain Englishmen and loyal to the English government. All they asked was fair treatment in their commercial life, which meant to them nothing more nor less than their means of making their living.

Indignation spread through the colonies as rapidly as the news could be carried; and when Salem heard what had happened to Boston, she sent a messenger to say that the tradesmen of Salem would gladly welcome the merchant ships into their own port, and that they would in every way in their power assist the Boston merchants in loading their merchandise upon the outgoing ships.

This and many other expressions of rebellion against the Boston Port Bill only increased the anger of Lord North and his cabinet; and in the end, as we all know, General Gage appeared in Boston Harbor with troops, which he landed, ordering them to pitch their camp upon Boston Common.

This was one of the last acts of King George and his Minister, Lord North. It was, indeed, the last straw upon the already bending backs of the colonists. Meetings were now held in all parts of the thirteen colonies. All realized that something must be done. And so it came about that on the Fourth of July, 1776, the leading merchants and others met in convention to decide what step would best be taken in replying to King George. In the end, as we know, they voted for a "Declaration of Independence" to the King of England and from the English Government. This document was signed by the leading and most influential men of the colonies, one-fourth of them merchants, who were qualified to speak upon matters relating to the suppression of commerce.

The Declaration of Independence
In Congress, July 4, 1776
The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such

government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for then: exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization

of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury.

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences.

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at

once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies.

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments.

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the work of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

He has constrained our fellow citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over

us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connection and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

Signers of the Declaration of Independence

John Hancock

New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett William Whipple Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts Bay

Samuel Adams Robert Treat Paine
John Adams Elbridge Gerry

Rhode Island

Stephen Hopkins William Ellery

Connecticut

Roger Sherman William Williams
Samuel Huntington Oliver Wolcott

New York

William Floyd Francis Lewis
Philip Livingston Lewis Morris

New Jersey

Richard Stockton Francis Hopkinson John Witherspoon
John Hart Abraham Clark

Pennsylvania

Robert Morris George Clymer Benjamin Rush
James Smith Benjamin Franklin George Taylor
John Morton James Wilson George Ross

Delaware

CÆSAR Rodney George Read Thomas McKean

Maryland

Samuel Chase Thomas Stone William Paca
Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Virginia

George Wythe Benjamin Harrison Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Nelson, Jr. Thomas Jefferson Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton

North Carolina

William Hooper Joseph Hewes John Penn

South Carolina

Edward Rutledge Thomas Lynch, Jr. Thomas Heyward, Jr.
Arthur Middleton

Georgia

Button Gwinnett Lyman Hall George Walton

The Articles of Confederation

It was a grand and heroic thing to declare independence from the oppressive government of George III; but a great deed carries with it great consequences and new duties. When the people of the American colonies threw off the English government, they also threw off the protection of that government. Had a foreign power chanced to attack the colonies at this time, the colonies would have been helpless before the attack; for there was for some weeks no fixed form of government; and certainly England would not have come to their rescue, unless, indeed, she saw in their helplessness an opportunity to reinstate her power over the colonies.

Fortunately, no foreign power at the time cared to take advantage of the weakness of the colonies; nevertheless, the wisest statesmen in the colonies realized that some form of central government must be formed and that right speedily. Should war follow this Declaration of Independence, and it seemed but reasonable that it should, there would come up many matters which a central government only would have authority to settle. There would arise need to raise an army, for example; need to raise money for equipment, and a central authority to appoint officers. Indeed, a thousand things would come up which separate and jealous states could never properly attend to, since no one state had authority over any other state.

A delegation of leading statesmen from each colony, then, was sent to Philadelphia, to prepare some form of document which should serve temporarily, at least, as a basis of Confederation.

On the twelfth of July, then, only eight days after the Declaration, these delegates reported that they had formed a

plan for Confederation and accordingly the. . . Articles of Confederation were drawn up and presented to the states for ratification. These Articles were accepted by the states — to stand as the Government of the United States of America for the time being.

The Weakness of the Articles

Now these Articles were very unsatisfactory in many particulars. The framers of the document realized this at the time, but it was the best that they could do, because of the fear of a central government and of the jealousy and suspicion that existed between the colonies, each fearful lest the other in some way get too much power. The colonists had for a long time been most distrustful and suspicious of each other, although during the recent wrangles over the Stamp Act and other Acts of Parliament, they had stood shoulder to shoulder in a common grievance. They would stand together in the war that they were sure must follow; and still, when it came to forming a central government made up of representatives from each colony, the jealousy was intense lest one colony secure some power which would be of disadvantage to another.

Under these conditions, then, we can readily understand that it was no easy thing for these delegates to draw up a document which would satisfy all of the colonies. No sooner would one delegate offer a resolution, than another would oppose it, fearful lest his own constituency at home blame him for it on the ground that in some way he had not protected the interests of his home colony. Because of these controversies, much time was necessarily consumed in trying to cull out and prune and smooth away difficulties; but at last the document was completed and presented to the people.

The very opening paragraphs of the Articles show the weakness of their power to execute; for although it says that the states shall enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for common defense, securities of liberty, and mutual welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to or attacks made upon them, on any pretense whatever, no

authority is given the government-to-be to carry out this "agreement" in case any state is negligent.

These words were written in good faith, we know; but when the day of real trial came, the Continental Congress found to its sorrow how like sounding brass and tinkling cymbals these phrases were. For they were preceded by a paragraph which read: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled"; and it was under cover of this paragraph that the States, when a day of trial came, failed in mutual duties and brought about the conditions that bordered upon chaos and anarchy.

In money matters, for example. Congress soon found itself helpless. The Articles of Confederation state that the expenses of Government shall be paid out of a common fund supplied by the States, each according to the value of its lands. The States, however, some of them, refused to pay the tax when it was levied upon them, and Congress found that it had no power to force the States into obedience to the laws which they themselves had accepted and ratified. Moreover, other States, learning that some were shirking their responsibility, made it an excuse for refusing to send to Congress their own part in defraying the expenses of Confederated government. Like quarrelsome children, they said, "These States haven't paid; why, then, should we?"

Again, the Articles of Confederation had killed themselves as an organ of power by stating that the vote of nine States should be necessary to make any decision on any important matter. Think, then, how five small jealous States might, if they wished, balk the wishes and needs of Congress even though eight States might be ready for co-operation. This unequal representation of power had come out of the Committee's wish

to allay the suspicions of the smaller States and to remove their fear of the larger States.

Truly, the Articles of Confederation were, as the wiser statesmen of the day said, mere ropes of sand; and great was the suffering that followed as the result of this condition. The Continental Congress had elected a President, to be sure; but he had no power to execute. Indeed, he was little more than a Speaker, a Moderator. He presided over the meetings of Congress, but that was all.

There was also a committee of States which was authorized to execute the laws, but even these could do nothing until nine States had approved whatever the committee placed before them for consideration.

Why, we may ask, were amendments not made when the weakness of the Articles of Confederation became manifest? But there again Congress was helpless; for in the Articles is a clause which says that no amendments shall be made without the consent of all thirteen states. Another impossibility in these days of distrust and jealousy.

And so it was from day to day, the Continental Congress found itself powerless to act, just in proportion as the States were unwilling to co-operate for the common good of the Confederation. These few illustrations will serve, however, to prove to us what the states learned, as time went on, that the Articles of Confederation were a weak compromise; as any form of government must be which does not provide for the independent action of a centralized government. The old saying, "that which is everybody's business is nobody's business," perhaps applies to such a form of government as the Articles of Confederation proved themselves to be; for with each State having independent power to legislate regardless of the common good, there could be no concerted action, no harmony, however great the need.

"Continental Congress," said Washington, "can advise, but it can not demand execution of those things which it advises. It can pass laws, but it cannot enforce these laws nor punish offenders against them. It can declare war, but it cannot demand money to carry on the war." The truth of this, Washington's poor, starving, freezing army learned to their sorrow during that terrible winter at Valley Forge; for it was because of the failure of the States to send their tax to Congress that the soldiers were in so pitiable a condition.

At one time, Madison, infuriated that there should be such suffering because of the negligence of the States to fulfil their duty towards their common cause, offered an amendment which provided that the United States in Congress assembled be given full authority to compel the delinquent States to perform their duties of the Federal Government. This amendment did not pass, although every man in Congress knew full well the need there was for such amendment; for the members felt that it would be impossible to gain consent of the thirteen States; and then, too, public sentiment even in the most loyal States, had not yet risen to a realization of the wisdom of granting so great power to a central government. Had the amendment been accepted at that time by the members of the Continental Congress, the probability is that the whole country would have risen in rebellion among themselves; and with the Revolution at its height, as it now was, there was no need for further disorganization from civil strife.

After the Parting of the Ways

In 1781, the American Revolution ended and there were now, not England and her Colonies, but two distinct nations — the English and the American. The long, long road down which, hitherto, these English Common people had traveled, forked now; and henceforth each group, the one on the east of the Atlantic, the other on the west, stood at the parting of the ways. No longer would their history be the history of one people; no longer their struggles for liberty the struggles of one people; henceforth each would struggle and develop and grow along its own lines, unhampered, unhindered, and unassisted by the other. It was a period of readjustment for both, England to a system of home taxation, the colonies to a government without protection from England.

When at last King George III died, he was succeeded by George IV, another Hanoverian — a wild, dissolute youth, who made his reign a period of misery for the English people. Taxes in England were enormous, the debt was almost insurmountable, food was selling at almost famine prices, and people were starving by hundreds. At last the English people, worn out with tyrannical Stuarts and stupid Hanoverians, rose in rebellion and said, "How long are we to bear with this new king? How long suffer under his stupidity — his disregard for his country?"

Public meetings were held; and the city of Birmingham, England, where there were great manufactories and a large number of suffering workmen, called its citizens together and elected a man whom they voted should sit in the House of Commons to represent the industries of the country. Manchester, another manufacturing city, inspired by Birmingham's example, also arose. Through a mistake, however,

the king's troops fired upon the citizens and such panic followed that the matter was dropped.

This Manchester Massacre as it was called, drove the workingmen of England on to greater fury; and in London a conspiracy was formed to murder the Prime Minister and all the Cabinet. The conspiracy was discovered, however, and the conspirators were hanged. This over-awed the people; and for a time there was comparative peace. During all this period there was an exchange of letters and newspapers between England and America, and the Common people of both countries were in close sympathy with each others' struggles.

Towards the end of the reign of George IV, the Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister of England; and while he had no sympathy with the uprising of the common people, he had sense enough to know that the time had come when certain reforms must be granted or anarchy would rule the land. This demand by the common people for recognition of liberty had been hastened very materially by the influence which the public newspapers now wielded, free, as we recall, since the reign of George III; for now the sessions of Parliament were open to the press reporters and every act of its members could be laid bare to the people. Moreover, as in the strikes of which we have read, the story of them was printed and spread broadcast over the country as is done in our own day. Consequently, the people in distant localities now knew what each other was doing, and were no longer kept in ignorance of great national transactions.

"This accursed free press," as George IV called it, kept steadily at work during his reign, educating the people and teaching them to think. Because of this, and the consequent agitation that was brought about among the people who could now, through their daily paper, know in a few hours what had happened in Parliament or in remote parts of the kingdom, it came about that George IV and his advisors were forced, in the

latter part of his reign, to grant many reforms; indeed, as we read English history from this time on, we read more often of laws repealed than of any new laws made.

The Corporation Act Repealed was the heading in the London newspapers one morning, for example; the English people knew that henceforth any man might preach what he believed whether he believed the tenets of the English Church, or of the Catholic Church, or of the Nonconformists' Church, as the dissenters were now called.

The Test Act too was repealed; and henceforth any man fitted by ability for any government office was eligible to election, though not a member of the Established Church. These were long strides towards human liberty; for the country contained now thousands of good, useful, peace-abiding citizens who, nevertheless, were not followers of the Established Church.

The Catholic Emancipation Act followed close upon the repeal of the Test and the Corporation Acts; and by this Catholics, too, were as eligible to government office and other privileges as were the "Nonconformists."

Against the enactment of this last bill, George IV and the Duke of Wellington fought long and hard; but when they found that opposition was useless, they withdrew their argument and the Bill went through. At the same time, however. Parliament passed a most unfair law excluding the Irish from this freedom on the ground that they were too ignorant to take part in public affairs.

Incensed by this insult to his people, Daniel 0'Connell, an Irish gentleman of old and noble family, fought for a seat in Parliament that he might, he hoped, bring about a repeal of this act, and also bring about a union of England and Ireland and the restoration of the Irish Parliament.

Some time later, George IV died. Naturally, England did not mourn his loss deeply; for during his reign he had squandered enormous sums of money, and always arrayed himself against the progress of human liberty.

Even for the generous repeals that were made during his reign we can give little credit to George IV or to his cabinet; for the reforms were forced upon the government by the clamor of the common people, who had now arrived at a stage where they were strong enough to make their wants known and demand of Parliament its respectful attention.

"Much of this," said the English people, "has come on account of the American Revolution;" and many a time George Washington's health was drunk at meetings of the English people.

The Danger Period

It was one thing for the American colonies to have declared their independence; it was another and a greater thing to have fought it out with all Europe watching their struggle, battle by battle, upon the open field; but a greater question still was now to be fought out among the American people themselves.

During the period of the Revolution, the colonists were as a whole united in their sympathies through their common cause. This union of sympathies was not, we are forced to admit, quite perfect even during the struggle; for Continental Congress had many a sorry time trying to raise money from the colonies with which to pay the officers and soldiers which these very colonies had sent to war. Often the plans of Washington were seriously hampered; and had the soldiers not been patriotic in very truth, they would many a time have given up the struggle and would have deserted the cause.

"But now the Revolution was ended. The minute men were at home, such as had not fallen on the battlefield; the bonfires and processions were over; the fetes and feasts were ended; and the States, as we must now call them, were settling down to everyday work and life. The women were spinning, and the men were again in the fields. The smell of powder had faded away out of the air, and the peaceful sound of the reaper was heard where so recently the cannon had boomed."

So good was it to be home again and at peace, that for a time no interest in the future of the country was expressed.

"Let us alone," said some, when the wiser men urged the need to establish a strong government under which the new States should live and be protected. "Let us alone; some time we may need a strong Central Government, but not yet. Our State Government serves us well enough. Let us abide by it." There

were some States indeed that were determined to preserve the State Government, i.e., the Articles of Confederation permanently. "Why," they said, "may each State not build for itself a strong State government and remain free from the possible tyranny of a Central Government?"

"Because no one State will ever be strong enough to hold out against foreign invasion or against civil strife," was Franklin's wise reply.

"There will be continual war between the States," said Washington, "because of the closeness of location and the wide range of industrial interests. Many States have no natural boundaries, and more than two States often depend upon the same water supply for their manufactures."

"There is another danger still," said James Madison of Virginia. "So great is the difference in latitude and consequently so great is the difference in soil, climate and productions, that not many years would elapse before confederacies between States of like interest would be formed, and these confederacies would array themselves against each other as industrial and commercial interests grow in importance."

All these arguments the States to some extent appreciated and acknowledged the truth of; still the dread of any Central Government which might lessen State freedom remained a great bugbear.

It was quite a step from the State's own Assemblies even to a Continental Congress; it was a greater step still to the weak Articles of Confederation; but the third step towards a strong Constitution the States were not yet ready to take.

And so the months went on, and pleasantly for a time; then dissensions began to rise and troubles began to brew. Washington, who had retired to private life in his beautiful home on the Potomac, hoping to finish out his life in peace and quiet, heard rumors of the unrest which was spreading over his

country and realized that much suffering might yet come to the people. When Washington gave up his command of the army, he sent to the governors of the States a letter, in which he urged them to look into the future and realize that there must be an indissoluble union of States under a single federal Government, one that could enforce its decrees; for without authority, a government is but a government in name. Secondly, he had urged that the debts incurred be paid farthing for farthing if the United States would command the respect of foreign nations. Thirdly, that a uniform militia system should be organized throughout the States. Fourthly that the people must sacrifice their local prejudices and jealousies and regard one another as fellow citizens of a common country, with interests, in the truest and deepest sense, identical.

