



with liberty and  
justice for all

BY EDNA McGUIRE

*Bulletin 1948 No. 15*

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, Oscar R. Ewing, *Administrator*  
Office of Education . . . . . Rall I. Grigsby, *Acting Commissioner*

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT is never a finished product. It grows and improves on its own operations continuously. That is one of its strengths—that it constantly strives to clarify its philosophy and enhance its services. It is always heartening to review the dramatic stages through which our Government has risen to furnish leadership in world affairs and a beacon of hope to all freedom-loving peoples.

*Dean R. Ewing*

*Federal Security Administrator*

---

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE . . . WASHINGTON: 1949  
For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.  
Price 25 cents

# Contents

	Page
Foreword .....	iv
Preface .....	v
Unit I. English Colonists Plant the Seeds of Self-Government in America .....	1
SETTING: The Virginia Colony Is Settled .....	1
EPISODE 1. The First House of Burgesses Meets .....	2
SETTING: Plymouth Colony Is Settled .....	7
EPISODE 2. The Mayflower Compact Is Signed .....	8
APPLICATION: Boys and Girls Explore the Meaning of Self- Government .....	13
Unit II. Self-Government Is the Foundation of the Nation .....	15
SETTING: The English Colonists Become Americans .....	15
EPISODE 1. The United States of America Declare Them- selves to be Independent .....	17
SETTING: The New Nation Meets Difficulties .....	24
EPISODE 2. A Constitution Is Written and Adopted .....	25
APPLICATION: Boys and Girls Practice Self-Control .....	32
Unit III. Territories Are Prepared for Self-Government .....	35
SETTING: Western Lands Make New Problems .....	35
EPISODE 1. The Ordinance of 1787 Is Adopted .....	36
SETTING: Self-Government Follows the Flag .....	41
EPISODE 2. A Republic Is Born .....	42
APPLICATION: Boys and Girls Practice Self-Government in a Direct Democracy .....	45
Unit IV. Self-Government Strengthens Democracy At Home and Abroad .....	49
SETTING: The Welfare of the People Is Threatened .....	49
EPISODE 1. A Social Security Law Is Passed .....	51
SETTING: Democracy Is Challenged .....	55
EPISODE 2. The United States Works with Other Nations ..	58
APPLICATION: Boys and Girls Practice Self-Government Through a Representative Body .....	66
Conclusion .....	72
	iii

## FOREWORD

THE STORY of how democratic government came about in this country is a thrilling story indeed. It starts when people arrived on the shores of this new land, and continues down to today. No one person, no one group of persons, thought up the idea and the forms and practices that make democratic government. Many persons have shared; there have been long and thoughtful discussions; many hard problems have been worked on, and many courageous and unselfish things have been done to try to make self-government a reality.

To tell this story of people and events is the purpose of this bulletin. It is not an entirely new story to boys and girls. They know much of its factual background. The author has tried in a series of dramatic episodes to supplement what textbooks and reference books usually have space to present about the growth of democratic ideals. In these episodes, people live and work, argue and formulate opinions, plan and perfect their ideal of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." At the ends of chapters, there are suggestions of how to apply the principles of responsible self-government to our everyday affairs. If boys and girls get a clearer idea of the responsibility of each of us for making democracy live and grow, the bulletin will be serving its purpose.

BESS GOODYKOONTZ,  
*Director, Elementary Education Division.*



# Preface

## DEAR YOUNG AMERICANS:

You have given the pledge of allegiance to the flag many times. Again and again you have repeated its closing phrase, "with liberty and justice for all." But have you ever wondered *why* America stands for liberty and justice? Have you ever thought *how* it seeks to secure liberty and justice for all its citizens?

Our Nation stands for liberty and justice because it is pledged to the ideals of democracy. This means that our people accept certain beliefs. We believe (1) that all men should have equal opportunity and equal justice; (2) that all men have certain liberties that cannot be taken from them even by their government; (3) that the health, happiness, and well-being of each citizen in the Nation is important.

Our Nation seeks liberty and justice in many ways. Homes, schools, churches, and other organizations help to make liberty and justice more secure. But the final guarantee rests with the government. And this means that such guarantee really rests with the people. This is true because the citizens of the United States govern themselves.

Under the American plan of self-government citizens vote for their leaders or officials. The official who receives the largest vote is elected for a fixed term of office. But the people who do not agree with such an official still have the right to express their ideas. Officials are expected to work for the well-being of all the people. They are bound to respect the rights and liberties of all the people.

Self-government is based upon self-control. This means that each person—boy, girl, man, or woman—must be able to control his own conduct. It means that each person must be willing to put the well-being of the group in which he lives above his own desires.

Self-government is practiced in many groups. Its operation can be seen in clubs, classes, schools, churches, cities, States, and nations.

This bulletin tells how self-government developed in America. In its pages you will read how self-government began in colonial days. You will find that self-government was the foundation of our Nation. You will be proud of the manner in which our Nation prepared its territories for self-government. And, finally, you will discover the Nation working to win security and to strengthen democracy.

The publication also suggests how you may practice self-government in your own group. By doing so you will be using one of the most important principles of democracy in your daily lives.

THE AUTHOR



*First meeting of the assembly in Virginia*

*Courtesy, Library of Congress*

## UNIT I

### English colonists plant the seeds of self-government in America

#### *The Virginia Colony Is Settled*

**S**ELF-GOVERNMENT in America began in Virginia. The first settlers were sent to the colony in 1607 by the Virginia (later called London) Company. The King of England gave this English trading company the right to govern the colony. The company made the laws for the colony and appointed the officials who ruled it.

The settlers in Virginia had enjoyed certain rights of self-government in England. They wanted the same freedom in America. They asked the company to give them the right to help govern themselves.

After a few years the London Company made a plan which gave the settlers some rights of self-government. They set down the terms of the plan in a paper called a charter. Under this plan an assembly met in the colony. The assembly made laws to govern the colony, but these laws had to be approved by the London Company. The assembly also acted as a court to try persons accused of breaking the laws.



The assembly was made up of the governor, a council, and a group of men elected by the colonists. The elected members were called burgesses. Two burgesses were chosen from each of 11 settlements or boroughs in the colony. The governor and the 6 members of the council were appointed by the London Company.

The assembly of the Virginia Colony always had both appointed and elected members. But it came to be known by the name of its elected members, as the House of Burgesses.

The assembly met for the first time on Friday, July 30, 1619, at Jamestown, Va. That was an important meeting, for in it the seeds of self-government were planted in American soil.

As you read the story of the first assembly or House of Burgesses in Virginia, you should try (1) to see in your mind's eye the events that occurred; (2) to catch the feeling that ran through Jamestown when the assembly met; (3) to understand why that long-ago meeting is important to us today.



### *The First House of Burgesses Meets*

An air of excitement hung over Jamestown. Even the steaming July heat could not dampen the spirits of the men who poured into the settlement. They lined the main street, but the crowd was thickest around the steps of the church. Gentlemen planters elbowed carpenters and shoemakers. Freemen and bond-servants jostled each other.

A light breeze stirred the still air. It carried the faint clank-clank of swords. "There they come now!" a man called. He pointed a work-hardened hand at a procession moving slowly toward the church.

Every eye was turned on the procession. The men leaned forward to get a better view. A young lad scrambled up a tree to see over the heads of the crowd.

A company of gaily dressed guards marched at the head of the procession. In their hands the guards carried long-handled weapons called halberds. The shining metal, axlike heads of the halberds gleamed and glistened in the morning sun.

Behind the guards came Sir George Yeardley, Governor of the Virginia

<sup>1</sup> EXPLANATORY NOTE: All speeches assigned to real characters are either exact quotations or are based upon speeches that they made or views that they are known to have held. In many cases speeches are real except for the simplification of words. Exact quotations from statements, speeches, letters, or documents are set in italics.

[ ] Brackets are used where a word has been interpolated or substituted for a harder word.

( ) Parentheses are used to enclose synonyms used occasionally to explain a quoted word.

• • • Three asterisks are used to indicate omissions.

Colony. He moved with sober dignity, but his face lighted up at a shout from a roughly dressed man in the crowd.

"'Tis the Governor, God bless him! He knows the rights of Englishmen!"

Other voices took up the cry, "'Tis the Governor, God bless him!"

A planter in the crowd turned to a friend beside him. "'Tis indeed our good fortune to have Sir George come as governor. He understands the colony's needs."

"Yes," the friend agreed, "and he understands, too, that Englishmen will never be content when they have no voice in their own government."

The planter nodded. "Right you are. And this day when we begin to make our voices heard is a great day for Virginia."

The six members of the council followed Governor Yeardley. Each man wore a broad-brimmed hat, a black coat adorned with wide white collar and cuffs, and black knee breeches. Each had a sword hanging at his side. As the men marched the swords clank-clanked in their scabbards.

The burgesses walked two by two behind the members of the council. Some were dressed in sober black, but others wore the bright uniforms of English army and naval officers.

Three men who would serve the assembly brought up the rear. These were the clerk who would keep the records, the sergeant who would keep order, and the minister who would lead in prayer.

The guards cleared a passage through the crowd around the church door. Stepping to either side they formed a double line. Governor Yeardley passed between the lines and entered the church. The other men in the procession followed him. The crowd in the street pushed close to the armed guards. Some men leaned forward to peer into the open door.

Governor Yeardley took his usual place in the church. This was a great, thronelike chair at the front. It was here that the governor always sat for church services.

The members of the council seated themselves on either side of the Governor, except for John Pory. This member of the council sat in front of the Governor because he was to act as speaker for the meeting of the assembly.

The burgesses took their places. They sat in the seats occupied by the church choir on Sunday.

John Twine, the clerk, found his place beside the Governor. He sat at a small table which held writing materials. Thomas Pierce, the sergeant, stood near Sir George. The Rev. Richard Buck, minister of the Jamestown church, walked up the aisle and stood at the altar.

Quiet settled over the gathering. Through the open windows the odor of blooming Queen Anne's lace drifted into the church. Summer heat hung like a blanket over the assembly.

Governor Yeardley's calm voice broke the stillness. He called upon the Reverend Buck to lead the assembly in prayer. The minister lifted his hands.



The members rose to stand with bowed and uncovered heads while the minister prayed. Earnest, anxious words fell from the minister's lips as he asked God's favor upon the assembly.

"\* \* \* and guide us and bless all our acts to Thine own glory and the good of this colony," he prayed, in closing.

The members replaced their hats upon their heads. The governor instructed the burgesses to go into the main body of the church. They were seated there until they could, one by one, take a pledge of loyalty to the King. The pledge was called the Oath of Supremacy. It was required of each burgess before he could become a member of the assembly. By taking the Oath of Supremacy the burgess declared his loyalty to the King of England as head of the English Church.

The clerk called, "*For James City, Captain William Powell.*"

Captain Powell stepped forward. Lifting his right hand, he repeated the Oath of Supremacy.

John Pory, the speaker, rose. In solemn tones he said, "I do hereby declare Capt. William Powell, a burgess from James City, who has this day taken the Oath of Supremacy, to be a member of the General Assembly for the Virginia Colony."

One by one the 22 burgesses went forward to take the oath and be sworn in as members of the assembly.

When Thomas Davis from Martins Brandon presented himself, Governor Yeardley spoke:

"It is in order for us to examine the right of Thomas Davis, and likewise of Robert Stacy, to sit as members of this assembly. They are burgesses from Capt. John Martin's settlement. Captain Martin received a special favor when he was given a land grant. He and all the men who settle on his land are excused from obeying the laws of this colony. Since that is so I move that this assembly consider the right of Captain Martin's two burgesses to serve."

The other burgesses being sworn in, the governor's motion was considered. It was decided that Thomas Davis and Robert Stacy must withdraw until Captain Martin could appear before the assembly.

John Pory, the speaker, read to the members a statement of their duties. He also read the new charter which Governor Yeardley had brought from the company in London.

A burgess rose and said, "*I move that this charter be examined by committees from this assembly to see whether it contains any law that does press or bind us too hard.*"

The motion of the burgess was accepted and two committees were named to examine the charter.

The speaker announced a noon recess. Governor Yeardley led the assembly from the church. Men still lingered outside the door. They pressed forward now to speak with their friends among the burgesses.

The matter of seating Captain Martin's burgesses caused hot discussion.

"The governor is right to question seating Davis and Stacy," a planter declared. "If Martin and his settlers do not have to obey the laws, they have no right to help make them for others to obey."

"They've no right to special privileges in the first place," a stonemason grumbled.

"We can't take away their privileges. Those are stated in the paper that gave Martin the land," the planter explained. After a moment's thought he added, "But the assembly can ask Martin to give up his special favors. And if he isn't willing to do so, the assembly is not bound to let him and his settlers share the privilege of self-government."