Not much attention was paid to these wise words at first; but now when dissensions began to arise and the States found themselves powerless to quiet them, people began to recall what Washington had said. Already each State had set up tariff and tonnage acts for itself, with no regard whatever to the tariff and tonnage acts of any other State. Consequently, commercial civic war was already reddening the sky. When three of the New England States closed their ports against British ships, Connecticut threw her doors wide open. New York passed acts declaring that no New England ship should enter New York Harbor without paying an entrance fee. Connecticut farmers could not even cart their firewood across the border land into New York State. New Jersey could not bring its farm produce across the bay without paying entrance fees. Furious, the business men of New Jersey and New England held a meeting and declared that they would send not one article into the State of New York for a twelvemonth. Then Connecticut fell to quarreling over a certain boundary line. The dispute was finally settled in favor of Connecticut; but when not long after this dispute was settled, a terrible flood devastated the region of west

Connecticut and the people were driven homeless down the valley, there were those who said, bitterly, that it was "Divine punishment for them and that they deserved it."

Next came trouble between Vermont and New Hampshire. There were families living on the border line who wished to escape New Hampshire taxes. At first Vermont was inclined to contend for the border line, but afterwards she decided not to meddle, and the families began to prepare to make a third State for themselves. Massachusetts then looked up her old charters and found a clause which she declared gave her a right to the southern part of Vermont. Meantime New York was talking of sending troops into Vermont on the west and New Hampshire was about to do the same on the east. It was Washington who came to the rescue just here and induced the governors of the three territories to come to an agreement without recourse to arms. Nevertheless for a long time the hatred of the people of one State for those of the others smouldered. Every now and then a barn or a farmhouse was mysteriously set on fire, or some traveller was mysteriously murdered in the forests.

Meantime matters were going from bad to worse. Each State had begun coining money of its own, but these moneys had no standard value. No State need recognize another's money if it wished not to do so, and so no State could estimate the price or value of anything in another State. This rag money, as it was called, brought about no end of misery. A man, for example, could not pay off the mortgage on his house because the owner of the house would not accept rag money; or, if he would, he made the man pay many times more than the specified value of the mortgage. Therefore people lost their hard-earned homes, they failed in business, and they were imprisoned for debts which they could not pay. In Massachusetts, matters came to a terrible pass; until at last one day a great mob of poor debtors in western Massachusetts banded together under Daniel Shays and marched to the Court at Worcester and forced it to leave its

chamber. The Court fled to Springfield and the mob followed it. Again it was made to close its session, and a little later the mob made an attack on a federal arsenal. Indeed, there was grave danger that the State Government itself would be overthrown. It was useless to call upon Congress for help (as we should now under our Constitution), for Congress had no power. It was useless to call upon other States to help, for each of the other States had similar troubles of its own.

Disastrous as such proceedings were, they helped more than argument could have done to make the people understand through personal suffering that a Central Government was indeed a necessity.

At another time, to show how little regard the several States had for Congress, the citizens of Philadelphia allowed a mob of drunken soldiers to drive Congress out of town without raising a hand to protect them. Indeed, so great and so widespread became the disorder, that at one time the soldiers themselves who had fought against the English monarchial form of government, begged Washington to declare himself king and so set up a monarchial government of its own; and at another time there was fear that certain communities would cross the Alleghanies, import Europeans and set up a feudal system of government in the unclaimed lands of the west.

"Just as we said it would be," said the European nations when they heard of these troubles among the colonies.

"They will soon beg us to take them again under our protection," said English Parliament.

"Are we asked to loan money to one nation or to thirteen?" the European money lenders would scornfully say when our Consuls asked them for aid. "And since your government has not paid the debts of war, how can we expect it to pay later debts?"

Jefferson , who went to Paris in the interests of Continental Congress, was told over and over again that no European nation would enter into any contract with the States; for all Europe felt that there was no certainty that the States would keep their part of the agreement.

At about this time, the half -civilized Moors of the Northern Coast of Africa began to attack our vessels. Nor could we raise a hand to protect ourselves.

"Pay us a million dollars," said the Moors, "and we will attack your vessels no more." But Continental Congress could no more raise a million dollars than it could raise a fleet of vessels. The United States of America had now fallen to the lowest financial depths to which any nation can fall; for it was unable to protect its own citizens.

"If we remain in this condition of imbecility," said one member of Continental Congress, "we shall indeed be classed with the most contemptible nations on the face of the globe."

"All this need not be," said Washington. "With a proper Federal Government we ought to be one of the most happy, the most wealthy, respectable and powerful governments on the face of the globe." But with no money and with trade carried on, as it then was, through barter, there seemed little probability of the United States ever being either respectable or wealthy or powerful.

Even the American newspapers, at least one of them, announced that it would receive its subscription money in salt pork; and Robert Morris, whose own personal money had saved the army during the Revolutionary War, and whose whole fortune had been given without stint to his country, was by that country allowed at this time to die — in a debtor's prison!

In the South, in order to make the people of a State promise to use their own State's money, the Legislature tried to force punishments upon the people who dared refuse. In

Charlestown, a Hint Club was formed, whose mission was to "hint" to those who refused to use paper money that it would be better for them to look out for their lives.

In some places, the farmers formed into unions and vowed that they would not take their produce to the markets of any merchant who would not keep up the value of paper money, dollar for dollar. Consequently there were famines in certain districts and the farmers were threatened with mob violence.

But now came another matter which began to make for an agreement to a Central Government among the thirteen original States. People were beginning to know something of the territory beyond the Alleghenies; and New York and Virginia especially claimed the territory west of themselves as far as the land should extend.

"Thus," said they, "we shall make our States the most powerful of all."

At this, the States which were so situated that they could not extend their claims westward without coming up against a border line of some other State, began to be concerned.

"What will be our fate?" States like Delaware, Rhode Island, and Maryland began to ask. New York and Virginia and the other States bordering directly upon the unknown territory should not be allowed to extend their claims. If anything is done with this western territory, it should be divided into new States.

"But such a division would require a Central Government to watch over them," said the far-seeing statesmen.

This no State could fail to realize was true. And so the States who feared a Central Government, but who also feared extension of power to the few States that could reach westward, found themselves between two fires. Which, they wondered, would prove the least evil? And this, indeed, was a serious question; for it was readily seen that a crisis had come when something must be done to rescue the country from anarchy

and ruin. Even the most stubborn States recognized this. Something must be done, they are willing at last to admit; but what should that something be?

"There is but one thing to be done," said the wisest statesmen; "there must be a strong Central Government which shall make general laws for the general good and which shall force every State to comply with them."

"We grant," said all the States, "that something must be done. We have proved that through these five years of distress and misery. Something must be done. Either we must strengthen the Articles of Confederation or we must make a new Constitution.

Yes, something must be done; but how loth the States were to call a convention! How loth lest when one step had been taken, some form of government would be sprung upon them, depriving them of their still precious State rights.

"The history of the United States at this time," says Thomas Francis Moran in his history of North America, "was most distressing and humiliating." The years from 1783 to 1789 have well been called the "critical period of the United States."

Making a New Constitution

Virginia was the first State to take definite steps toward calling a Convention to revise the loose Articles of Confederation or to make a new Constitution. "Let us commission James Madison to draw up a set of resolutions and let us send them from our Legislature to the Legislature of each of the other thirteen states," said the Virginia Assembly. "All States should join and send delegates to a convention where the matter of our future form of government may be discussed and some new form drawn up."

Accordingly, Madison drafted a set of resolutions, doing it in his own strong but courteous way. In the preamble to his resolutions, he says: "Whereas, the General Assembly of Virginia can no longer doubt that the crisis has arrived at which the people are to prove the solemn question of whether we shall by wise, magnanimous effort, reap the just reward of that independence which we have so gloriously achieved and which the union has cemented with so much of common blood, or whether by giving way to unmanly jealousies and prejudices and to party interests, we shall renounce the blessings prepared for us by the Revolution and furnish to its enemies an eventual triumph over those by whose virtue and valor independence has been accomplished."

These resolutions had a good effect upon the other States, for New Jersey soon followed Virginia, drawing up similar resolutions in its State Legislature. Even the Governor of Massachusetts, who hated the thought of Central Government, said, "My sentiments in regard to a Central Government have by no means changed. Still I think we should consider the matter carefully. Events are surely hurrying us on to a crisis; and prudent men should take steps to form a more perfect government."

During these five years of quarreling among themselves, Europe had looked on with interest and possibly with amusement. Of late, England had been saying, "The son of George III will be called to take the throne of the United States."

At the same time, France was saying, "The United States will call upon France for a king, since France and America are friendly."

The States, however, quarreling though they were, had no idea of turning either to England or to France for a king. They were working out their own salvation, and in time they worked it out most nobly, as we shall see.

One by one, the State Legislatures followed the example of Virginia; and in due time a convention was called, made up of delegates from all the States, except Rhode Island. These met at Philadelphia and there they set to work either to revise the Articles of Confederation or to make a new Constitution.

It took only eight days to make the previous Articles of Confederation; but the task now before these delegates was more serious, and it was not to be performed hastily. Indeed, the delegates worked for four long months upon the new document; for they realized that upon their judgment hung the fate of a country.

From the beginning the debates in the Convention were hot and fierce. Not only were the delegates anxious to give the very best form of government to the people, but they were constantly harassed by what their States might say when the document should be given into their hands. Every delegate was zealous and jealous for his own State and suspicious of every other. Because many did not even yet believe in a strong Central Government, every clause had to be fought out tooth and nail.

"Would we not better revise the Articles of Confederation," said some, "lest our people censure us?"

"If to please the people we offer something in which we do not ourselves believe," said Washington, "how are we to defend ourselves when the time comes to place our work before the people? Let us raise A STANDARD TO WHICH THE WISE AND THE HONEST MAY REPAIR. THE RESULT IS IN GOD'S HANDS."

In the end, the opinion of Washington prevailed, and the Convention went to work to make an entirely new document, which they called a Constitution of the United States.

Randolph of Virginia opened this convention by proposing that a strong Central Government be formed and that it be divided into three departments: a Legislative, which should make laws, an Executive, which should carry out the laws, and a Judicial, which should settle all matters of legal dispute.

To this the Convention finally agreed; and the next question was, Who shall elect officers to these departments?

"The people should elect them," said some of the delegates.

"The people can never be trusted to elect important officers," said other delegates.

"Let us not have an excess of democracy," said Gerry cynically, one of the delegates from Massachusetts.

This question, after days of debate, was settled, however, largely in favor of the people, as we shall see when we come to study the Constitution itself.

It having been settled that the people should send their representatives to this National Congress for which the new Constitution was providing, the next question, was, "How many representatives shall each State send?

And now the debate ran high. The small States were afraid of the larger States, and the large States were inclined to domineer over the small States.

"A large State should have more representation," said they.

"We might as well be out of the Union if that is to be," said the small States.

"That is true," said the fair-minded statesmen; and still there seems no way to apportion representatives except according to population, one representative to a certain number of people.

Days were taken up debating this question, and one day a delegate from New Jersey rose to his feet and said that too much power was already given into the hands of the large States. "I move," said he, "that we begin all over again, and that instead of making a new Constitution we be content to revise the Articles of Confederation. Indeed, that is what we were sent to do, not to frame a new Constitution."

The New Jersey delegate's plan was not accepted, and the debate went on. One delegate from Delaware became especially virulent. "Pretenses to support ambition," said he, "are not wanting in this convention. It is insisted that although the power of Central Government is to be increased, yet it will be for the good of the whole. We are told that although three large states form a majority of all the people in the thirteen, yet these three States will never do any harm to the rest of the States. Gentlemen, I do not believe you. If three States possess so great power, the abuse of that power could not be checked by any clause in the Constitution. Rather than be ruined by these States, there are foreign powers that will take us by the hand."

The situation was indeed becoming dangerous. There must be a union of all the States, or none at all. And here was a delegate threatening to withdraw from the convention rather than to accept the existing conditions. The convention was on the verge of dissolution. What could be done? It was at this point that Franklin turned the sentiment of the convention and saved the day by offering a compromise.

"When a carpenter wishes to make a table," said he, "and the boards are too broad, he cuts a little off both boards and so makes a perfect joint."

Franklin's kindly words had their effect upon the convention, and it was moved that a committee be appointed to draft a compromise.

At the end of a long debate among themselves the committee reported that each State should have representatives in Congress, according to their population; but that in order that there should be some provision for equality of influence in both large and small States, each State, regardless of size, should have two senators. This, then, is how it happens that we have a Senate and a House of Representatives; that there are two senators for each State in the Senate; but that the representatives are in proportion to the population.

This compromise, when finally settled, proved to be a very good thing for the convention. A few hot-headed delegates went home declaring that they would have nothing to do with such high-handed proceedings. The small States as a whole were pleased with the arrangements for equal number of Senators, and all again went to work with a will to finish up the work of the convention.

Benjamin Franklin's Call for Prayer

Mr. President:

The small progress we have made after 4 or five weeks close attendance & continual reasonings with each other – our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many noes as ays, is methinks a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the Human Understanding. We indeed seem to feel our own wont of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those Republics which having been formed with the seeds of their own dissolution now no longer exist. And we have viewed Modern States all round Europe, but find none of their Constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

In this situation of this Assembly groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when to us, how has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with G. Britain, when we were sensible of danger we had daily prayer in this room for the Divine Protection. – Our prayers, Sir, were heard, and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a Superintending providence in our favor. To that kind providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend? or do we imagine that we no longer need His assistance.

I have lived, Sir, a long time and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth – that God governs in the

affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, Sir, in the sacred writings that "except the Lord build they labor in vain that build it." I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without his concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the Builders of Babel: We shall be divided by our little partial local interests; our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall be become a reproach and a bye word down to future age. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing Governments by Human Wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

I therefore beg leave to move – that henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business, and that one or more of the Clergy of this City be requested to officiate in that service

Civics for Young Americans or First Lessons in Government

William M. Giffin
Harris G. Provines

Preface

In preparing this book the author has had primarily before him the fact that just such a book was wanted to throw light upon a common subject not generally or sufficiently treated in school courses of instruction. Besides, there has been a paramount desire to present the subject in a form so simple and entertaining that the young reader may readily understand, and through this understanding, be led to further thought. A basis of interesting knowledge being established, further thought cannot fail to inculcate a love of our country and its laws.

The subject of Civil Government involves much that requires for its comprehension mature and extended thought. In view of this fact the author has kept in mind the capabilities of young intellects, and has endeavored to treat that subject so simply, in both the choice of words and the arrangement of thought, as to insure its easy comprehension by the youngest reader. Nevertheless, it is hoped that it will prove interesting to older thinkers who may find time to read it.

As an especial feature of this little book, the need of government and law is made apparent in a narrative that is calculated to arrest attention and provoke thought. Following this tale suggesting the need of government, the simple forms naturally arising in the framing of laws are presented and developed in a manner which will appeal naturally to a young reader's reason.

While no exhaustive or detailed explanation of foreign governments has been given, comparative conditions have been stated and suggestive differences have been noted, and the reasons for certain laws have been told in a manner intended to show a relation between cause and effect.

In the subsequent chapters, the Constitution of the United States has been presented with sufficient explanation, it is thought, to make the various clauses significant in meaning to the reader.

W. M. G.

"One half of the time which is now almost wholly wasted in district schools, on English grammar attempted at too early an age, would be sufficient to teach our children to love the Republic and to become its loyal and life-long supporters."

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

Civics for Young Americans

Chapter 1

A Story

We once read a story of a young man by the name of Philip Brusque. It was written by Peter Parley. We wish that every one of our young American friends could read the story for himself. In this chapter we shall give a brief outline of a part of it, which will be the next best thing to the story itself.

Young Brusque was a Frenchman, who lived in France about the year 1789, or at the time of the French Revolution. If our young friends desire to have a very good idea of this Revolution, they should read the "Tale of Two Cities" by Charles Dickens.