"Indeed it is not!" a burgess exclaimed, "And when Captain Martin comes before us, we shall certainly point that out to him. Here in Virginia we should all share equally in the privileges and duties of citizenship."

The assembly met again in the afternoon. The sun beat down, shedding a torrent of heat over the little church. Governor Yeardley mopped his brow. John Twine grasped the quill pen with damp fingers. A burgess removed his broad-brimmed hat and used it for a fan. But at a frown from the speaker he clapped the hat back on his head again.

Sessions of the assembly were held on 5 days, with the members attending church on Sunday. The men sweated and grumbled at the heat. They battled flies and slapped the mosquitoes that bit their stocking-covered legs. Several members burned with fever or shook with chills as they suffered the illness so common in the new colony. Governor Yeardley and Speaker Pory were scarcely able to perform their duties. One burgess died.

Yet in spite of discomfort, illness, and death, the assembly did its work. It made more than 30 laws for the Virginia colony. It heard Captain Martin, and refused to seat the burgesses from his settlement because he would not give up his special privileges. It sat as a court and tried several men charged with law breaking. It heard the report of committees regarding the charter and prepared a letter to be sent to the London Company. And, finally, the assembly ordered every man in the colony to pay 1 pound of the best tobacco to the burgesses. The tobacco was to be divided among the speaker, clerk, and sergeant to pay them for their services.

Several of the laws passed by the assembly concerned the Indians. The settlers were forbidden to injure the red men or to treat them unfairly. They were also forbidden to give guns, shot, or dogs to the Indians. And they were warned against pressing the Indians to live and work among white settlers. Trading with them was regulated. Concern for the red men was shown by a law ordering each settlement to train a certain number of Indian children each year. These children were to be taught the Christian religion. They were also to be prepared to attend a school which the colonists hoped to have built for Indians.

The assembly made laws to regulate the way people behaved. Punishments



were fixed for those found guilty of idleness, drunkenness, gambling, swearing, and wearing costly clothing. The people were required to attend church twice every Sunday, and to take their guns with them.

Some laws were intended to help the colony grow and become richer. One such law required each man who had a house to plant and care for 6 mulberry trees, 100 flax plants, and 10 grape vines. Each man was also required, if he could secure seeds, to plant hemp and certain other plants.

Tradesmen were required to work at their own trades. The burgesses wished to prevent workmen from quitting their trades to grow tobacco. Many had done this because they could make more money as tobacco growers. But the burgesses thought that the colony needed carpenters, masons, hatters, and other tradesmen more than it needed tobacco growers.

A number of laws concerned matters of business and trade. These were intended to protect the interests of the colonists.

The fourth of August was a day of torrid heat. The weary, sweating burgesses brought their work to a close. Governor Yeardley fixed March 1, 1620, as the date for the next session, and declared the first meeting of the General Assembly of Virginia ended.

Twilight brought relief from the smothering heat of the day. Men came out of their houses to sit under the trees and enjoy the cool evening air. Talk turned to the meeting of the assembly.

"Will we be any better off under the new charter?" a young man asked.

"To be sure we will. We are helping to make our own laws now," another replied.

"Virginia has taken a great step forward," a third settler agreed.

A white-haired man knocked the ashes from his pipe. His eyes burned in his lined face. His voice was hoarse with feeling.

"You young chaps can't understand what this day really means," he stormed. "But I know. I came in 1607. I helped build the first house in Jamestown. I watched my friends die in the summer's sickness. I endured the terrible winter that is well named the 'Starving Time.' I lived under the company's harsh laws. I suffered cruel treatment because the colonists had no rights."

The man's voice broke. He sat with bent head, clasping and unclasping his hands. A silence lay on the little group under the trees. Far away in the woods a whippoorwill gave its mournful cry.

Presently the man looked up. He spoke again, in a calmer voice. "Yes, I know what this day means to Virginia. I know how precious is the right of self-government because I have lived without that right."

The man sprang to his feet. His lined face glowed. His voice rang out in a glad cry. "Praise God for the day when self-government began in America."



## *Plymouth Colony Is Settled*

English people were once required by law to worship in the Established Church of England. But some of the people did not accept the beliefs of this church. They wished to leave the Established Church and worship in their own way. They were called Separatists because they wanted to separate themselves from the Established Church. Each Separatist church chose its own minister and made the rules under which the church was governed.

The English officials arrested Separatists and broke up their meetings. Some of the group left England and went to Holland. There they were free to worship as they liked. But the language and ways of the country were strange. The Separatists were not entirely happy there either.

Tales about the wonders of America reached the little band of Separatists in Holland. They learned that an English colony had been planted in Virginia. They decided to settle a colony in America. They hoped that they could worship as they pleased in this colony.

The Separatists faced two difficulties in carrying out their plan. They had no permission to settle in America. They had no money with which to secure a ship and supplies. They sent John Carver and Robert Cushman to England to see what could be done.

The two agents met many disappointments. But after a time they secured permission for the Separatists to settle in America. The paper granting this right was called a patent. It allowed the Separatists to settle in the northern part of the Virginia Colony.

The agents also made a plan by which the Separatists could get to America. A group of men in London formed a company. Each man bought a share or put money into the business. This money was used to secure a ship and buy supplies for the Separatists. They in turn agreed to trade with the company and to divide any profits that they made with it.

The people who were going to America met at a seaport in England. A party of Separatists came from Holland. Their religious leader was Elder William Brewster. John Carver and certain other Separatists in England joined the party. Among the more able of the younger Separatists were Edward Winslow and William Bradford.

The company sent a number of men, some of whom took their families with them. These men were to engage in work that would make profits for the company. They were not Separatists. Among this group were Stephen Hopkins who had been to America before, and William Mullins, a merchant. Capt. Miles Standish was sent by the company to direct the defense of the colony. Among the passengers were also a number of servants and five men hired to do skilled work.

After several delays the party put out from Plymouth, England, on the



*Mayflower*. This ship set sail on September 6, 1620. It carried 102 passengers, as well as 30 or more seamen and ship's officers.

The voyage was long and hard. The passengers had no place to bathe or wash their clothes and very little place to cook. Storms rocked the *Mayflower*. Many passengers were seasick. All were soaked by the sea water that dashed over the deck and into the seams of the ship. A man was washed overboard and nearly drowned. Two men died and were buried at sea.

Those autumn days of 1620 were anxious ones for the little company on the *Mayflower*. Everyone on board watched for sight of land. Finally, on November 10, came the welcome cry, "Land, ahoy!" Joy ran through the ship. But no sooner had land been sighted than a fresh difficulty arose. This new trouble was so serious that it threatened the success of the whole undertaking.

As you read the story that follows you should try (1) to discover what the difficulty was, (2) to find how the leaders on the *Mayflower* overcame the difficulty, (3) to decide why their action, taken more than 300 years ago, is still important to us today.



### *The Mayflower Compact Is Signed*

Skipper Jones, master of the *Mayflower*, stood on deck, map in hand. John Carver was at his right elbow. William Bradford and Elder Brewster peered over his shoulder. Stephen Hopkins was planted firmly on the skipper's left. The men followed closely the ship master's moving finger as he pointed to the map. Behind the group other passengers crowded near to hear what the skipper had to say.

"This is a map of the Atlantic Coast," Skipper Jones explained. "Here is Virginia for which we were headed. But I have taken our position. I find we are too far north for Virginia. I conclude that the shore ahead of us there must be Cape Cod."

"Cape Cod!" Stephen Hopkins cried, "Why, sir, Cape Cod is far to the north of Virginia."

"Quite true," the ship's master agreed. "It lies in New England. That is well beyond the land granted to the Virginia colony."

John Carver looked at his companions. A troubled frown was on his face. "Our patent grants us the right to settle in Virginia," he said, "We have no permission to settle in New England."

Elder Brewster spoke up in a firm voice. "Our people need to make a landing. They are sick and weary. The feel of solid earth beneath their feet will give them new courage."

"Even so, I believe we must try to reach Virginia," John Carver replied.



***The Pilgrims Signing the Compact***

*Courtesy, Library of Congress*

"We have neither permission to settle here nor a plan of government under which to live."

"If we sail south along the coast we should soon reach Virginia," William Brewster suggested.

Skipper Jones shook his head. "You do not take account of the rough waters off these coasts," he said. "For 100 years explorers have been meeting trouble south of Cape Cod."

"But you will attempt to carry us through these waters, won't you?" John Carver asked.

"Yes, I'll head the *Mayflower* southward. But I warn you there are dangerous shoals and roaring breakers off these shores."

"Nevertheless we should make the attempt," Carver explained. "Then if we cannot reach Virginia we shall have to go ashore here. As Elder Brewster has said, our people have great need to make a landing."

The master of the *Mayflower* ordered the ship's course turned southward. The vessel headed into swelling, pounding waters. Anxious hours followed. The skipper and his officers stood at their posts, watching keenly every movement of the roaring sea. Passengers gathered in small knots talking of the new danger that faced them.

A group of servants clustered together on deck. Looking at the rough water, Edward Doty shook his head. "We'll never make it to Virginia through this



sea," he said. "I guess we're doomed to land on these northern shores."

"That may prove to be a better fate than you think," a lively young fellow replied. "It will be our good fortune if we do make a landing in New England rather than in Virginia."

"How could such a fortune favor us?" Doty asked.

The second man leaned toward his companion. "Have you not heard that the patent covers only a settlement in Virginia?" he whispered.

The other servants nodded.

"Then does it not follow that if we land in New England the patent will have no force?"

Again the men nodded.

"So in New England no one will have power to command us. We can use our liberty as we like. What think you of that?" The young man put his question with a chuckle.

For a minute no one spoke. Then an older servant said, "I think, my young friend, that you are talking dangerous nonsense."

"Nonsense indeed! When has any man spoken with more sense? I heard John Carver himself say that we would have no plan of government under which to live in New England."

"That's true," a quiet little man agreed. "I, too, heard the Separatist leader say as much."

The lively young servant clapped the little man on the back. "I'm glad to see one man not afraid of the truth!" he cried, "And every one of you that is bound by a contract to work as a servant should be rejoicing. Settlement in New England means liberty for you."

"You're a smart lad," Doty said. "But what will our masters say of such talk?"

"My master is a London man. He came out to make money for the company. He won't like losing my services. But what can he do about it? Without a government he can't hold me to my contract," the young servant boasted. He regarded his friends with a self-satisfied air.

After a moment the man added, "Of course my master can do as he pleases, too. Like as not he will be glad to be free of his contract with the company."

Nods and smiles greeted this speech. A husky young chap linked his arm in that of a friend and cried, "Huzza for New England, where we'll all do as we like!"

The *Mayflower* plunged on through ever rougher waters. With falling darkness the skipper spoke to John Carver. "Sir," he said, "I've done my best to take her through, but I dare not risk these waters in darkness. We'll lay to sea for the night. My advice is that with the morning light you permit me to take you round the tip of Cape Cod. We can find safe shelter in a harbor that lies there."

John Carver stood silent for a moment watching the gray Atlantic swells.

## Unit I

Then he faced the skipper. "I yield to your judgment. It may be God's will that we shall plant the first settlement in New England. If so He will show us how to make that settlement secure."

Word that a landing was to be attempted ran quickly through the ship. There was much rejoicing.

The bold talk of the servants soon became known. Word of it reached John Carver. Hastily he called the leading men of the Separatists together. They listened with grave faces to his report of the matter.

"Such talk threatens the very life of our colony," William Bradford said. "We can succeed only if we work together."

"And we can work together only when we have law that we all respect," Elder Brewster added.

"We cannot hope to keep order in the colony, if every man claims the right to do exactly as he pleases," John Carver said.

"We should arrest every man who repeats this dangerous talk," Edward Winslow cried. "We can hold such persons as prisoners on the ship."

William Bradford shook his head. "No," he said, "we must find a better way to meet the problem. When we make a landing we shall need the labor of every man. We can spare no one to lie idle in prison."

"Master Bradford is right," John Carver said. "We must have a plan of government for the colony and every man must agree to live under that plan."

"How can we make such a plan?" Edward Winslow asked.

"We can rely upon the Word of God," Elder Brewster replied.

"We Separatists make the rules by which our churches are governed. In the same way we can agree upon the laws by which our colony shall be governed," William Bradford said.

John Carver nodded his head. "Our plan of government must be a compact to which we all agree. Elder Brewster will you write such a compact for us?"

"With God's help, I will," the elder replied.

"Every man on board should sign the compact. By his signature he will show that he is willing to live under its terms," said William Bradford.

"Would you have servants sign?" Edward Winslow asked.

"Yes, servants, too. It is among them that this talk of living without control has been loudest," William Bradford answered.

"I shall summon all the men among the passengers to meet tomorrow morning in the ship's cabin. We will lay the compact before them. And we will expect every man to sign." John Carver's firm words closed the discussion.