At the time of the Revolution, France was a monarchy. Those of our readers who have studied geography will understand what kind of a government this is.

In 1789 the common people of France determined to overthrow the government. Thousands of persons were executed by them. One of the most active of the people was young Brusque, who, with many others, thought that if the government could only be overthrown, he would be very happy. He thought that then he could do as he liked, without being restrained by any law, except the moral sense of man. He thought that laws were unfair, and that no man should be subject to them. In fact, Philip took such an active part that he soon found it unsafe for him to stay in Paris, and hence, with many others, he set sail for a foreign land. But alas! when but a few days out, a great storm arose and all on board were drowned, save Philip, who was washed ashore on a lone island, and what seemed to please him most of all was, that the island was without a single human inhabitant except himself.

Peter Parley says, that when Philip found himself alone on the island, he was delighted, and exclaimed: "Now I shall be happy. Here I can enjoy perfect liberty. Here is no prison like the Bastille; here is no king to make slaves of his fellow-men; here is no Robespierre to plot the murder of his fellow-citizens. Liberty, how have I worshipped thee! and here on this lone island I have found thee. Here I can labor or rest, eat or drink, wake or sleep, as I please. Here is no one to control my actions or my thoughts. In my native country all the land belongs to a few persons; but here I can take as much land as I please. I can freely pick the fruit from the trees, according to my choice or my wants. How different is my situation from what it was in France! There, everything belongs to somebody, and I was restrained from taking anything, unless I paid for it. Here, all is free, all is mine. Here, I can enjoy perfect liberty. In France, I was under the check and control of a thousand laws; here, there is no law but my own will. Here, I hare indeed found perfect freedom."

Philip, you see, was quite happy. Thus he continued for about a year, when he began to feel very lonely. How he longed to see a human being once more! Each day found him on the top of a high hill looking wishfully out at sea for a sail. "One day while he was thus watching," says Peter Parley, "he began to talk as follows: ' Liberty is, indeed, a dear and beautiful thing; but still I want something beside liberty. I want to hear a human voice. 1 want to look into a human face. I want some one to speak to. I feel as if my very heart would wither for the want of a friend. I feel a thirst within, and I have no means of satisfying it. I feel within a voice speaking, and there is no answer. This beautiful island is becoming a desert to me, without even an echo. dear France! dear, dear home! How gladly would I give up this hollow and useless liberty for the pleasure of friendship and society! I would be willing to be restrained by the thousand meshes of the law, if I might once more enjoy the pleasure of living in the midst of my fellow-men.' "

Ah, my young friends, what a change had come over Philip in one short year! Short to us, but alas! how long, how very long, it had been to him. One day, on going to the top of the hill, Philip thought he saw something moving. It was about a mile from where he was standing, and looking sharply, he found that it was a human being. 0, how his heart jumped for joy! He set off like a wild deer toward the stranger. When near enough, he saw it was a man. He ran right up to him with open arms. The man's name was Jacques Piquet. He was a fisherman from Mauritius. He had been out fishing, and the wind had blown him so far out to sea, that he could not get back to land. When he was about to give up all hopes, his small boat was dashed to pieces, and Jacques, being a good swimmer, saved his life by swimming to the island, which happened to be the one on which Philip was living.

How happy Philip was! He put his arms around the fisherman and kissed him again and again. He took the stranger and led him to his cave. Next he gathered some fresh pineapples and other fruit, and when he saw the fisherman eating them he clapped his hands in joy, Philip also ran to get Jacques some fresh water to drink. This was all very strange for Philip to do, as he was a proud fellow, and had he been compelled to serve the fisherman he would have hated and resisted the work but because he was doing it of his own free will and accord he found pleasure in it. Philip continued to wait on the fisherman for some little time. At last, however, there came a new order of things, and the fisherman began to order Philip to do this and that for him. This made Brusque very angry, and he told the fisherman he might wait on himself.

This, in turn, made Jacques angry, and soon from words they came to blows. Brusque, being the stronger of the two, dealt Jacques a blow on the head which felled him to the ground, where he lay without motion, seeming actually to be dead.

Chapter 2
The Story Continued

No sooner did Philip see the condition of the fisherman, than he thought to himself: "What a strange creature I am! A few weeks since I was mad with joy at the arrival of this man; soon he became the tyrant of my life. I then wished him dead. I forgot that he had rights as well as myself. In taking his life I did a great wrong to justice, to liberty, and to myself."

While Brusque was thinking these thoughts, the fisherman moved and showed signs of returning life. Philip was again full of joy, and, fetching some water, sprinkled it over the man's face. He soon recovered, and Philip led him to the cave, where, lying down, he went to sleep. Again Philip fell to thinking.

"Jacques is alive again, and I am relieved of a load. When I was alone I was perfectly free, but I soon found that freedom without society was a sad condition of things. I therefore yearned for society, and I had it. But it soon became a torment to me. What, then, is the difficulty? I believe it is the want of some rules, by which we may regulate our conduct. Though there are but two of us, still we find it necessary to enter into a compact. We must form a government; we must submit to laws, rules, and regulations. We must each submit to the abridgment of some portion of our liberty some portion of our privileges in order to secure the rest."

Philip now returned to the cave, where he found the fisherman much better. Philip spoke to him of the necessity of laying down certain rule, by which the essential rights of each should be preserved and a state of harmony insured. To this Jacques agreed, and the following code of laws being drawn up by Philip, they were passed unanimously:

"Be it ordained by Philip Brusque, late of France, and Jacques Piquet, of Mauritius, to insure harmony, establish justice, and promote the good of all parties:

"1. This island shall be called Fredonia.

"2. Liberty being a great good in itself, and the right of every human being, it shall only be abridged so far as the good of society may require. But as all laws restrain liberty, we, the people of Fredonia, submit to the following:

"3. The cave, called the Castaway's Home, lately occupied by Philip Brusque, shall be alternately occupied for a day and night by said Philip Brusque and Jacques Piquet, the former beginning this day, and the latter taking it the next day, and so forth.

"4. Each person shall have a right to build himself a house, and shall have exclusive possession of the same.

"5. If two persons wish the same fruit at the same time, they shall draw lots for the first choice, if they cannot agree otherwise as to the division.

"6. If any difference arises between the two parties, Philip Brusque and Jacques Piquet, they shall decide such questions by lot.

"7. This code of laws shall be changed, or modified, or added to, only by the consent of the parties, Philip Brusque and Jacques Piquet.

"All which is done this 27th day of June, A.D. 18– ."

This was neatly cut with a penknife on a board which had come ashore from the wreck of Philip's vessel, and it became the statute law of the island of Fredonia.

From this story of Philip we learn that absolute liberty cannot be enjoyed except by an individual in solitude, where he has no intercourse with his fellow-men. From it we also learn that even supposing there are but two persons living together, some rules, or laws, by which they may regulate their conduct,

become necessary. The truth is, my young friends, people cannot live together in society without government. As shown to us in this story by Peter Parley, even two persons on an island find that, to prevent quarreling, they must define their mutual rights and privileges; or, in short, they must enact laws, and, as a matter of course, these laws are restraints upon natural or absolute liberty.

Thus it is that we are today living in a country governed by laws. And the best of all is, that our laws, like those of Philip and the fisherman, are our own; that is, they are made by us, and the purpose of this little book is to show you why in this respect, our country is one of the grandest, if not the very best, in the world.

Many years ago our forefathers lived in a country very much like the one from which Philip came. It differed in some things. We shall have more to say of this, however, in another chapter.

Chapter 3
Some Facts From History

You have read the history of our country from its discovery by Columbus to the present time. Is it not surprising how much the lives of our forefathers resembled that of Philip Brusque? They lived in England, under rulers who were haughty and arbitrary men, just as Philip had in France.

They also, like Philip, longed for liberty and a better home; though, unlike Philip, they were true to their country, and instead of trying to overthrow the government, they simply asked to be allowed to go from it and live by themselves. This they did, and, as you know, they carne to the New World. How they suffered!

You remember the Starving Time in Virginia, the Indian War, and Bacon's Rebellion. You remember King Philip's War in Massachusetts, and Clayborn's Rebellion in Maryland.

You remember the Pequod War in Connecticut, the trouble with the Spaniards in Georgia, and the wars of King William, Queen Anne, and King George; and finally, the greatest of them all, the French and Indian War.

When the French and Indian War began, none were as ready to help the English king as those who were living in the New World, many of whom had left England because they had been so badly treated there. All through the nine long years of the war they fought bravely and well. At the close of the war, although "England reaped all the glory, and the colonies had borne the brunt of the conflict, none were more ready and willing than they to help pay the debts which the war had contracted."

How were the colonies repaid for all this loyalty? You remember that before the French and Indian War some of the

colonies had been assailed in their personal liberty and political rights. Dishonest governors had been sent over here by the king and had plundered them, while tyrannical governors had, time after time, grossly abused and oppressed them.

All this might have been forgotten after the French and Indian War, had it not been for the money-loving king, who acted as if the colonies existed only for the purpose of helping him and the people in England to make money. When, however, the king saw how nicely the colonies were prospering, he, instead of giving them a helping hand, did everything he could to injure them.

You remember the Navigation Act, the Acts of Trade, the Restricting Laws, the Writs of Assistance, the Stamp Act, the Mutiny Act, the Boston Massacre, and the Tax on Tea. These alone were enough to make the colonies feel anything but friendly toward England.

But King George III was guilty of many more unjust acts. For example, he would not allow a man to cut down a tree on his own land without first asking permission. He would appoint a man a judge, and then, if he did not decide all cases in favor of the king, the king would not pay him his salary. He appointed a multitude of officers who were not at all necessary, and then obliged the colonies to pay them large salaries. He kept a large number of soldiers here in times of peace when there was no good reason for it. The soldiers had to be paid by the colonies. These soldiers oftentimes were guilty of murders for which they went unpunished. Innocent men were arrested for pretended offences, because they stood in the king's way, and he wanted to take them to England to be tried for the alleged offences. The king, in fact, "plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people."

This was a very bad return for what the colonies had done for him. And, notwithstanding it all, the colonies were still loyal

to him. They in fact, petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. The petitions were answered only by repeated injury.

There was only one thing left to do, which was to declare themselves free and independent of England and her king, and this was done on the fourth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six; but not till seven years after this did England acknowledge the independence of the colonies

Chapter 4
The Kinds of Government

As soon as our forefathers had declared themselves independent of Great Britain, they knew they must form a government; for, being wise men, they knew they could not long exist without a government of some kind. At that time, as well as at the present, there were three distinct kinds of government. These were monarchies, aristocracies, and republics.

Let us now learn something of these different kinds of governments, that we may have a better idea of them. We are sure all of our readers will be glad they live in the United States when they know more of its government and the governments of some other countries of which we shall learn.

A monarchy is a government by a single person. This person has different titles in different countries. If the country is an empire, the ruler is called an Emperor, Czar, or Sultan. If it is a kingdom, he or she is called a King or Queen. If it is a principality, he is called a Prince. If it is a duchy, he is called a Duke.

There are two kinds of monarchies. They are absolute and limited.

An absolute monarchy is one in which all the power is in the hands of one man. This is very good if that man is one to be trusted. But if he is not a good man, and hence cannot be trusted, then it is terrible. When reading history, we learn of many different absolute monarchies. One, for instance, is Russia, which is one of the most powerful monarchies in the world. One of the Russian emperors, or Czars, was named Ivan IV, who was the Czar of Russia for about fifty years. You will learn what kind of a man Ivan was from the following: —

A number of noblemen were one day talking, when one of them said: "The grand prince" (meaning Ivan) "decides all questions alone, shut up in his chamber." Ivan, hearing he had said this, ordered that he be taken to prison, there to have his head cut off. Ivan had a very quick temper, and all of his subjects approached him in fear. One day he became angry at one of his courtiers, and without any pity, he ordered that the courtier be torn to death by savage dogs. But then he could do as he liked, for he was an absolute monarch, and hence went unpunished for his acts. Nor did he stop here. In fact, he did so many terrible deeds that he was called Ivan the Terrible. He one time went to a city where there were many people who disliked his cruel ways, and who were not afraid to say so, and had sixty thousand men, besides many women and children, killed.

Just think, my young friends, of being obliged to live in a country that had a form of government which allowed such a wretch to be its ruler.

When reading history we also learn of good monarchs who tried to do what was right; still they were all apt to look out for themselves rather than for others, which does not agree with Sir Walter Scott's idea of a true man, for he says, "The man whom I call deserving the name is one whose thoughts and exertions are for others rather than himself." Another well-known writer has said: "The absolute monarch is generally a tyrant. Men are too imperfect to be trusted with absolute power."

A limited monarchy is one in which the power of the monarch is limited by the constitution and the laws of the country, which say that the ruler must share his power with a class of nobles, or a body of men who are elected for that purpose.

One of the most powerful limited monarchies is England. England at one time was an absolute monarchy, and we can form something of an idea of its early kings when we read of one

of them, who was known as King John, who, it is said, threw into prison a wealthy Jew because he refused to give the king an enormous sum of money. While the Jew was in prison, the king ordered one of his teeth pulled out each day, until he paid the required amount of money. King John's treatment of the poor old Jew, however, was one of the least of his wicked acts. When John became king, there was another who had the best claim to the throne. This was John's pretty little nephew, Arthur; but John seized the treasure, and the little prince was locked up in a large castle. While the prince was here, the king sent two ruffians to burn the little fellow's eyes out with red-hot irons. The warden of the castle, Hubert de Bourg, to his praise be it remembered, sent the savages away. This made the king very angry, and after this he sent another ruffian to kill the poor little prince. Hubert sent back word to the king that he would do it for him. John knew he would not do so, and had Arthur taken to another castle. One dark night the little prince was aroused from his sleep and told to follow his jailer down stairs. When at the foot of the stairs, he was drawn into a boat, where he saw his uncle, King John, and another man. The little fellow knelt to them and begged them not to murder him. To this they paid no attention, but stabbed him, and sunk his body in the river with heavy stones.

England still has a ruler; but there are also two bodies of men, or two houses, as they are called, with which he shares his power. These houses are called the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

Long after England claimed to have a limited monarchy, however, the kings had, or at least assumed, great power. We read that during the reign of King Henry VIII (Bluff King Hal) many people were executed because they would not bow to the king's will. It was during his reign that an old man, Wolsey by name, who had been a lifelong friend of Henry VIII, received a death sentence because he would not do a dishonest act for the

king. It is said his last words were to one Cromwell, and were as follows: "Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs. Howbeit, this is my just reward for my pains and diligence, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." He was not executed, as he died broken-hearted on his way to prison. Do you not think Wolsey was treated by Henry VIII very much as our forefathers were treated by George III? Henry VIII had six wives. One of them he became tired of, and, on some slight excuse, he had her executed, and the very next day he married another woman. Hence you see that the king of this limited monarchy was not much, if any, better than Ivan, the absolute monarch.

After Henry VIII came Edward VI, and after him came Queen Mary. Mary tried to change many of the laws which King Henry VIII had made, and in trying to force them upon the people she had three hundred persons burned to death, because they did not like her pew laws.

After Mary came Elizabeth. During the reign of "Good Queen Bess," as she was sometimes called, England improved very much, for Elizabeth was a queen of great power and merit. She re-organized a church, and said there must be no other kind; and if any one was found attending any other church, he was executed. So you see, though she was called a good queen, she had some very bad faults. If you would like to learn more of the kings and queens of England, read Charles Dickens' "Child's History of England." Some of them have been noble men and women, one of the best being Queen Victoria, who was much beloved at home and abroad.

An aristocracy is a government in which the power is placed in the hands of the nobles or aristocrats. All historians agree that an aristocracy is the poorest form of government a country can have.

A republic is that form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people, or delegated to representatives elected by the people.

A republic binds men together by strong ties of fellowship, as in a bond of affection and brotherly love. It is the grandest of all forms of government.