The ship's cabin was crowded long before the hour set for the meeting. Hot words flew back and forth over the question of signing the compact.

The entrance of Elder Brewster and John Carver brought a sudden end to the argument. Carver took his place behind a table at one end of the cabin. The elder laid a paper before him. The Separatist leader took up the paper and faced the crowd of men. In a clear, strong voice, he read the compact.



No one spoke for a full minute after the reading was finished. Then William Mullins said, "We have no power granted by the King to set up a government."

"That is true," Carver replied. "But we have the power that is created when men agree to set up a government. The compact puts it thus, '*We whose names are underwritten . . . do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a body politic . . .*'"

"There's been much idle talk about liberty of late," Miles Standish said bluntly. Turning to Carver he added, "It may be well, sir, for you to read again that part that states why we are setting up a plan of government."

In slow, measured tones, John Carver read from the compact, "*. . . for our better ordering and preservation . . .*"

"I'll not say I'm against the plan," Stephen Hopkins blustered, "but I want to know exactly what we intend to do with this power we create."

"That's a fair question, Master Hopkins. And it's answered in the compact." Once more Carver read from the paper.

"*[We] do exact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony . . .*"

"What's to compel us to obey your laws when you make them?" growled Edward Doty.

John Carver looked sharply at the servant. "Your own honor will compel you to obey, once you have signed this compact. Give heed to its terms." Again he read,

"*. . . we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November . . . 1620.*"

The old Separatist laid the compact on the table. He dipped a quill pen into ink. With pen in hand he once more faced the men in the cabin.

"I shall now put my name to this compact. I call upon each of you to do the same. There can be no differences among us today. Separatists or men of the English Church, freemen or servants, we must all stand together. We must all be signers of this compact. It is the only guarantee that we shall have of law and order in the colony."

With a steady hand, the Separatist leader wrote beneath the compact, "*John Carver.*"

Young William Bradford took the pen from the older man. He wrote his signature beneath John Carver's.

One after another men stepped forward. Each added his name to the growing list of signatures.

Only the servants hung back. But finally Edward Doty seized the pen. A blush dyed his cheek as he signed his name. But when the act was completed he lifted his head and squared his shoulders. A new pride shone on his face,

Other of the servants followed his example and took their places among the 41 signers.

John Carver was at once elected governor of the colony. He was the first governor ever chosen by colonists in a free election.

The Mayflower Compact was the first written plan of government drawn up in America. Its signing was an important milestone on the road of self-government.



### *Boys and Girls Explore the Meaning of Self-Government*

On a crisp Saturday morning in October, Bill Burton hopped out of bed. He ran to the window and took a look at the gold and red leaves shining in the morning sunlight.

"Hurrah! What luck to have such weather for our hike," he cried.

Bill hustled into his clothes. He raced downstairs two at a time, and put his head in the kitchen door.

"Please hurry with breakfast, Mom," he begged. "You know this is the day the boy's club has its hike. I want to be off."

"Where are you going on the hike?" Bill's father asked.

"Some of the boys want to go to Smith Point, but the rest of us think Pine Grove would be better. We'll settle it when we meet to start the hike."

"Probably your club leader will settle it."

Bill looked at his father in surprise. "Oh, no, he won't," Bill said. "The leader doesn't decide things like that. We decide them ourselves. We like to manage our own affairs. We know the rules are fair if we make them. And besides, it's easier to obey rules that you have helped to make."

Bill and the other members of his club had discovered a very important secret. They had learned that they could manage their own affairs.

The process by which a group manages its own affairs is called self-government. It is a process that can be fitted to the needs of groups of any size. The dozen boys in Bill's club practiced self-government. The 140 million people in the United States practice self-government.

In order to practice self-government it is necessary to understand the nature of the process. Three important questions about the nature of self-government are answered in the following outline:

#### **I. WHO HAS THE POWER?**

1. The power lies in the people who consent to be governed.
2. Each person shares equally in this power.
3. Each person shares equally in the benefits and protection that the government offers its citizens.



- II. WHAT RESPONSIBILITY DOES EACH CITIZEN HAVE?
1. Each citizen must control his own actions.
  2. Each citizen must take part in the affairs of government rendering such service as is needed.
- III. HOW DOES A SYSTEM OF SELF-GOVERNMENT WORK?
1. A plan of government (usually written) is agreed to by all members (charter or constitution)...
  2. Officers are elected by vote of all members.
  3. Rules or laws are made:
    - (a) In a direct democracy by the members of the group.
    - (b) In a representative democracy by representatives who in turn were elected by the members of the group.
  4. An officer acts as head of the group for a fixed term (president, chairman, governor, leader.)
  5. Rules or laws are explained and enforced.
    - (a) Law-enforcing officers may be needed (police, sergeant at arms, sheriff).
    - (b) Courts may be needed.
    - (c) Punishment for breaking rules may be needed as part of the laws.
  6. Certain practices are accepted.
    - (a) The majority rules.
    - (b) The minority has a right to express its opinion.

The people who lived in the Virginia Colony did not have full powers of self-government. But their government did have some of the necessary features of self-government. Answering the following questions will help you to understand what those features were.

1. What was the written plan of government called?
2. Who made this written plan?
3. What officers were elected by the people?
4. How were the laws made?
5. How were the laws enforced?

The Separatists understood some very important facts about government. Because they did understand these facts they wrote the Mayflower Compact and had it signed. Answering the following questions will help you better to understand the nature of self-government.

1. Why would no one have power to command the servants if the Separatists landed in New England?
2. Why did the Separatist leaders want a compact?
3. How did they get a compact?
4. Why did they think it important to have every man sign the Mayflower Compact?
5. To what did the signers of the Mayflower Compact agree?
6. What important difference was there between the charter in Virginia and the Mayflower Compact?

Bill Burton belonged to a club that practiced self-government. Do you belong to any group that practices self-government? If you do, answer these three questions about your own group.

1. Who has the power?
2. What responsibility does each member have?
3. How does the plan of self-government work?



*John Hancock's Defiance*

## UNIT II

### Self-government is the foundation of the Nation

#### *The English Colonists Become Americans*

**T**HE FOUNDING of English colonies in America began at Jamestown in 1607. It continued for well over a hundred years. The English settlements stretched in a thin line along the Atlantic coast. Swedes and Dutch also made settlements on the coast. But in time their colonies passed under English control. Thus English rule was established from Spanish Florida in the South to French Canada in the North.