Some three hundred years ago the colony of Plymouth was a republic, and at that time the people all met to make the laws. There were so few people then that they could do this. Now, however, there is no building, nor city for that matter, which is large enough to hold all the people; so the people send men to act for them, who are called representatives, because they represent the people. These representatives, as you know, meet in the city of Washington to make the laws. We will learn more of them.

Chapter 5
The Articles of Confederation

On the same day (June 11, 1776) that the committee was appointed to prepare the Declaration of Independence, there was another committee appointed to prepare some rules or laws for the colonies which were about to become independent. This committee met and drew up a set of laws which they called "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States" meaning the thirteen original states of our country of which you have learned in your histories.

During the Revolution the Articles answered very well, as the attention of all the states was directed toward the defeat of the English soldiers. At the close of the war, however, it was found that the country had no real government. As a well-known writer has said, "There were thirteen separate and independent states, each free to do as it pleased. Each state claimed for itself the right to coin money, lay duties on foreign goods, to levy taxes, and to raise and equip its own army. There was a loose kind of union between them, which did not amount to a good general government, because it had few of the powers belonging to a government. Congress could not enforce tax laws, nor coin money, nor do anything except advise the states; and the states could take the advice or neglect it, just as they pleased.

"The weak states were afraid of the strong ones, and the strong ones were jealous of each other. Each state made laws for itself, and these laws sometimes stood in the way of trade between different parts of the country. The states were in a fair way to quarrel among themselves, and even to get into wars with one another, which would have been worse for them than any foreign war could have been." In fact, the states were very much

in the same condition as the seven sons of an old gentleman, who were always quarreling. They left their studies and work to quarrel among themselves. Some bad men were looking forward to the death of the old gentleman, who was very wealthy, to cheat the sons out of their property by making them quarrel about it. The good old man one day called his sons around him. He laid before them seven sticks which were bound together. He said, "I will pay one hundred dollars to the one who can break this bundle." Each one strained every nerve to break it. After a long but vain trial they all said that it could not be done. "And yet, my boys," said the father, "nothing is easier to do." He then untied the bundle and broke the sticks, one by one, with perfect ease.

"Oh!" said his sons, "it is easy enough to do it so; anybody could do it in that way."

Their father replied: "As it is with these sticks, so it is with you, my sons. So long as you hold fast together and aid each other, you will prosper, and none can injure you. But if the bond of union be broken, it will happen to you just as it has to these sticks which lie here broken on the ground."

Our forefathers, like the good old man in the story, saw that only in union could there be strength. The war had left a very large public debt to be paid, and there was no money with which to pay it. The trade of the country was broken up, and the people were very poor. Congress, as the head of the government was called, might make treaties with foreign nations, but it could not compel the states to abide by them; and, of course, foreign countries would not make treaties under such circumstances.

At this time Washington wrote, "The Confederation seems to me to be little more than a shadow without the substance." At another time he said, "It is a subject of regret that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose; that so many

sufferings have been encountered without compensation; and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain."

Many other prominent men were active in preparing the public mind for a change; among the most active were James Madison, who was called "the father of the Constitution," and Alexander Hamilton. Finally their labor was rewarded, and the public was ready for a change. A convention was called, and the following gentlemen, Messrs. Randolph, Madison, Jones, Tucker, and Lewis, were appointed commissioners to meet other commissioners for the purpose of forming a new government. This meeting was the means of our having our present form of government, and it was by these commissioners and the others who met with them that our present Constitution was written; a Constitution about which James Wilson, who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, wrote the following: "Regarding it in every point of view with a candid and disinterested mind, I am bold to assert that it is the best form of government which has ever been offered to the world."

Are you not proud, my young American friends, that it is your country and your government about which such good things can be written? We hope to show you, in the remaining chapters, how true Mr. Wilson's words are.

Chapter 6
The Constitution

A constitution is the highest law of a country. It is that which tells the form of the government, and also tells just what power each part of the government has. Hence it is important that every American should have a knowledge of our Constitution.

The people who made our Constitution began it as follows:

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

This is called the Preamble to the Constitution, because it introduces or begins it, and tells its object. You will notice that this preamble is something like that written by Philip Brusque for himself and the fisherman.

Our forefathers, at the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson, very wisely divided the government into three departments, called the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. We shall hereafter see why it was best so to divide it.

The legislative is the department that makes the laws, and is called Congress.

In the city of Washington, which is the capital of the United States, there is a very beautiful building, called the capitol, in which Congress holds its meetings.

Congress is composed of two bodies of men, called houses. One of these houses is called the Senate, and the other is called the House of Representatives.

The judicial department interprets or tells the meaning of the laws, and then applies them.

In an absolute monarchy the same person makes the laws, and also interprets them, or tells their meaning. If, then, the monarch makes a law, and afterwards has it brought before him in a way which he did not expect, he can say, "Oh, it does not mean that, but means thus and so."

You can understand this better, perhaps, if I tell you a story. An Irishman once opened a barber shop, and hung up a sign which read: "What do you think, Paddy Magee will shave you for nothing and give you a drink." When Paddy had any customer he would tell him that the sign meant as follows: "W-h-a-t! do you think Paddy Magee will shave you for nothing and give you a drink?" When read this way there was no doubt that Paddy expected full pay for his work.

Paddy's sign was like many of the laws made by an absolute monarch. It could be changed to suit the occasion. But when one department makes the laws, and another department interprets them, everything must be so plain as to have but one meaning. Hence you see what a good thing it is to have the two departments. The legislative department has to make the laws so plain that not only its members will know what they mean, but also that there will be no doubt in the minds of the members of the judicial department as to their meaning. Therefore all laws have to be made with great care.

The executive is the department that executes the laws. The President of the United States is the executive. We will learn more of his powers in another chapter.

Chapter 7
The House of Representatives

The Constitution says, –

"The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states."

At the time the Constitution was written there were some of the members of the committee who wanted the representatives elected for five years. There were others who thought one year should be the time. All were anxious to do what was right; so, like sensible men, each gave up a little to the other and, therefore, to please both sides, it was fixed at two years.

It was wise to make it two years, for now a representative is not elected for so long a time as to make him careless and too independent, nor is he apt to abuse his power. If, at the end of two years, he has shown by his actions that he is not fit to represent the people, some one else can be elected to take his place. While, if he has been just the right man in the right place, the people can re-elect him for another term. You see a man has this re-election to look forward to, and, knowing that as a rule the men who work the hardest for the country's good are the ones preferred for re-election, he will try to do his very best for the good of the country.

In England they have what is called the House of Commons, which many people think is like our House of Representatives. President Lincoln is said to have asked the following question of some gentlemen: "Gentlemen, if we were to call a sheep's tail a leg, how many legs would the sheep then have?" "Why," said they, "five legs, of course." "Not so, gentlemen," answered Mr. Lincoln. "Why not?" asked they. "Because, gentlemen, calling a sheep's tail a leg doe not make it one."

And so, calling the House of Commons like our House of Representatives does not make it so. We will notice some things in which they differ. The members of the English House are elected for seven years, but they seldom serve that length of time, as you will learn in another chapter.

There is no doubt, however, but that the House of Commons is a much more able body of men than the House of Lords, which goes to prove that the people can be trusted to select their law makers, if they are but given the opportunity to do so. This fact strengthens our faith in our own form of government, where all the law makers and other officers of the government are elected by the people or their representatives.

How independent the House, where every member can do as he thinks best, and, knowing that good laws will always please the best and largest number of men, he, as a rule, tries to do what is best for the country. The Constitution also says, –

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

Our forefathers very wisely thought that a man should be at least twenty-five years old before he could be elected to so important a trust. By the time a man is twenty-five years old he has formed his character and is old enough to have good judgment.

In the House of Commons, however, many of the members are only twenty-one years old, mere boys, to make the laws for one of the largest countries in the world.

It was a good idea to have it understood that a man when elected a representative must be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen. Who knows the wants of New Jersey as well as a man who lives in New Jersey? No one. And that is

the reason the Constitution says a representative must be a citizen of the state in which he is chosen.

In England, a member of the House of Commons may be chosen from any part of Great Britain. That is, a man living in Edinburgh, Scotland, may be chosen to represent Cambridge, England. Or a man of Oxford, England, may represent Dublin, Ireland. It is not reasonable to suppose that a man of Oxford can represent Dublin as well as a man right from Dublin.

Sometimes it is said that by choosing a man from any part of the country, better and more able men will be chosen. This is not a good argument, for the reason that there never was, nor is it likely there ever will be, a state having people enough in it to make a state, that will not have more than enough men able in every way to represent it. Our forefathers had the good sense to see this truth.

Some of the citizens of our country are what are called naturalized citizens. You know what an adopted child is. Well, a man who is a naturalized citizen is an adopted citizen, only it is the country that adopts him. Before he is adopted he has to promise that he will become a citizen of our country, fight for our laws in time of war, and do all other acts that a person born a citizen is required to do. When he has signed papers promising all this, he is made a citizen, entitled to all the rights and privileges of those who are born citizens, except he cannot ever be elected either President or Vice-President of the country and must have seven years' residence after naturalization to be a Representative, and nine years to be a Senator; providing first, however, that before applying to be naturalized he has lived in the country not less than five years. The law also provides that a declaration of intention to become a citizen must be made at least two years before naturalization; except in the case of those who have been honorably discharged from one year's service in the army or navy of the United States. These need no

declaration of intention and need not prove more than one year's residence.

In most countries they will not allow naturalized citizens to hold office so as to take part in the affairs of the government. Americans, however, are too liberal-minded to say that no one but American-born citizens shall hold office. Any thinking man (and they are the ones to be elected to an office) cannot live in a country twelve years and not know about its laws and its form of government.

Another clause of the Constitution reads as follows: —

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

This means that if a member of the House dies, or for any other reason his seat becomes vacant, the governor of the state which he represents, calls an election for the purpose of filling his place. This, our forefathers thought the best thing to do, because the executive of a state, as the governor is called, will feel interested in having the state fully represented, and, therefore, will be very prompt to call an election. [The Constitution also provides that each state shall have at least one representative, and cannot have more than one for every thirty thousand people.]As our country increases in population, the ratio of representation changes.

The Constitution provides that, —

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

The speaker is the one who presides over the House. You will understand what this means when we tell you he is like the president of a literary society. This makes the House independent. When the House of Commons elects a speaker, he cannot act until he has been approved of by the king. In this, you

see, the House of Commons is not independent, but is really dependent upon the king's will.

Many people do not understand what is meant by impeaching an officer. It is simply to charge him with crime or with misbehavior in office. It is very much the same as an indictment by a grand jury. One man thinks, another man guilty of violating the law. He appears before the grand jury. The grand jury hear his charge; and if they think the man is guilty, they indict him, as it is called. Then the man has a right to a fair trial before another jury, called the petit jury. So, when an officer is impeached by the House, he has a trial before another body, as we shall learn as we advance.

In England, the House of Commons has the power of impeachment, and the House of Lords tries the one impeached. Notwithstanding this you will learn wherein our laws are better than those of England.

Chapter 8
The Senate

The Constitution says, ["The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislatures thereof for six years, and each senator shall have one vote."]

The legislators of a state are the men who are chosen by the people to make the state laws, for each state has its own home government, besides sharing in the benefits of the central or United States government, of which we are talking: just as each class in a school has its own rules which its members obey, besides obeying the rules made by the board of education and the principal of the school.

For many reasons our forefathers were very desirous that the best men in our land should be elected to our Senate. There is no reason why they should not be. In the first place, the people do, or should, choose good men for their state legislature; and these men, who come from all parts of the state, have the choosing of the United States senator.

There are two senators from every state, whether large or small; thus Rhode Island has as many votes in the Senate as New York, which has nearly twenty times as many people. This was thought no more than right, because the large states have so much more voice in the House of Representatives than the small states.

Another excellent plan was adopted, as you will see. The senators are elected for six years. Now, if at the end of six years all the senators were new men, who had never had any experience in law-making, what sad work they would make of it! No one would know how to begin. Thanks to the wisdom of

those who made our Constitution, this cannot be, for the following reason.

When the first senators were elected, they met in the capital of our country, and were divided into three classes. When the Constitution went into effect, there were but nine states that had adopted it. There were then eighteen senators. These were divided into the three classes, six in the first, six in the second, and six in the third. According to the Constitution, the term of the first class was to expire in two years, the term of the second class was to expire in four years, and the term of the third class was to expire in six years. Remember this was only to be done that one time. So you see that now every two years one-third of the senators are newly elected, while two-thirds are old members and know all about the duties of senators. Everything, therefore, moves off in perfect order from the very first day they meet until the close of the session. Had not our forefathers been so thoughtful, the whole Senate might be made up of new men every six years; and with a number of inexperienced men together, there is no knowing what might be the result.

If a senator dies or resigns his office, and the legislature of his state is not in session, the governor of the state appoints some man to act as senator for that state, until the legislature meets and elects some one.

The Constitution says,—

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

You notice the senators have to be older than the representatives. There are many good reasons why they should be. As we advance, you will learn that the responsibility of a senator is greater than that of a representative, and for this reason he should be a man of more mature years. The senator

must also live in the state that chooses him, as he will know the wants of his own state better than one living in another state.

The House of Lords is sometimes said to resemble Senate. You will know how little resemblance there is when you have read what is to follow.

The English House of Lords is composed of what are called the peers, or noblemen, of England, sixteen representative peers of Scotland, and twenty-eight representative peers of Ireland; also the bishops and archbishops of the Church of England. The noblemen receive different titles, as duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron.

A man to be elected to our Senate must show some talent, and not many, if any, ignorant men, or men lacking good, sound judgment, ever become members.

How different in the House of Lords, where there is no choice! A person born a nobleman, no matter how little good common sense he may display, cannot be deprived of his seat. Hence you see what kind of people may make up the House of Lords.

If the king desires, he has the power to make a commoner[1] a peer, and as late as 1832 he exercised this power. There was a law the king wanted passed. The House of Lords did not think it a good law, and did not pass it. The king began to make peers of the commoners, intending to make peers enough to get a majority in favor of his law, that it might be passed.

[1] The members of the House of Commons are commoners, as, if fact, are all persons under the degree of nobility.

The House of Lords, seeing that many were being added to their house, finally agreed to pass the law, if the king would not make any more peers. They then called England a limited monarchy. Like the man who was being whipped by his wife, when some one said to him " My dear fellow, why do you stand

still and let your wife whip you so?" "Oh," said he, "it pleases wife, and does not hurt me; so I let her whip." Thus, no doubt, thought the king, "It pleases the lords, and does not hurt me; therefore, I let them call ours a limited monarchy." There is no doubt, however, that England is inclined to become more and more like a democracy, and the time may come when it will be.

According to the Constitution, —

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

If the Senate were to choose one of its own number for speaker, or president, the state which this one represented, would be deprived of one of its senators. Again, the president has more or less power, and often influences, the course of legislation; therefore, that state would have more than its share of power. The framers of the Constitution, ever thoughtful, said: "We will make the Vice-President of the United States the president of the Senate; for he belongs not to any one state, but to the people at large, because he has been chosen by them for this high office." It is right, too, that he should have a vote, as there is always an even number of senators, and a time may come when there will be a tie on some question before the Senate. Days, perhaps weeks, could thus be wasted, because neither side would be willing to yield; but the Vice-President, having a vote, can stop any such thing, by voting with one side, and thus make a majority.

The Constitution states that, —

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

Nothing seems to have been forgotten. What a wise law this is! Just before Congress closes its session the Vice-President

retires, and then the Senate elects a president pro tempore; so that, should the President of the United States die before the next session, the Vice-President becomes President of the United States and the Senate can begin work at once, as there is a president to preside.

The Constitution provides that, —

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

There are many wise provisions in this clause of the Constitution, as we shall see. It is much easier to call a man guilty of a crime, than it is to prove him guilty. So our forefathers placed the impeachment power in the House, but gave to the older and more select body the power to try all impeachments.

There are people in our country who think that it is wrong to say, "I solemnly swear," etc., because the Bible says, "Swear not at all." Others think that the Bible means by this not to take the name of God in vain. The framers of the Constitution, being liberal-minded men, and not wishing in any way to interfere with the religious belief of any one, said that the words, "I solemnly swear " or "I solemnly affirm" may be used.

During the meetings of the committee that framed the Constitution, Benjamin Franklin proposed one day, that prayer should be resorted to. Among other things he said: "I have lived a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid?" Surely we have every reason to think that Franklin was right. Nothing seems to have been overlooked. How wise to have the Chief Justice preside over the Senate when the President of the United States is on trial!

Because, you remember, if the President is found guilty, the Vice-President becomes the President. Think of the temptation, then, for the Vice-President, were he presiding, sometimes to decide points against the President, hoping he may be found guilty. Our forefathers removed all chances of temptation by requiring the Chief Justice to preside when the President of the United States is on trial.

According to the Constitution: —

"Judgment in case of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, and punishment, according to law."

This is another grand provision of the Constitution. Its meaning is, that, though a man who is impeached may be tried and found guilty by the Senate, the Senate can punish him only by removing him from office. Then if his offence is anything for which he can be punished by law, he can have another trial by jury. You learn from this, that there is only one way by which a man can be deprived of liberty or put to death, and that is after he has had a fair trial and has been found guilty of an offence.

How different this was in England! There the House of Lords might then inflict banishment from the country, take a man's property from him, put him in prison, or sentence him to death.

There are many cases in history of men who have worked hard for the party which they represented, and have thus made enemies, who, to get them out of the way, have had them impeached, found guilty, and sentenced to death. All this because they stood in the way of the wicked schemes of their opponents in office.

My young American friends, be proud of the fact that your forefathers were the first in the world to do away with such a bad, bad law.

In this country, an officer is tried on an impeachment. If found guilty, he is removed from office. He is then arrested, if his crime is one for which it is thought he should be arrested, given a fair trial by a court of justice, and if found guilty, he is punished. He has, however, a trial by jury, the same as any other man, and hence his political enemies have no power over him.

The Constitution states that, —

"The time, place, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulation, except as to the place of choosing senators."

This is for the following reason: Should the legislature of a state become disloyal or negligent, and fail to call an election, Congress can do so, in order to protect itself. Then, if they do not attend to it, Congress can set a time, and if they still neglect it, they lose their representative in Congress for that term.

Congress meets at least once a year, so there can be no chance for the country to suffer from want of legislation. The meetings begin on the first Monday in December.

The Constitution says, —

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

This is a thoughtful provision, for it might happen that two men from the same state might each claim to have been

regularly elected a senator or representative. In all such cases, you will notice, the house to which the man claims to have been elected, hears both sides, and then determines who is entitled to the seat. If some other department had the power to determine who was entitled to the seat, there might be a time when said department would be strongly partisan, and hence it would be tempted to decide in favor of the one belonging to its own party.

It is also well that the Constitution requires a majority to make the laws, for if it did not, a small number of either house might meet and make bad laws to carry out some scheme of their own.

Our forefathers thought that there might come a time during some high political excitement, when a majority of either house might stay away, thinking by so doing to stop legislation. To prevent this they give the minority power to oblige the majority to be present.

In England, the House of Commons can do business with a comparatively small portion of the members present. A quorum of the House of Lords, including the Chancellor, is three!

By the Constitution, —

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

The framers of the Constitution showed their wisdom in making each house an independent body. The rules that govern the house are called Parliamentary Law. These rules or laws every member is obliged to respect.

One important rule is, that no bill, i.e. a proposed law, shall be passed without being read before the house three times, and, furthermore, the three readings shall not take place on the same day.

It often happens that a bill is read which sounds as if it would be an excellent law; but some wise-head, who thinks it over during the night, surprises his fellow-members in the morning by showing them wherein it would not be good at all, but, in fact, would be very bad. For example, the captain of a boat once made a law (without a third reading) which read as follows, —

"The seats in this cabin are reserved for ladies. Gentlemen are requested not to occupy them until the ladies are seated."

At the first reading this sounds like a very good law; but read it again thoughtfully, and you see it gives the gentlemen the liberty to sit in the ladies' laps!

How wise, too, is the clause which requires a two-thirds vote to expel a member. Barely ever has one party a two-thirds majority, hence no member can be expelled on mere party grounds. Could a majority expel a member, there might be a temptation, during some high political excitement, to expel a member, (or members,) simply because he was of the opposite party. Our wise old forefathers, however, left no such temptation possible.

Again, —

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

This is no more than right, as the congressmen are the agents of the people, and the people have a right to know what their agents are doing.

The yeas and nays clause is a thoughtful one; for a man voting on a bill will be very careful if he is voting by yea or nay, as at any time in the future his constituents can tell just how he voted. The yeas and nays are taken by having the clerk call the roll, and those members who are in favor of the bill, when their

names are called, say "yea." Those who are opposed to the bill, when their names are called, say " nay." The answers are written opposite each member's name.

Everything in this free country is done openly. Any person may go into either house and stay as long as he may desire, excepting on rare occasions, when, as in time of war, it is thought best by either house to require secrecy, when they hold what are called executive sessions.

In England, no person can go into the House of Parliament without an order, or pass, from some member, and even then all persons not members must retire from the floor when a vote is about to be taken. The galleries may be cleared by the Speaker if so requested by a member.

The Constitution provides that, —

"The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law. and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place."

This is one of the most important clauses in the Constitution. If payment were left with the different states it might not always be prompt or sure, and so, many times, the senators or representatives might feel they need not attend and work for uncertain pay. In fact, there were just such cases during the Confederation, and our forefathers, seeing the evils of them, made the new Constitution on a wiser plan.

Again, if the pay of the congressmen were left with the states, the national or head government would be dependent upon the local or state governments. This would be very unjust.

The members of the houses in England do not receive my pay. The result is, that the members who are not wealthy have to depend on their wealthy friends, and therefore must at all times act to please them.

A man who is making the laws of a nation should be independent to act as his conscience tells him, and not as some one else may dictate to him.

The last part of this clause in our Constitution is as important as the first; for how often might a state be deprived of a representative, if he could be arrested for any petty offence. There might be a time when a law ought to be passed which a few men did not, for selfish reasons, desire passed. To carry out their selfish ends they might have a member arrested on some trifling charge, just to keep him from the house, that he might not vote for the law. Of course, if a member is guilty of a high crime, he is not fit to be a congressman, and it is right that he be arrested.

Our forefathers knew that a man should not fear to say just what he thinks, at all times, about a law or bill, which may come before the house of which he is a member, and in order that he may not fear to do so, they added this provision to the Constitution: "That no person shall be questioned in any other place for what he may say while making a speech at debate in either house." Freedom of speech, as they very well knew, is absolutely necessary to good government.

In England, a member cannot be held for what he says in either house, but if he has the speech printed he can be prosecuted.

In our country, a member is free to print all of his speeches if he so desire.

Notice how careful the framers of the Constitution were to remove temptation from those who were to be our congressmen.

By a thoughtful provision of the Constitution, —

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

This clause of the Constitution makes it impossible for a member of Congress to cause a paying office to be created for his own good. The country needs the time of the representatives to do work for the good of the people, and not for themselves.

The law makers should not have anything else on their minds when making the laws for a nation, thought our forefathers, and hence they added the last part of tis clause, forbidding congressmen to hold office.

In England, a man while a member of either house can hold an office under the government.

The Constitution requires that, —

"All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may oppose or concur with amendments as on other bills."

This clause means that all bills for raising money, that is, that tell how the money shall be raised for carrying on the government, shall be first passed in the House. Why our forefathers thought this a wise thing is not clear. Probably they thought that because it is the larger house the bills would come more directly from the people. The last part of the clause is wise, as it prevents the House from having too much power.

In England, all money bills must originate in the House of Commons, but the House of Lords cannot change them in any

way. This gives the House of Commons great power if they choose to use it. There are what are called "riders" sometimes added to a bill. A "rider" is a part of a bill that has really no relation to the main bill, yet the bill, to be passed, must be passed "rider" and all.

Sometimes the House of Commons adds a "rider" to a money bill. It may be something which the House of Lords dislikes very much, still it cannot change the bill in any way. It must pass it or reject it. To reject it may stop the payments of pensions or salaries, and thus throw the country into confusion. Rather than do this the Lords pass the bill, "rider" and all.

We should be proud to know that one of our houses can never so impose on the other.

Study the following clause very carefully, as it tells how the laws are made by Congress: —

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

their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law."

You see by this clause how hard it is to make a bad law. In the first place, the bill is passed by one of the houses. It is then sent to the other house. If the second house passes it, then it goes to the President of the United States. After he has looked it over carefully, he either signs it, and it becomes a law, or he vetoes it, that is, refuses to sign it, and sends it back to the house that first passed it. Now, before it can become a law, two-thirds of this house have to favor it. Next, it is sent to the second house again, where a two-thirds vote is also necessary. If the two houses pass it a second time, it becomes a law without the President's name. You also notice that the second time the houses vote on the bill they do so by a yea or nay vote, which, as we have said before, causes the members to vote very thoughtfully.

In England, if the king vetoed a bill, it could not become a law. This gave him great power. It is now claimed, " The queen has no such veto. She must sign her own death-warrant if the two Houses unanimously send it up to her." They have thus gone to the other extreme. In order to prevent wrong legislation, the following clause was added to the Constitution:

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

If an order or resolution could be passed by Congress, without the signature of the President, a bill or matter of great

importance, might, by calling it a resolution or order become a law without the President's assent.

Chapter 9
What Congress Has Power To Do

The Constitution provides that, —

"Congress shall have power (1) to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

You remember that during the Confederation Congress had not this power, and the result was we had no government.

"(2) To borrow money on the credit of the United States."

During the war of 1812 and also during the Civil War this proved to be a wise provision, for had Congress been without this power there would have been no money to carry on the war, and we might not today have been living in a republic.

"(3) To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes."

This means to make the rules that must be followed by other nations who enter our ports. You remember reading in your history that, during the Confederation, foreign nations placed such restrictions as they pleased on our commerce, but Congress had no power to do the same with them, and hence we were at the mercy of those foreign nations.

"(4) To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States." If Congress had not this power each state might have a different law which would oftentimes cause trouble.

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

If money was not of the same value all over the country there would be constant confusion. If the weights and measures were not uniform, one state might call ten ounces a pound, and another state might call twenty ounces a pound, which, of course, would be a very foolish and confusing condition of things.

"(6) To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States."

A man guilty of counterfeiting the securities and moneys of the United States commits an offence, not against any one state, but against the government; hence it is right that the government should have the power to provide for his punishment.

"(7) To establish post-offices and post-roads."

A post-road is one over which the mail is carried; all railroads are post-roads.

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

This means to grant copyrights and patents. The power is given to Congress in order that the copyright or patent may be as good and binding in one state as another. [By a copyright an author is given the sole right to print and sell his work in the United States for a period of twenty-eight years, at the end of which time he can have it continued fourteen years longer.]An inventor's patent secures to him the sole right to make, use, or sell his invention in the United States for a period of seventeen years, and, if renewed, for the additional period of seven years.

"(9) To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

"(10) To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

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

If a citizen of the United States should be guilty of piracy or felony, foreign countries would hold the general government responsible for it, and not any one state: therefore the government should have the power to punish such offences.

To grant letters of marque and reprisal is to grant commissions to citizens to seize the property of an enemy at war. If individuals were to do this of themselves they could, if captured, be treated as pirates. But if they have these letters of marque and reprisal they must, if captured by the enemy, be treated as prisoners of war.

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

"(13) To provide and maintain a navy.

"(14) To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

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

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

Dr. Joseph Alden says, when writing of the above powers of Congress: "Under the Confederation, Congress had no power to raise armies. It had power simply to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota. It was the duty of each state to furnish its quota. Experience proved that the system was miserably inadequate."

If Congress had not power to organize, arm, and discipline the militia, it would be necessary to keep a standing army, which would be a great expense to the government.

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

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

This has reference to the District of Columbia in which Washington, the capital of the United States, is situated, and all other property owned by the government. In order that Congress may be independent, it is necessary that it should possess supreme authority over the place of its sessions.

At one time the Congress of the Confederation, during its meetings in Philadelphia, was surrounded by a mob of mutineers from the Continental army, who were angry because they had not received any pay for several months.

The governor of the state was so tardy about taking any steps to defend Congress that it adjourned to Princeton, N. J. Had Congress had the power then over its place of meeting that it now has, the mutineers would have been quelled at once.

Chapter 10
What Congress and the States Cannot Do

In this country we have what is called the writ of habeas corpus.[1] It is to prevent unjust imprisonment. If a man is arrested and placed in prison, a writ of habeas corpus may be sued out before a legal judge. The judge, by the "writ of habeas corpus" orders that the arrested man be brought before him. The man who caused the arrest must then show good reason for it, or the person accused is discharged.

Notice the following important clause of the Constitution, —

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

This is a law of which every American should be proud. In some countries men have been kept in prison year after year until they have sickened and died with broken hearts, when there was no just cause why they should have been imprisoned at all.

Again, —

"No bill of attainder or ex post-facto law shall be passed."

A bill of attainder is an act of the legislature inflicting the punishment of death, without trial, upon persons supposed to be guilty of high crimes. What a fearful law this is! Many men

[1] These are two Latin words which mean, "you may have the body."

have been made to suffer by it. No such bloody deeds can be done in the United States, and ours is the first government

prohibiting acts of attainder. My young Americans, are you not proud of our noble old forefathers?

An ex post-facto[1] law is one which renders an act punishable after it was done, which was not punishable at the time it was committed.

When a law has been made, it should be published at once, that the people may know what it is. Not, however, as the Roman Emperor, Caligula, is said to have published his laws; (1) by having them written in very small characters and (2) by having them hung upon high pillars, so that he could ensnare the people, which by the way, he often did. In fact, so vile was he, that one historian has said that "his ferocious acts seem like the wild freaks of a madman." If the laws of this old tyrant were unjust, how much more so are those laws, that make an act punishable after the deed is done, that was not unlawful at the time it was committed.

For example, let us suppose that on August first, John Smith, while hunting, shoots a deer. After the shooting, a law is enacted making it unlawful to shoot deer on August first, when Mr. Smith is arrested and put into prison for having shot the deer. How wrong such an imprisonment would be, and how unjust the law that would make Mr. Smith's act a punishable one and yet there are countries that have had these ex post-facto laws. Our Constitution prohibits such injustice.

The following are wise provisions of the Constitution with reference to the several states,

"(1) No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

"(2) No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce o r revenue to the ports of one state over those of

[1] Meaning "after the deed is done."

another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another."

You remember how England passed a law during the colonial times, prohibiting the colonies importing anything whatever from any country in Europe, unless it was shipped from an English port and in an English ship.

Our forefathers, remembering this unjust law of England, determined that no such law should ever exist between the states. The different states are treated with equal justice.

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

This clause is for the purpose of protecting the public funds. Those who have charge of the moneys will be more careful if they know they must publish just how much money they have received, and how much paid out, and for what purposes.

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

In republics all men have equal rights. There should, then, be no titles of nobility. If foreign nations could confer titles of nobility on our officers, they might be offered sometimes as bribes.

You have learned that Congress is forbidden to pass certain laws; that prohibition would be of little use if the states were not also prohibited from passing them. You will notice that the following clauses of the Constitution make such prohibitions:

"(5) No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money;

emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

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

"(7) No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

Although the states are given the power to lay imposts, etc., it is impossible for them to abuse this power, as all such laws are subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

NOTE. The writ of habeas corpus is also used when a person is detained for any cause, though; perhaps, not under arrest or imprisoned. For example, John Doe has Richard Roe's boy in his possession and refuses to give him up. Mr. Roe's remedy is to sue out a writ of habeas corpus. Only judges of a Court of Record have the power to issue such writs.

Chapter 11
The Executive Department

Do you know that when your father votes, he does not vote directly for the President of the United States, but for men called electors, and these vote for the President? This method was planned by our forefathers, because they thought it would be a surer way of choosing one of the best citizens.