The English people had a long hard fight to secure the rights of free men. Little by little these rights were granted to them by their kings. Before America was settled they had gained some rights of self-government. When the colonists came to America they wanted to enjoy the same rights here.

The privilege that the colonists most valued was that of electing their own



lawmakers. This right, first established in Virginia, was gradually extended to other colonies. The right to vote for the lawmakers was often limited to those who owned property. In some colonies it was limited to those who belonged to a certain church. Even so, the election of a colonial assembly was a forward step. In the assembly the colonists gained practice in governing themselves.

Thirteen English colonies grew up on the Atlantic coast. At first the colonies did not work well together. But as the years passed, the colonies learned to unite their efforts for the common good.

The English Government believed that the colonies should help make England a rich and powerful nation. To further this end the English law-making body or Parliament passed a number of laws. These laws affected colonial business and trade very directly.

The colonists objected strongly to the laws for two reasons. The laws hurt business in the colonies. They also took away what the colonists thought were their rights as free men.

In 1763, England finished a series of long and costly wars. Though it had won the final victory England had a large war debt. The officials of the English Government decided on several new measures. These were intended to provide more money for the Government and to strengthen its power.

These measures took three forms. The trade laws were more strictly enforced. New taxes were laid. An army was kept in America. The colonists were required to provide food and shelter for the soldiers.

These new acts of Parliament made the colonists very angry. They were used to raising taxes by vote of their assemblies. They objected to Parliament laying taxes on the colonies. They said it had no right to do this because the colonists had no representative in Parliament.

The colonists protested the laws in various ways. In 1774 feeling was so far aroused against England that Massachusetts sent out a call for a meeting. Twelve colonies sent representatives in answer to this call. The body thus formed was known as the First Continental Congress. It met in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. For 7 weeks it considered the problems of the colonies. The members agreed to meet again, if there was need, in May 1775.

Before that time came, colonists had fallen under English bullets at Lexington, Mass. And in near-by Concord colonial fighters and English red coats had exchanged fire.

The Second Continental Congress met in the statehouse at Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. All of the Thirteen Colonies were represented.

Many wise and able men sat in the Congress. Among the members from Virginia were George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe, and Richard Henry Lee. John Adams and his cousin, Samuel Adams, were there from Massachusetts. So was John Hancock, who was chosen president of the Congress. Benjamin Franklin and John Dickinson were among the representatives for Pennsylvania. Roger Sherman came from Connecticut. Robert R.

Livingston was a representative from New York. Edward Rutledge was there from South Carolina.

The Congress made an effort to secure a peaceful settlement of difficulties. To this end it sent a statement to the King. But at the same time the Congress took steps to defend colonial rights. The Continental Army was established. George Washington was made commander in chief. He took command on July 3, 1775.

During the next year a very important change occurred in the colonies. When the struggle with England began most of the colonists wanted only to secure their rights. They had no thought of separating from England. But the King refused to receive the statement sent by the colonies. The Continental Army moved against the English. The colonies set up governments independent of Parliament and King. A fiery man named Thomas Paine wrote a paper called "Common Sense." In it Paine urged the colonists to break with the mother country. By the summer of 1776, talk of independence was widespread. English colonists had become Americans.

The day when the colonies declared themselves to be free and independent states was a time of great importance. As you read of the stirring events of that day and those that closely followed, you will want (1) to discover why these events were of great importance to the people then living in America; (2) to decide why these events are today important to all people everywhere; (3) to understand how the decision for independence is related to the growth of self-government in America.



### *The United States of America Declare Themselves To Be Independent*

Members of the Continental Congress were gathered in the east room of the statehouse. The 7th of June 1776 was a warm day in Philadelphia. The air in the well-filled room was close. Flies buzzed lazily overhead. The men shifted in their chairs.

A tall man rose. In his hand he held a sheet of paper containing a dozen boldly-written lines. Upon securing the right to speak, he faced his fellow members of the Congress.

Richard Henry Lee's rich voice rolled through the small room. He read from the paper.

*"Resolved: That these United Colonies are, and of right, ought to be free and independent States, that they are absolved (freed) from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the*



*Signing of the Declaration of Independence  
Painting by Howard Chandler Christie*

Courtesy, L

*State of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved."*

Lee paused in his reading and glanced at the other men. Every eye was on him. Every man was leaning forward in his chair. Not a person moved. A sound broke the stillness that had settled over the room.

The tall Virginian continued his reading. When he had finished there was a long moment of silence. Then, as at a signal, a murmur ran through the group.

"It has come at last," men said to their neighbors.

John Adams sprang to his feet. "Mr. President," he said, addressing him directly to John Hancock.

"Mr. Adams," The president of the Congress recognized the delegate from Massachusetts.

John Adams drew himself to his full height. Lifting his head he sent his voice ringing through the room. "*I second the resolution moved by the delegate from Virginia.*"

The president of the Congress put the matter before the body. It was decided that so important a matter should not be settled in haste. Discussion of the motion was put off until the following day.

Feeling ran high in the statehouse on Saturday, June 8. The men who sat in the Second Continental Congress were loyal Americans. They hated the laws which England had made to govern the colonies. They believed these laws to be unjust. But they did not agree as to the wisdom of declaring independence at this time.

All through the day the argument raged. John Adams and Richard Henry Lee pressed for a vote on the motion. Edward Rutledge led those who believed the time was not ripe for the colonies to break with England.

In a voice charged with feeling Rutledge addressed his fellow members. "

declaration of independence places us in the power of England. It gives the King and Parliament notice of what we mean to do. And it gives this notice before we have taken steps to carry out our plans."

George Wythe reminded the delegates that the colonies were already acting as an independent nation. "We have raised an army. We have appointed a commander for that army," the Virginian cried.

"But that is not enough," John Dickinson objected. "We must first unite under a firm plan of government. Then we can cut our ties with England. If we do not first establish a government, we may soon be at war among ourselves."

"Not only that," Robert Livingston added. "We must find some nation that will help us. War is bound to follow a declaration of independence. We must make ready to fight such a war."

John Adams leaped to his feet. His eyes flashed. His voice trembled with deep feeling. "It is now generally known that we are and must be independent. Why should we object to declaring it? Why do we delay in taking our proper place as a free nation? *May heaven prosper the new-born republic!*"

The shadows of evening fell. The doorkeeper placed a lighted candle beside Charles Thomson, the secretary. But the argument still raged. At length the weary men agreed to continue the discussion on the following Monday.