They thought that if the people of each state were to choose a number of the best citizens as electors, that these electors could meet and choose a President and Vice-President better than the people at large, and so the Constitution provides that, —

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

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

It is the duty of the President to execute the laws. The history of past nations shows that it is much better to have the executive power in the hands of a single person. Even some of our own states, during the Revolutionary War, gave the executive power into the hands of more than one person. By reading the history of Pennsylvania you will learn of the evils resulting from that plan.

[The President is elected for four years, but he can be re-elected as often as the people choose.] Washington, however, recommended that he never be elected for more than two terms. "The weakness and wickedness of man require that great power should not be in the same hands for any great length of time."

The last provision of this clause is also a wise one; for a man holding an office would be tempted to vote for one who would keep him in office. As it is, the electors have no interest of their own in choosing the President.

These are the rules laid down in the Constitution for the election, —

"(1) The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; the president of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states,

and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

"(2) [The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President,]if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

"(3) But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States."

This clause is not carried out as it was intended to be. For, you know, the people now nominate their candidates and vote for the electors, and these are expected to vote for their candidate. If, however, by any action of his own, a candidate proves himself unfit for this high office, the electors are under no obligation to vote for him.

You notice that, if the electors fail to elect a President the House of Representatives proceeds to elect one, because, the House of Representatives being the larger body of Congress, the choice comes more directly from the people. The privilege of electing the Vice-President, when the electors have failed to do so, is given to the Senate, because when elected he becomes their presiding officer.

According to the Constitution, —

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

And it also states that, —

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

Only American citizens of the United States can be elected President or Vice-President of the United States. The exception named in the Constitution was a compliment to those patriotic men who had labored for the country during the War of the Revolution. All of these men are now dead, and no one but a native-born citizen can be elected.

The Constitution requires that, —

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

For many years it was understood that if the President and Vice-President were both removed, by death or other cause, from the office of President, the president of the Senate pro tempore should act as President.

Five Presidents have died in office, viz.: Harrison, Taylor, Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley, and the following Vice-Presidents became Presidents, viz.: Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, Arthur and Roosevelt. More or less anxiety has always been felt

when a Vice-President becomes President, as all know it is possible for the Vice-President to die before his term of office expires.

Many people felt that it would hardly be just for the president of the Senate pro tempore to act as President because he might be of one party and the President might have been of another party. The people by their votes might have said they desired a change of party. By this act it was possible that there would be no change, therefore a new law has been made.

When a man is elected President of the United States, he appoints nine men of his party to aid him in executing the laws. These men are called the President's Cabinet, and are known as the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney-General, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture and of Commerce and Labor.

The President's Cabinet, consisting of able and well-known men, and being also of the same party as the President and Vice-President, it was thought no more than right that should the President and Vice-President both be removed from office by death or any other cause, the members of the Cabinet should be their successors. And, hence, according to law the first in order is the Secretary of State; the succession then passes from one member of the Cabinet to another in the following order: (1) Secretary of the Treasury; (2) Secretary of War; (3) Attorney-General; (4) Postmaster-General; (5) Secretary of the Navy; (6) Secretary of the Interior .

The Constitution next provides that, —

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

"(2) Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: —

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

This is a wise provision, as it renders the President independent of Congress. "If his salary could be increased, he might be tempted to conform to the wishes of the house to gain an increase of income. If his salary could be diminished, the house might use that power to make him subservient."

All of the Presidents up to the time of General Grant's second term received a salary of $25,000 a year. Since that time they have received $50,000 a year. [In 2010 the President receives $400.000 a year.]

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

The army and navy should be under the control of the President, because it is his duty to see that the laws are executed. If at any time force is required, he has the military power to assist him.

By the heads of departments are meant the members of the President's Cabinet. It was thought they would be more careful if obliged to give their opinions in writing.

It is possible for a man to be found guilty of a crime when he is innocent. If there was not any pardoning power there would be no way of righting an injustice.

If the President could pardon a man found guilty on impeachment, he might be tempted to favor his political friends, no matter what their political offence might be.

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

The power to make treaties is placed in the hands of the President because at all times he is familiar with foreign affairs. Then, oftentimes, it is well to maintain secrecy while making a treaty. This could not be done in large bodies. The President must act with care, as his treaties are not binding upon the United States till two-thirds of the Senate agree to them.

By ambassadors are meant ministers of the highest rank. They are sent by the government to represent it, and manage its interests at the court of some other government.

Consuls are agents for the government. They are sent to foreign countries to look after, and protect the rights, commerce, merchants, and government seamen, and attend to such other duties as may be given them.

These are important positions, and good men should be chosen to fill them. For this reason our forefathers thought best to place their appointment in the hands of the President of the United States and the Senate.

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

It was necessary to give this power to the President, in order that all of the departments of the government might at all times be in working order.

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

The information is given to Congress in the form of a written message and is called, "The President's Message."

At the time of the firing upon Fort Sumter the President of the United States convened Congress, which met and took action at once to defend the Union. Had the President not been given the power to convene Congress, there is no knowing what might have happened to our country.

Our forefathers thought it wise that some one person be responsible for the reception of ambassadors and other public ministers, and hence they designated the President as such person.

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

By this clause officers are plainly told upon what ground they may be impeached. This was in order that no officer should be impeached by an ex post-facto law.

In England, the king is the executive. "He appoints his ministers, who perform all executive acts in his name, and are responsible to the nation. It is a maxim of the English Constitution that 'the king can do no wrong; but if his ministers do wrong" (even though they act to please the king) "they cannot plead the king's commands in justification" but are held responsible to the country themselves.

You may have heard people say that it is bad for our country to have a change in administrators so often, meaning every four years. Just notice carefully what is to follow, and you will learn how much better off our country is, in this respect, than England." The ministers are termed the administrators in England. The character of the administration depends upon the character of the majority of the House of Commons. If a majority of the House are Whigs, [1] the administration will be a Whig administration; that is, the king will send for a leading Whig statesman, and tell him to form an administration. He selects such men for his associates as he thinks best, and they are appointed by the king. The person who forms the administration is called the Prime Minister, and selects his office, commonly that of the first Lord of the Treasury.

"The cabinet, or cabinet-council, consists of such of the prominent ministers as are more immediately in the confidence of the king, who are summoned to consult upon executive matters.

"If, while a Whig ministry is in power, the political character of the House of Commons should change, and a majority

[1] The Whigs are those who advocate popular rights. The Tories are those who support the king in his high claims.

become Tories, one of two things would take place. The ministers would resign and a Tory administration be formed, or Parliament would be dissolved and a new election held. If, in the new Parliament, the majority were Whigs, the ministers would remain in office; if not, they would resign. Thus, while the ministers are said to hold office at the will of the king, they really hold office at the will of the majority in the House of Commons. Changes in the administration are consequently more frequent in England than in the United States."

Chapter 12
The Judicial Department

We are now to learn of the most important department, the judicial.

The Congress makes the laws, the judiciary department interprets and applies those laws. The rights of the people then depend more upon the ability and honesty of the judges than upon any other department of the government. There can be no prosperity in a government where justice is not to be had. The judiciary department has the administering of justice in its hands. Our forefathers knew this, and for that reason they were careful to make the judicial an able and independent department, and hence provided that, —

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

You learn from this clause how the judges are made independent of all political parties. Their office depends on their own good behavior. As long as they are honest and upright there is no earthly power that can remove them. If they are not honest and upright, they can be impeached by the House, and, after trial by the Senate, can be removed from office. Another wise provision is that which says their compensation, i.e. their salary, cannot be diminished during their continuance in office, so there is no temptation for Congress to try to starve them to do as they might desire them. You remember that in the colonial

times the judges held their offices at the will of the king. This is yet true in many monarchial governments. It is a sad condition of things, and we should all be thankful that our forefathers showed such wisdom when forming this portion of our Constitution.

The Supreme Court of the United States is composed of one chief-justice, and eight associate justices. The chief-justice receives a salary of $10,500 a year, and the associate justices receive each $10,000 a year.

The other officers of the national courts are the attorney-general, the district-attorneys, the marshals, and the clerks, each of whom has his own particular duties to perform.

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

You notice by this clause that the United States courts have jurisdiction in nine subjects.

Suppose a state should coin some money, and put it into circulation. A buys goods of B and offers him some of the coin in payment for the goods. B refuses to take it. A refuses to give any other money. B brings suit to recover his debt, and the state courts decide against B. He would then appeal to the United States court. This court would decide that the state law making the coin lawful money was unconstitutional, and therefore null and void. This would be a case arising under the Constitution.

Again, suppose a man from our country goes to England, and on his return endeavors to smuggle some goods. The goods are seized and kept by the government. This would be a case arising under the laws of the United States.

"Again, suppose a treaty existed between Great Britain and the United States, in which the latter engaged to prohibit the exportation of arms to Ireland. A citizen of New York is detected shipping arms to Ireland. He is arrested and tried by the United States court, and punished." This would be a case arising under a treaty made.

Again, if an ambassador or any other public minister or consul should be sent to this country from some foreign country, he would not be subject to our laws, but to the laws of his own country. There are laws of nations, however, to which all countries are alike subject. If any judicial question affecting an ambassador, consul, or minister should arise, it would be brought before the United States court. This would be a case arising under those affecting ambassadors, etc.

Again, if the United States was at war with another country, and a vessel of the United States captured a vessel at sea which was thought to belong to the enemy, but claimed that it did not. the United States court would decide the question. This would be a case arising under the admiralty.

Again, a railroad buys some land of the United States and fails to pay for it. The United States can bring a suit against the railroad corporation, and compel the payment. This is necessary in order that the government may protect its rights.

Two states may be having a controversy about their boundary lines. In order that a settlement may be had, one state sues the other in the United States court, where the question is finally settled.

From these explanations you will have an idea of the authority or commission of the United States court.

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

By original jurisdiction is meant that in which a suit originates or commences. By appellate jurisdiction is meant that to which the decision of an inferior court is taken on appeal. You will notice there are only a few cases in which actions can be commenced in the Supreme Court, i.e. those that hive at first to do with the general government. The principal business of this court is to review cases that have been tried in lower courts. When the Supreme Court decides a case, then it can go no farther. Both parties must be content.

"(4) The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed."

No man can be convicted unless all of the jurors agree that he is guilty.

It is right that a man be tried in the state where the crime is committed. Otherwise, a poor man in New Jersey might be sued by a rich man, and the suit might be taken to California. The accused might not be able to secure the attendance of his witnesses, and thus be unable to defend himself.

Our forefathers were no respecters of persons. " All men are created equal" was their doctrine, and they so framed the constitution that every word in it is not for any particular class, but for all alike.

Chapter 13
Miscellaneous Provisions

When reading the history of England and other foreign countries, we are made to shudder at the acts of some of the old rulers. Many times people have been accused of treason for a great variety of acts. When a man did anything to displease a ruler, it was a common thing to charge him with treason, and then convict him, and next, to punish him according to law. This punishment was often fearful. (1) The offender was dragged to the gallows. (2) He was hanged by the neck, but was cut down while alive. (3) His entrails were taken out and burned while he was living. (4) His head was cut off. (5) His body was divided into four parts. (6) These four parts were then given to the king to do as he saw fit with them.

Our forefathers knew of all these things, and hence they thought best to have it understood just what treason against the United States is; therefore the Constitution says, —

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

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

Sometimes men were tortured until they confessed they were guilty of treason. Then they were convicted and dealt with as described. In our country a confession in open court can be taken as testimony against a man, or there must be at least two

witnesses to prove him guilty of treason before he can be convicted.

Congress has made a law that a person guilty of treason shall be put to death by hanging.

By corruption of blood a person is disabled from inheriting lands from an ancestor; nor can he either retain those in his possession, or transmit them by descent to his heirs. That is, B is convicted of and punished for treason. A, who is B's father, is worth a large property. After B is punished by being hung, A dies. Then C and D, who are the children of B, cannot inherit their grandfather's property because their father was hanged for treason. Think of living in a country where anything so unjust is lawful! Our forefathers prevented any such innocent suffering in our country by adding this wise provision to the Constitution: "No attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted."

In order that each state could have full faith in each of the other states our forefathers provided that, —

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

This means that each state must have full faith in each of the other states; then if a case has been tried in one state and an attempt is made to bring the same matter into the court of another state, the person who was sued may procure the record of the former trial, and that will put an end to the proceedings.

"(2) The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

"(3) A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state

from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime."

If it were not for this clause a person might commit some crime in one state, and then flee to another state, where he would be free. The dishonest men of our country now flee to Canada. It being a foreign country, they cannot there be arrested by us (certain crimes excepted).

"(4) New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

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

The first clause is just, as Congress should determine what states are to make up the government over which it is to have charge.

Had not Congress any power over the territories they might be in the hands of lawless men in a very short time. In each territory there is a governor appointed by the President of the United States and the Senate; a legislature, which is chosen by the people; and one or more judges, appointed by the President of the United States and Senate.

Each territory has the right to choose a man as a delegate, who has a seat in the House of Representatives, and can take part in debates relating to the territory, but is not entitled to a vote.

That each state may feel that it is protected against foreign and domestic foes, —

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

All of the states are here bound to help, protect, and defend each and every state in time of need.

"(7) The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

This was a wise clause. Had there been no provisions for amendments, the Constitution would have been faulty; because it has been necessary to add fifteen of them, as you will see in a future chapter.

"(8) All debts contracted 1 and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation."

Here our noble old forefathers showed their honesty of purpose. They might have ignored any debts of the Confederation by assuming that it was a government of the past, and therefore had nothing in common with the present government. They were, however, too noble to take any such action.

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

After reading this clause there can be no doubt that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land.

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

There had been too much suffering, both in England and in this country, on account of religious persecution, for our forefathers to forget this clause when framing the Constitution.

Chapter 14
The Amendments

You remember learning in your history of the persecutions to which the people of the colonies were subjected. It is not surprising then that when the first Congress met the people insisted on some amendments being made to the Constitution; because it was generally felt that the Constitution did not sufficiently protect the rights of the people. They wished to be secured certain rights beyond the possibility of being encroached upon by Congress. The following ten articles of amendments were made during the first session of the first Congress under the Constitution: —

"ARTICLE I.

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

"ARTICLE II.

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

"ARTICLE III.

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

"ARTICLE IV.

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

"ARTICLE V.

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

"ARTICLE VI.

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

"ARTICLE VII.

"In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

"ARTICLE VIII.

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

"ARTICLE IX.

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

"ARTICLE X.

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

There is no country in the world that furnishes greater security for personal liberty than is furnished by these provisions in our Constitution.

The things that are forbidden in them have often taken place in other countries. Our forefathers, knowing that human nature is the same in all ages, were determined they should never lawfully take place in our country.

During the Civil War, you remember, President Lincoln abolished slavery. It was necessary, however, for Congress to amend the Constitution, so as to sanction the act. Therefore, in December, 1865, the following amendment was adopted, —

"ARTICLE XIII.

"(1) Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

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

In 1868 another amendment was adopted which reads as follows, —

"ARTICLE XIV.

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

Still another section was added for the purpose of declaring how the representatives should be apportioned among the states, and also to protect the freedmen. It reads as follows, —

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

It was thought best to punish in some way those men who had once been in Congress, and at the opening of the Civil War, took part against the government. The following section was adopted for that purpose,

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

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

Notice the last sentence in this clause. It shows you how willing one American is to overlook the faults of another if he shows he is sorry for what he has done. "Forgive, if ye wish to be forgiven."

In order that there should never be any question as to the payment of any loss to those who fought against the government, and also no questions as to the rights of every citizen, white or black, to vote, Congress adopted the fol lowing,

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

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

"ARTICLE XV.

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

"(2) The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

These are all the amendments that have as yet been added to the Constitution, excepting the XI. and XII. It was adopted in 1804 and is a great improvement on the original clause. Look up the original and see if you do not think so.

The eleventh amendment was adopted in 1798 as a restriction upon the judicial power. It reads as follows:

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

Chapter 15
Conclusion

We said we hoped to make you understand why our form of government is the best in the world. Have we not done so? We have no Ivan who can murder his subjects and go ' unpunished. We have no King John who can imprison us at his will or murder innocent little boys. We have no Queen Elizabeth to dictate how we shall worship the ever-living and true God. None such are found in this glorious republic in which the supreme power is vested in the people. 'We have a government so organized that its rulers cannot, for any length of time, materially err. We have a Constitution which is acknowledged by all to be a masterpiece. With the most of this Constitution you are now familiar. In the last pages of any good United States History are to be found all of the clauses of the Constitution in regular order. These, it is hoped, you will carefully read, as you can now do so understandingly.

And now, my young friends, we desire to impress upon you this solemn truth. The good or evil of this model country is in your hands. Only a few years must pass before all who are now occupying the positions of trust and honor will be no more, and you are to fill their places. The boys of today are to be the men of twenty years hence. Are you going to be ready? Will you see to it that only honest, upright men are placed in office? If so, you will hold the Union where you find it, the best government in the world.

Be always true to God, your country, your neighbor, and yourself. You will thus "be prepared for death, and life or death will thereby be the sweeter."

Can you not now appreciate our national hymn as you never have before?

1. My country, 'tis of thee,
   Sweet land of liberty,
   Of thee I sing:
   Land where my fathers died,
   Land of the pilgrims' pride,
   From every mountain side,
   Let freedom ring !
2. My native country, thee –
   Land of the noble free
   Thy name I love:
   I love thy rocks and rills,
   Thy woods and templed hills;
   My heart with rapture thrills
   Like that above.
3. Let music swell the breeze,
   And ring from all the trees
   Sweet freedom's song!
   Let mortal tongues awake;
   Let all that breathe partake;
   Let rocks their silence break,–
   The sound prolong
4. Our fathers' God, to thee,
   Author of liberty,
   To thee we sing:
   Long may our land be bright
   With freedom's holy light;
   Protect us by thy might,
   Great God, our King !

S. F. SMITH.

Amendment.XV..

Passed by Congress February 26, 1869. Ratified February 3, 1870.

SECTION 1.

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

SECTION 2.

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

Amendment.XVI..

Passed by Congress July 2, 1909. Ratified February 3, 1913.

(Note: Article I, Section 9 of the Constitution was modified by the 16th Amendment.)

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

Amendment.XVII..

Passed by Congress May 13, 1912. Ratified April 8, 1913.

(Note: Article I, Section 3 of the Constitution was modified by the 17th Amendment.)

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

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

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

Amendment.XVIII..

Passed by Congress December 18, 1917. Ratified January 16, 1919. Repealed by the 21st Amendment, December 5, 1933.

SECTION 1.

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

SECTION 2.

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

SECTION 3.

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

Amendment.XIX..

Passed by Congress June 4, 1919. Ratified August 18, 1920.

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

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

Amendment.XX..

Passed by Congress March 2, 1932. Ratified January 23, 1933.

(Note: Article I, Section 4 of the Constitution was modified by Section 2 of this Amendment. In addition, a portion of the 12th Amendment was superseded by Section 3.)

SECTION 1.

The terms of the President and the Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SECTION 2.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 3.

If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case

wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

SECTION 4.

The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

SECTION 5.

Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

SECTION 6.

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Amendment.XXI..

Passed by Congress February 20, 1933. Ratified December 5, 1933.

SECTION 1.

The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

SECTION 2.

The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of

intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 3.

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

Amendment.XXII..

Passed by Congress March 21, 1947. Ratified February 27, 1951.

SECTION 1.

No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

SECTION 2.

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

Amendment.XXIII..

Passed by Congress June 16, 1960. Ratified March 29, 1961.

SECTION 1.

The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

SECTION 2.

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

Amendment.XXIV..

Passed by Congress August 27, 1962. Ratified January 23, 1964.

SECTION 1.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay poll tax or other tax.

SECTION 2.

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

Amendment.XXV..

Passed by Congress July 6, 1965. Ratified February 10, 1967.

(Note: Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution was modified by the 25th Amendment.)

SECTION 1.

In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

SECTION 2.

Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

SECTION 3.

Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

SECTION 4.

Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the

Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Amendment.XXVI..

Passed by Congress March 23, 1971. Ratified July 1, 1971.

(Note: Amendment 14, Section 2 of the Constitution was modified by Section 1 of the 26th Amendment.)

SECTION 1.

The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

SECTION 2.

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

Amendment.XXVII..

Originally proposed Sept. 25, 1789. Ratified May 7, 1992.

No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened.

Thoughts From Our Founding Fathers

John Adams

It should be your care, therefore, and mine, to elevate the minds of our children and exalt their courage; to accelerate and animate their industry and activity; to excite in them an habitual contempt of meanness, abhorrence of injustice and inhumanity, and an ambition to excel in every capacity, faculty, and virtue. If we suffer their minds to grovel and creep in infancy, they will grovel all their lives. *John Adams, Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law , 1756*

The right to freedom being the gift of God Almighty, it is not in the power of Man to alienate this gift, and voluntarily become a slave. *John Adams, Rights of the Colonists, 1772*

But a Constitution of Government once changed from Freedom, can never be restored. Liberty, once lost, is lost forever. *John Adams, letter to Abigail Adams, July 17, 1775*

If the people are capable of understanding, seeing and feeling the differences between true and false, right and wrong, virtue and vice, to what better principle can the friends of mankind apply than to the sense of this difference? *John Adams, the Novanglus, 1 775*

Public virtue cannot exist in a nation without private, and public virtue is the only foundation of republics. There must be a positive passion for the public good, the public interest, honor, power and glory, established in the minds of the people, or there can be no republican government, nor any real liberty: and this public passion must be superior to all private passions. *John Adams, letter to Mercy Warren, April 16, 1776*

The only foundation of a free Constitution, is pure Virtue, and if this cannot be inspired into our People, in a great

Measure, than they have it now, they may change their Rulers, and the forms of Government, but they will not obtain a lasting Liberty. *John Adams, letter to Zabdiel Adams, June 21, 1776*

A constitution founded on these principles introduces knowledge among the people, and inspires them with a conscious dignity becoming freemen; a general emulation takes place, which causes good humor, sociability, good manners, and good morals to be general. That elevation of sentiment inspired by such a government, makes the common people brave and enterprising. That ambition which is inspired by it makes them sober, industrious, and frugal. *John Adams, Thoughts on Government, 1776*

Each individual of the society has a right to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property, according to standing laws. He is obliged, consequently, to contribute his share to the expense of this protection; and to give his personal service, or an equivalent, when necessary. But no part of the property of any individual can, with justice, be taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or that of the representative body of the people. In fine, the people of this commonwealth are not controllable by any other laws than those to which their constitutional representative body have given their consent. *John Adams, Thoughts on Government, 1776*

Fear is the foundation of most governments; but it is so sordid and brutal a passion, and renders men in whose breasts it predominates so stupid and miserable, that Americans will not be likely to approve of any political institution which is founded on it. *John Adams, Thoughts on Government, 1776*

If there is a form of government, then, whose principle and foundation is virtue, will not every sober man acknowledge it better calculated to promote the general happiness than any other form? *John Adams, Thoughts on Government, 1776*

It is the duty of all men in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshiping God in the manner most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or for his religious profession or sentiments; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship. *John Adams, Thoughts on Government, 1776*

I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, natural history and naval architecture, navigation, commerce and agriculture, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture, statuary, tapestry, and porcelain. *John Adams, letter to Abigail Adams, 1780*

Children should be educated and instructed in the principles of freedom. *John Adams, Defense of the Constitutions, 1787*

We have no government armed with power capable of contending with human passions unbridled by morality and religion. Avarice, ambition, revenge, or gallantry, would break the strongest cords of our Constitution as a whale goes through a net. Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other. *John Adams, Address to the Military, October 11, 1798*

Remember democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts, and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide. *John Adams, letter to John Taylor, April 15, 1814*

But what do we mean by the American Revolution? Do we mean the American war? The Revolution was effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people; a change in their religious sentiments, of

their duties and obligations... This radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people was the real American Revolution. *John Adams, letter to H. Niles, February 13, 1818*

Benjamin Franklin

That wise Men have in all Ages thought Government necessary for the Good of Mankind; and, that wise Governments have always thought Religion necessary for the well ordering and well-being of Society, and accordingly have been ever careful to encourage and protect the Ministers of it, paying them the highest public Honors, that their Doctrines might thereby meet with the greater Respect among the common People. *Benjamin Franklin, On that Odd Letter of the Drum, April 1730*

Repeal that [welfare] law, and you will soon see a change in their manners. St. Monday and St. Tuesday, will soon cease to be holidays. Six days shalt thou labor, though one of the old commandments long treated as out of date, will again be looked upon as a respectable precept; industry will increase, and with it plenty among the lower people; their circumstances will mend, and more will be done for their happiness by inuring them to provide for themselves, than could be done by dividing all your estates among them. *Benjamin Franklin May 9, 1753*

They that can give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety. *Benjamin Franklin, Historical Review of Pennsylvania, 1759*

I am for doing good to the poor, but I differ in opinion of the means. I think the best way of doing good to the poor, is not making them easy in poverty, but leading or driving them out of it. In my youth I traveled much, and I observed in different countries, that the more public provisions were made for the poor, the less they provided for themselves, and of course

became poorer. And, on the contrary, the less was done for them, the more they did for themselves, and became richer. *Benjamin Franklin, On the Price of Corn and Management of the Poor, November 1766*

It is a common observation here that our cause is the cause of all mankind, and that we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own. *Benjamin Franklin, letter to Samuel Cooper, May 1, 1777*

Alexander Hamilton

To grant that there is a supreme intelligence who rules the world and has established laws to regulate the actions of his creatures; and still to assert that man, in a state of nature, may be considered as perfectly free from all restraints of law and government, appears to a common understanding altogether irreconcilable. Good and wise men, in all ages, have embraced a very dissimilar theory. They have supposed that the deity, from the relations we stand in to himself and to each other, has constituted an eternal and immutable law, which is indispensably obligatory upon all mankind, prior to any human institution whatever. This is what is called the law of nature.... Upon this law depend the natural rights of mankind. *Alexander Hamilton, The Farmer Refuted, February 23, 1775*

The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for, among old parchments, or musty records. They are written, as with a sun beam, in the whole volume of human nature, by the hand of the divinity itself; and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power. *Alexander Hamilton, The Farmer Refuted, February 23, 1775*

There is a certain enthusiasm in liberty, that makes human nature rise above itself, in acts of bravery and heroism. *Alexander Hamilton, The Farmer Refuted, February 23, 1775*

The fundamental source of all your errors, sophisms and false reasoning is a total ignorance of the natural rights of mankind. Were you once to become acquainted with these, you could never entertain a thought, that all men are not, by nature, entitled to a parity of privileges. You would be convinced, that natural liberty is a gift of the beneficent Creator to the whole human race, and that civil liberty is founded in that; and cannot be wrested from any people, without the most manifest violation of justice. *Alexander Hamilton, The Farmer Refuted, February 23, 1775*

Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice without constraint.*Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 15*

The natural cure for an ill-administration, in a popular or representative constitution, is a change of men. *Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 21, 1787*

The fabric of American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of the consent of the people. The streams of national power ought to flow from that pure, original fountain of all legitimate authority. *Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 22, December 14, 1787*

If the federal government should overpass the just bounds of its authority and make a tyrannical use of its powers, the people, whose creature it is, must appeal to the standard they have formed, and take such measures to redress the injury done to the Constitution as the exigency may suggest and prudence justify. *Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 33, January 3, 1788*

It might be demonstrated that the most productive system of finance will always be the least burdensome. *Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 35, 1788*

There is not sufficient virtue among men for self-government; and that nothing less than the chains of despotism can restrain them from destroying and devouring one another.

Alexander Hamilton and Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 55, February 15, 1788

Good constitutions are formed upon a comparison of the liberty of the individual with the strength of government: If the tone of either be too high, the other will be weakened too much. It is the happiest possible mode of conciliating these objects, to institute one branch peculiarly endowed with sensibility, another with knowledge and firmness. Through the opposition and mutual control of these bodies, the government will reach, in its regular operations, the perfect balance between liberty and power. *Alexander Hamilton, speech to the New York Ratifying Convention, June 25, 1788*

It is an unquestionable truth, that the body of the people in every country desire sincerely its prosperity. But it is equally unquestionable that they do not possess the discernment and stability necessary for systematic government. To deny that they are frequently led into the grossest of errors, by misinformation and passion, would be a flattery which their own good sense must despise. *Alexander Hamilton, speech to the Ratifying Convention of New York, June, 1788*

It was remarked yesterday that a numerous representation was necessary to obtain the confidence of the people. This is not generally true. The confidence of the people will easily be gained by a good administration. This is the true touchstone. *Alexander Hamilton, speech to the New York Ratifying Convention, June, 1788*

It will be of little avail to the people, that the laws are made by men of their own choice, if the laws be so voluminous that they cannot be read, or so incoherent that they cannot be understood; if they be repealed or revised before they are promulgated, or undergo such incessant changes that no man, who knows what the law is today, can guess what it will be tomorrow. *Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 62, 1788*

However weak our country may be, I hope we shall never sacrifice our liberties. *Alexander Hamilton, Report on a National Bank, December 13, 1790*

If it be asked, what is the most sacred duty and the greatest source of our security in a Republic? The answer would be an inviolable respect for the Constitution and Laws — the first growing out of the last.... A sacred respect for the constitutional law is the vital principle, the sustaining energy of a free government. *Alexander Hamilton, Essay in the American Daily Advertiser, Aug 28, 1794*

The instrument by which it [government] must act are either the authority of the laws or force. If the first be destroyed, the last must be substituted; and where this becomes the ordinary instrument of government there is an end to liberty! *Alexander Hamilton, Tully, No. 3, August 28, 1794*

Thomas Jefferson

The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them. *Thomas Jefferson, Summary View of the Rights of British America, August 1774*

Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves, therefore, are its only safe depositories. *Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, Query 14, 1781*

But of all the views of this law none is more important, none more legitimate, than that of rendering the people the safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberty. For this purpose the reading in the first stage, where they will receive their whole education, is proposed, as has been said, to be chiefly historical. History by apprising them of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the

experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views. *Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, Query 14, 1781*

And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever. *Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, Query 18, 1781*

It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigor. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its laws and constitution. *Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia Query 19, 1781*

Give up money, give up fame, give up science, give the earth itself and all it contains rather than do an immoral act. And never suppose that in any possible situation, or under any circumstances, it is best for you to do a dishonorable thing, however slightly so it may appear to you... From the practice of the purest virtue, you may be assured you will derive the most sublime comforts in every moment of life, and in the moment of death. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Peter Carr, August 19, 1785*

Cherish, therefore, the spirit of our people, and keep alive their attention. Do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they become inattentive to the public affairs, you and I, and Congress, and Assemblies, Judges, and Governors, shall all become wolves. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Edward Carrington, January 16, 1787*

The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions, that I wish it to be always kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong, but better so than not to be

exercised at all. I like a little rebellion now and then. It is like a storm in the atmosphere. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Abigail Adams, February 22, 1787*

Determine never to be idle. No person will have occasion to complain of the want of time, who never loses any. It is wonderful how much may be done, if we are always doing. And that you may be always doing good, my dear, is the ardent prayer of yours affectionately. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Martha Jefferson, May 5, 1787*

The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Edward Carrington, May 27, 1788*

I would rather be exposed to the inconveniencies attending too much liberty than those attending too small a degree of it. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Archibald Stewart, Dec 23, 1791*

This I hope will be the age of experiments in government, and that their basis will be founded in principles of honesty, not of mere force. *Thomas Jefferson, 1796*

Excessive taxation will carry reason & reflection to every man's door, and particularly in the hour of election. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to John Taylor, November 26, 1798*