Delegates meeting over Sunday dinner tables talked of little else than the resolution. Groups in boarding houses and inns discussed what had best be done on Monday. Out of this talk a plan slowly took shape.

When the Congress met it was agreed to put off a vote on Lee's resolution until July 1. But it was also agreed that a committee should be chosen to prepare a statement regarding independence. If the resolution were accepted, a declaration stating the reasons for independence would then be ready.

On the following day the committee was named. Its chairman was Thomas Jefferson of Virginia. This tall sandy-haired man had but lately come to sit in the Congress. But he was known throughout the colonies for his careful study of government. In his youth, he studied law under George Wythe. The two talked often of how a state could best be governed. In the years that followed Jefferson read and thought much about the problem.

Jefferson was equally well known for the quality of his writing. Papers that he had written were eagerly read by the members of Congress. The delegates agreed that he was able to set down his ideas in a pleasing way.

Four other men were chosen to serve on the committee with Jefferson. They were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. The committee agreed that the writing of the declaration should be done by Jefferson.

During the long June days, Jefferson was often bent over his writing desk. He worked in his own parlor at his boarding house on Market Street. He used no books or papers as he wrote. But his mind was well stored with knowledge. For years, he had read the writings of the world's best thinkers. Now ideas



took shape in his mind. Words flowed freely from his pen.

At length the paper was finished. Jefferson showed it to John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. They changed certain words and phrases. But they left the declaration largely as Jefferson had written it. The committee accepted the declaration without change. On Friday, June 28, Thomas Jefferson reported the declaration to Congress. It was read and placed in the care of the secretary. Nothing further could be done with the statement until a vote was taken on the resolution for independence.

The leaders in Congress worked like mad during the closing days of June. John Adams led the fight for independence. Edward Rutledge led those who opposed the adoption of Lee's resolution. Each leader was busy trying to win men to support his position. Each was carefully counting votes.

Voting in the Congress was by colonies. Each colony had one vote. Certain colonies had told their delegates how they were to vote on a question of independence. Other colonies had given their delegates no such instructions.

John Adams found an able helper in his cousin Samuel. The latter had a way of winning men to his ideas. And for years Sam Adams' chief idea had been to secure independence for the colonies.

John Dickinson was Edward Rutledge's right-hand man. The delegate from Pennsylvania wanted to delay independence until the colonies had set up a strong government.

On Monday, July 1, the east room of the statehouse filled early. Men studied each other with anxious eyes. Each wondered what stand his neighbor would take. The leaders counted their supporters. John Adams talked in low tones to Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. Edward Rutledge had a whispered word with John Dickinson.

The session opened. Lee's resolution for independence was once more before the house. The measure was supported with heated words. John Dickinson opposed it with equally strong arguments. The day grew warmer by the hour. The discussion became more bitter as the afternoon wore on.

A sudden clap of thunder broke into the flood of talk. It was quickly followed by rain and a gust of cool wind. A few minutes later a man dashed into the room. His clothes were dripping wet. His riding boots squashed water as he went striding up to John Hancock. He handed the president of the Congress a leather case.

All talk ceased. The men watched Hancock closely. He drew a letter from the case and read it. Looking up, he said, "I have here a letter from General Washington. As you know his army is camped near New York. The general reports that English ships are dropping into the harbor there, three or four at a time."

Hancock paused. Only the beat of the rain on the windowpanes broke the silence in the room. The president glanced again at the letter.

"The General reports that he expects the enemy to attack. He says that his

forces are so small that it will require the greatest effort to avoid defeat." Hancock finished speaking and laid the letter on the table.

The silence held for only a minute. Then the room buzzed with talk. But men spoke more quietly now. They understood how serious was the threat of which Washington had warned. At length a delegate rose and addressed the president.

"Mr. President," he said, "I move that the resolution concerning independence be further considered tomorrow."

The motion received a second and was carried. The thundershower passed as quickly as it had come. The delegates left the statehouse in the cool of a rain-swept afternoon.

A delegate from Delaware walked out beside John Adams. Laying a hand on Adams' arm the man drew him aside.

"There are but two of us here from Delaware." The delegate spoke in a low tone. "I am for independence, but the other delegate is against it. Since we don't agree our colony will not be able to vote on Lee's resolution."

Adams frowned. "This is bad!" he exclaimed. "We need Delaware's vote. But Delaware has three delegates. Where is the third man?"

"Caesar Rodney was called away. He is in southern Delaware. But what do you think of sending for him?"

Adams looked at the speaker closely. "I take it that Rodney favors independence," he said.

The delegate nodded.

"Then send for him at once, sir!" Adams cried. "And may Heaven speed his horse's feet!"

Members of Congress entering the statehouse the following morning saw a sweat-stained horse galloping up Chestnut Street. Caesar Rodney reined in the animal and dismounted before the door. A man rushed to him and seized his hand.

"You've made it!" he cried. "I hardly dared hope you would when I sent the messenger."

Caesar Rodney gripped his friend's hand.

"Yes, I made it," he said. "I'd have come from the ends of the earth to vote for independence."

Delegates from New Jersey had also arrived since the previous day. These men asked that they might hear once more the arguments for independence. John Adams took the floor. In clear words and ringing tones he presented the case for independence.

When Adams had finished, the question of voting on the resolution was put. One by one the delegates cast their votes. Caesar Rodney spoke the mind of many present that day. Dressed in mud-stained clothes and riding boots he scarcely looked like a member of Congress. But he spoke like a loyal American.

"I believe the voice of my fellow citizens and of all sensible men favors



independence. My own judgment agrees. I vote for independence."

When the roll call was finished 12 colonies had voted for independence. New York withheld its vote until instructions were received.

John Adams was filled with joy at the victory. "It is done!" he cried. "And this second day of July 1776 will be the most important day in the history of America!"

Congress took up the declaration written by Jefferson. It was read and discussed one paragraph at a time. Each part of it was examined closely. Some parts of it were changed. The discussion began on the afternoon of July 2. It continued through the next day.

On the morning of July 4, Thomas Jefferson sat beside Benjamin Franklin. Congress once more studied the declaration. A delegate objected in bitter words to one sentence. Jefferson did not speak a word in defense of his statement. But Franklin saw the flush that dyed the younger man's face. He saw Jefferson clasp and unclasp his long hands.

The kindly old man leaned toward his young friend. "I have made a rule for myself," he whispered. "It is to avoid whenever possible writing papers to be reviewed by a public body."

Franklin chuckled softly. "I learned my lesson from the story of John Thompson."