I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Benjamin Rush, September 23, 1800*

To render us again one people acting as one nation should be the object of every man really a patriot. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Thomas McKean, 1801*

A wise and frugal government... shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the

sum of good government. *Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801*

The greatest good we can do our country is to heal its party divisions and make them one people. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to John Dickinson, July 23, 1801*

Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legislative powers of government reach actions only, and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should "make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," thus building a wall of separation between church and State. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to a Committee of the Danbury Baptist Association, Connecticut, January 1, 1802*

If we can prevent the government from wasting the labors of the people, under the pretense of taking care of them, they must become happy. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Thomas Cooper, Nov 29, 1802*

During the course of administration, and in order to disturb it, the artillery of the press has been leveled against us, charged with whatsoever its licentiousness could devise or dare. These abuses of an institution so important to freedom and science are deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as they tend to lessen its usefulness and to sap its safety. *Thomas Jefferson, Second Inaugural Address, December 9, 1805*

The care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only legitimate object of good government. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to The Republican Citizens of Washington County, Maryland, March 31, 1809*

In times of peace the people look most to their representatives; but in war, to the executive solely. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Caeser Rodney, February 10, 1810*

No one more sincerely wishes the spread of information among mankind than I do, and none has greater confidence in its effect towards supporting free and good government. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Trustees for the Lottery of East Tennessee College, May 6, 1810*

If we move in mass, be it ever so circuitously, we shall attain our object; but if we break into squads, everyone pursuing the path he thinks most direct, we become an easy conquest to those who can now barely hold us in check. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to William Duane, 1811*

An honest man can feel no pleasure in the exercise of power over his fellow citizens.... *Thomas Jefferson, letter to John Melish, January 13, 1813*

If a nation expects to be ignorant — and free — in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Colonel Charles Yancey, January 6, 1816*

To take from one, because it is thought his own industry and that of his fathers has acquired too much, in order to spare to others, who, or whose fathers, have not exercised equal industry and skill, is to violate arbitrarily the first principle of association, the guarantee to everyone the free exercise of his industry and the fruits acquired by it. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Joseph Milligan, April 6, 1816*

Enlighten the people, generally, and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like spirits at the dawn of day. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Dupont de Nemours, April 24, 1816*

We must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Samuel Kercheval, July 12, 1816*

I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform

their discretion by education. This is the true corrective of abuses of constitutional power. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to William Charles Jarvis, September 28, 1820*

If the present Congress errs in too much talking, how can it be otherwise in a body to which the people send 150 lawyers, whose trade it is to question everything, yield nothing, & talk by the hour? That 150 lawyers should do business together ought not to be expected. *Thomas Jefferson, Autobiography, 1821*

Were we directed from Washington when to sow, and when to reap, we should soon want bread. *Thomas Jefferson, Autobiography, 1821*

The germ of dissolution of our federal government is in the constitution of the federal judiciary; an irresponsible body, (for impeachment is scarcely a scarecrow) working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little today and a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief, over the field of jurisdiction, until all shall be usurped from the States, and the government of all be consolidated into one. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Charles Hammond, Aug 18, 1821*

It is the duty of every good citizen to use all the opportunities which occur to him, for preserving documents relating to the history of our country. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Hugh P. Taylor, October 4, 1823*

At the establishment of our constitutions, the judiciary bodies were supposed to be the most helpless and harmless members of the government. Experience, however, soon showed in what way they were to become the most dangerous; that the insufficiency of the means provided for their removal gave them a freehold and irresponsibility in office; that their decisions, seeming to concern individual suitors only, pass silent and unheeded by the public at large; that these decisions, nevertheless, become law by precedent, sapping, by little and little, the foundations of the constitution, and working its

change by construction, before any one has perceived that that invisible and helpless worm has been busily employed in consuming its substance. In truth, man is not made to be trusted for life, if secured against all liability to account. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Monsieur A. Coray, Oct 31, 1823*

I think we have more machinery of government than is necessary, too many parasites living on the labor of the industrious. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to William Ludlow, September 6, 1824*

Love your neighbor as yourself and your country more than yourself. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Thomas Jefferson Smith, February 21, 1825*

This letter will, to you, be as one from the dead. The writer will be in the grave before you can weigh its counsels. Your affectionate and excellent father has requested that I would address to you something which might possibly have a favorable influence on the course of life you have to run; and I too, as a namesake, feel an interest in that course. Few words will be necessary, with good dispositions on your part. Adore God. Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbor as yourself, and your country more than yourself. Be just. Be true. Murmur not at the ways of Providence. So shall the life into which you have entered be the portal to one of eternal and ineffable bliss. And if to the dead it is permitted to care for the things of this world, every action of your life will be under my regard. Farewell. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Thomas Jefferson Smith, February 21, 1825*

This was the object of the Declaration of Independence. Not to find out new principles, or new arguments, never before thought of, not merely to say things which had never been said before; but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent, and to justify ourselves in the independent stand we are

compelled to take. Neither aiming at originality of principle or sentiment, nor yet copied from any particular and previous writing, it was intended to be an expression of the American mind, and to give to that expression the proper tone and spirit called for by the occasion. *Thomas Jefferson, letter to Henry Lee, May 8, 1825*

James Madison

America united with a handful of troops, or without a single soldier, exhibits a more forbidding posture to foreign ambition than America disunited, with a hundred thousand veterans ready for combat. *James Madison, Federalist No. 14, November 30, 1787*

Happily for America, happily, we trust, for the whole human race, they pursued a new and more noble course. They accomplished a revolution which has no parallel in the annals of human society. *James Madison, Federalist No. 14, November 20, 1787*

They accomplished a revolution which has no parallel in the annals of human society. They reared the fabrics of governments which have no model on the face of the globe. They formed the design of a great Confederacy, which it is incumbent on their successors to improve and perpetuate. *James Madison, Federalist No. 14, November 30, 1787*

It is impossible for the man of pious reflection not to perceive in it [the Constitution] a finger of that Almighty hand which has been so frequently and signally extended to our relief in the critical stages of the revolution. *James Madison, Federalist No. 37, January 11, 1788*

Every man who loves peace, every man who loves his country, every man who loves liberty ought to have it ever before his eyes that he may cherish in his heart a due attachment to the Union of America and be able to set a due value on the

means of preserving it. *James Madison, Federalist No. 41, January 1788*

But the mild voice of reason, pleading the cause of an enlarged and permanent interest, is but too often drowned, before public bodies as well as individuals, by the clamors of an impatient avidity for immediate and immoderate gain. *James Madison, Federalist No. 42, January 22, 1788*

The operations of the federal government will be most extensive and important in times of war and danger; those of the State governments, in times of peace and security. *James Madison, Federalist No. 45, January 26, 1788*

If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place, oblige it to control itself. *James Madison, Federalist No. 51, February 8, 1788*

There are more instances of the abridgment of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations. *James Madison, speech to the Virginia Ratifying Convention, June 16, 1788*

Is there no virtue among us? If there be not, we are in a wretched situation. No theoretical checks, no form of government can render us secure. To suppose that any form of government will secure liberty or happiness without any virtue in the people, is a chimerical idea. If there be sufficient virtue and intelligence in the community, it will be exercised in the selection of these men. So that we do not depend on their virtue, or put confidence in our rulers, but in the people who are to choose them. *James Madison, speech at the Virginia Ratifying Convention, June 20, 1788*

There is not a more important and fundamental principle in legislation, than that the ways and means ought always to face the public engagements; that our appropriations should ever go hand in hand with our promises. To say that the United States should be answerable for twenty-five millions of dollars without knowing whether the ways and means can be provided, and without knowing whether those who are to succeed us will think with us on the subject, would be rash and unjustifiable. Sir, in my opinion, it would be hazarding the public faith in a manner contrary to every idea of prudence. *James Madison, Speech in Congress, April 22, 1790*

Where an excess of power prevails, property of no sort is duly respected. No man is safe in his opinions, his person, his faculties, or his possessions. *James Madison, essay in the National Gazette, March 27, 1792*

Government is instituted to protect property of every sort; as well that which lies in the various rights of individuals, as that which the term particularly expresses. This being the end of government, that alone is a just government which impartially secures to every man whatever is his own. *James Madison, Essay on Property, March 29, 1792*

The government of the United States is a definite government, confined to specified objects. It is not like the state governments, whose powers are more general. Charity is no part of the legislative duty of the government. *James Madison, speech in the House of Representatives, January 10, 1794*

Knowledge will forever govern ignorance: And a people who mean to be their own Governors, must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives. *James Madison, letter to W.T. Barry, August 4, 1822*

We are teaching the world the great truth that Governments do better without Kings & Nobles than with them. The merit will be doubled by the other lesson that Religion flourishes in

greater purity, without than with the aid of Government. *James Madison, letter to Edward Livingston, July 10, 1822*

The eyes of the world being thus on our Country, it is put the more on its good behavior, and under the greater obligation also, to do justice to the Tree of Liberty by an exhibition of the fine fruits we gather from it. *James Madison, letter to James Monroe, December 16, 1824*

The best service that can be rendered to a Country, next to that of giving it liberty, is in diffusing the mental improvement equally essential to the preservation, and the enjoyment of the blessing. *James Madison, letter to Littleton Dennis Teackle, March 29, 1826*

The essence of Government is power; and power, lodged as it must be in human hands, will ever be liable to abuse. *James Madison, speech in the Virginia constitutional convention, Dec 2, 1829*

It has been said that all Government is an evil. It would be more proper to say that the necessity of any Government is a misfortune. This necessity however exists; and the problem to be solved is, not what form of Government is perfect, but which of the forms is least imperfect. *James Madison, to an unidentified correspondent, 1833*

Thomas Paine

But where says some is the King of America? I'll tell you Friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Britain. . . let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America the law is king. *Thomas Paine, Common Sense, 1776*

Society in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer or are exposed to the same miseries by a government, which we might expect in a country without government, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer. *Thomas Paine, Common Sense, 1776*

The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. *Thomas Paine, Common Sense, 1776*

The reformation was preceded by the discovery of America, as if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety. *Thomas Paine, Common Sense, 1776*

The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. *Thomas Paine, Common Sense, 1776*

We have it in our power to begin the world over again. *Thomas Paine, Common Sense, 1776*

When we are planning for posterity, we ought to remember that virtue is not hereditary. *Thomas Paine, Common Sense, 1776*

I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. *Thomas Paine, The American Crisis, No. 1, December 19, 1776*

If there must be trouble, let it be in my day, that my child may have peace. *Thomas Paine, The American Crisis, No. 1, December 19, 1776*

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the

love and thanks of man and woman. *Thomas Paine, The American Crisis, No. 1, December 19, 1776*

Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. *Thomas Paine, The American Crisis, No. 1, December 19, 1776*

What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives every thing its value. *Thomas Paine, The American Crisis, No. 1, December 19, 1776*

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it. *Thomas Paine, The American Crisis, No. 4, September 11, 1777*

We fight not to enslave, but to set a country free, and to make room upon the earth for honest men to live in. *Thomas Paine, The American Crisis, No. 4, September 11, 1777*

I consider the war of America against Britain as the country's war, the public's war, or the war of the people in their own behalf, for the security of their natural rights, and the protection of their own property. *Thomas Paine, On Financing the War, 1782*

The times that tried men's souls are over– and the greatest and completest revolution the world ever knew, gloriously and happily accomplished. *Thomas Paine, The American Crisis, No. 13, 1783*

He that would make his own liberty secure, must guard even his enemy from oppression; for if he violates this duty, he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself. *Thomas Paine, Dissertation on First Principles of Government, December 23, 1791*

If, from the more wretched parts of the old world, we look at those which are in an advanced stage of improvement, we still find the greedy hand of government thrusting itself into every corner and crevice of industry, and grasping the spoil of the

multitude. Invention is continually exercised, to furnish new pretenses for revenues and taxation. It watches prosperity as its prey and permits none to escape without tribute. *Thomas Paine, Rights of Man, 1791*

A little matter will move a party, but it must be something great that moves a nation. *Thomas Paine, Rights of Man, 1792*

George Washington

Arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness. *George Washington, Circular to the States, May 9, 1 753*

Our cause is noble; it is the cause of mankind! *George Washington, letter to James Warren, March 31, 1779*

Happy, thrice happy shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous fabric of Freedom and Empire on the broad basis of Independency; who have assisted in protecting the rights of humane nature and establishing an Asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions. *George Washington, General Orders, April 18, 1783*

It is yet to be decided whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse: a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved. *George Washington, Circular to the States, 1783*

A people... who are possessed of the spirit of commerce, who see and who will pursue their advantages may achieve almost anything. *George Washington, letter to Benjamin Harrison, October 10, 1784*

The best means of forming a manly, virtuous, and happy people will be found in the right education of youth. Without this foundation, every other means, in my opinion, must fail.

George Washington, letter to George Chapman, December 15, 1784

We are either a United people, or we are not. If the former, let us, in all matters of general concern act as a nation, which have national objects to promote, and a national character to support. If we are not, let us no longer act a farce by pretending to it. *George Washington, letter to James Madison, November 30, 1785*

The foundation of a great Empire is laid, and I please myself with a persuasion, that Providence will not leave its work imperfect. *George Washington, letter to Chevalier de LaLuzeme, August 1, 1786*

It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God. George Washington, as quoted by Governor Morris in Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787, March 25, 1787*

It appears to me, then, little short of a miracle, that the Delegates from so many different States ... should unite in forming a system of national Government, so little liable to well founded objections. *George Washington, letter to Marquis de Lafayette, February 7, 1788*

I had always hoped that this land might become a safe and agreeable asylum to the virtuous and persecuted part of mankind, to whatever nation they might belong. *George Washington, letter to Francis Van der Kamp, May 28, 1788*

No country upon earth ever had it more in its power to attain these blessings than United America. Wondrously strange, then, and much to be regretted indeed would it be, were we to neglect the means and to depart from the road which Providence has pointed us to so plainly; I cannot believe it will ever come to pass. *George Washington, letter to Benjamin Lincoln, June 29, 1788*

No compact among men... can be pronounced everlasting and inviolable, and if I may so express myself, that no wall of words, that no mound of parchment can be so formed as to stand against the sweeping torrent of boundless ambition on the one side, aided by the sapping current of corrupted morals on the other. *George Washington, draft of First Inaugural Address, April 1789*

No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. *George Washington, First Inaugural Address, April 30, 1789*

The foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. *George Washington, First Inaugural Address, April 30, 1789*

The propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained. *George Washington, First Inaugural Address, April 30, 1789*

I have often expressed my sentiments, that every man, conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshiping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience. *George Washington, letter to the General Committee of the United Baptist Churches in Virginia, May, 1789*

It should be the highest ambition of every American to extend his views beyond himself, and to bear in mind that his conduct will not only affect himself, his country, and his immediate posterity; but that its influence may be co-extensive

with the world, and stamp political happiness or misery on ages yet unborn. *George Washington, letter to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, September 5, 1789*

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these states of worshiping Almighty God agreeably to their conscience, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights. *George Washington, to the Annual meeting of Quakers, September 1789*

Your love of liberty — your respect for the laws — your habits of industry — and your practice of the moral and religious obligations, are the strongest claims to national and individual happiness. *George Washington, letter to the Residents of Boston, October 27, 1789*

Knowledge is, in every country, the surest basis of public happiness. *George Washington, First Annual Message, January 8, 1790*

A good moral character is the first essential in a man, and that the habits contracted at your age are generally indelible, and your conduct here may stamp your character through life. It is therefore highly important that you should endeavor not only to be learned but virtuous. *George Washington, December 5, 1790*

The value of liberty was thus enhanced in our estimation by the difficulty of its attainment, and the worth of characters appreciated by the trial of adversity. *George Washington, letter to the people of South Carolina, Circa 1790*

In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened. *George Washington, Farewell Address, September 19, 1796*

No taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant. *George Washington, Farewell Address, September 19, 1796*

Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. *George Washington, Farewell Address, September 19, 1796*