"What is that story, sir?" Jefferson asked.

"The man put up a sign before his shop. The sign said, 'John Thompson, Hatter, makes and sells hats for ready money.' Underneath was a picture of a hat. But no sooner was the sign up than Thompson's friends began to suggest changes. Each time one objected to a word Thompson took that word off his sign."

The old man shot a keen glance at the younger one. "And what do you think Thompson had left when his friends had finished?"

"I don't know, sir."

"The picture of the hat with his name above it."

Young Jefferson's troubled face broke into a smile. "I take it, sir, that you think I am like John Thompson, about to lose what I have written."

Yet in spite of Jefferson's fears Congress did not greatly change the declaration. The changes that were ordered made the paper a stronger statement.

Late on the afternoon of July 4, the discussion ended. The Declaration of Independence was read to the Congress. Evening shadows were falling. But the words seemed almost to light the room, as the secretary read:

*"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another . . ."*

*"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable 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. \* \* \**

*"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, assembled, \* \* \* do solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states \* \* \**

*"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."*

Listening to the stirring words, Thomas Jefferson knew that he had written a marching song for free men.

The vote was taken. Twelve colonies voted to accept the Declaration of Independence. New York asked to delay its vote until its instructions were received.

John Dunlap worked all night in his print shop. Morning came, but Dunlap was still at his press. Men waited before his door for copies of the Declaration. At noon he came out with a pile of sheets still damp from the press. Men seized and read the first printed copy of the Declaration of Independence. Riders soon galloped out of Philadelphia. They carried copies of the Declaration to State assemblies and to army officers.

The Declaration was read to the people of Philadelphia on July 8. A great crowd gathered in the yard of the statehouse to listen. When the reading was finished the people gave three loud cheers. The old bell in the tower of the statehouse was rung. The King's coat of arms was taken down from the courtroom in the statehouse. That night bonfires burned to celebrate the birth of a new nation.

The Declaration was printed in the newspapers. It was read in the churches. It was discussed in army camps and homes. News of America's daring action spread the length and breadth of the country. It crossed the sea and gave men in other lands new courage.

The New York delegates received their instructions. New York's vote was cast for independence. Thus all the American States were joined in the Declaration.

Congress ordered the Declaration to be copied by a penman on a sheet of parchment. The title chosen for this official copy was *The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America*.

The copy was made on a sheet  $29\frac{7}{8}$  by  $24\frac{1}{4}$  inches. On August 2 the penman laid the copy before the Congress. The moment for signing the Declaration of Independence was at hand.

John Hancock, the president of the Congress, seized a goose-quill pen. He wrote his name on the parchment in bold letters. "There," he cried, "John Bull can read that without spectacles."

In a more serious mood, a moment later Hancock spoke to the other delegates. "We must all be united. There must be no pulling different ways. We must all hang together."



"Yes," chuckled wise old Benjamin Franklin. *"We must indeed all hang together, or most certainly we shall all hang separately."*

And hang together the delegates did. Every man present in Congress on that August day signed the Declaration of Independence. Some members who were then absent signed at a later time.

The representatives of the Thirteen States had pledged themselves to establish a free and independent nation. That nation was founded upon their belief in the right of a people to self-government.



### *The New Nation Meets Difficulties*

The United States had to prove its independence. The young Nation backed up its Declaration with 7 years of fighting. There were many times during the American Revolution when the cause of the States seemed lost. But at last England made an agreement or treaty of peace. The treaty recognized the independence of the United States. It fixed the western boundary of the new Nation at the Mississippi River.

Having declared themselves free of English rule, the American States needed a plan of government. The Continental Congress framed such a plan. It was called the Articles of Confederation. One by one the States accepted the plan. When the last State accepted or ratified it in 1781 the Articles of Confederation went into effect. Before that time, the Continental Congress carried on the government without a written plan.

The Articles of Confederation provided for a Congress. Each State had one vote in the Congress. There was no head of the Government, such as a president. No courts were to be established by the Government without a written plan.

Congress had little power because the States feared a strong lawmaking body. This lack of power in Congress caused serious difficulties. Since Congress could not lay taxes, the Government lacked money to pay its debts. Because Congress could not regulate trade States quarreled over matters of trade. Congress had to depend upon the States to furnish soldiers when an army was needed.

Citizens came to see these and other weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation. They began to talk of making the Government stronger. But a change in the plan could be made only if all the States agreed to it.

A group of leading citizens called a meeting at Annapolis, Md. They wished to consider what could be done. Representatives came from only five States. This small number could not act for all the States. But the representatives did send out a call for another meeting. This was to be held on the second Monday

in May 1787, at Philadelphia. The men hoped that this meeting might find ways to improve the Government. However, Congress later stated that the meeting should consider only changing or revising the Articles of Confederation.

Twelve States chose delegates to attend this Federal convention. But some of the delegates did not reach Philadelphia until the meeting was well under way.

Many able men sat in the convention. By far the best-known person present was George Washington. Among the other men from Virginia were Edmund Randolph, George Mason, and James Madison. Randolph was the handsome young governor of the State. Mason, a tall, white-haired man, had a burning love for freedom. Madison was a small man, quietly dressed, who had a wide knowledge of government.

Pennsylvania sent several noted sons to the convention. Wise old Benjamin Franklin was there. So was Robert Morris, who had lent money freely to aid the Revolution. James Wilson was always ready to state his faith in the ability of the people to govern themselves. Gouverneur Morris was a young man with a gift both for speaking and writing.

Alexander Hamilton of New York was another of the younger men at the convention. He was eager to secure changes in the plan of government.

John Rutledge of South Carolina had served his State as Governor and a member of the Continental Congress.

Roger Sherman of Connecticut had signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation.

William Paterson represented New Jersey. He was concerned with protecting the interests of the smaller States.

John Dickinson represented Delaware. He had been against the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. But he had fought for the American cause in the Revolution.

Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. But he was not yet ready to set up a strong government in the United States.

As you read the story of the work done in the convention held in Philadelphia in 1787 you will want to learn (1) how a new plan of government was made, (2) the nature of that plan of government, (3) why the work of the convention was of such great importance to Americans both then and now.



### *A Constitution Is Written and Adopted*

Rumble! Grumble! Clackety! Clack!

A splendid carriage rolled down Philadelphia's Sixth Street. Its wheels ground out a noisy tune on the pavement. People passing by paused to watch the carriage. It turned into Chestnut Street and drew up before the statehouse.



Out of it stepped a tall, broad-shouldered man. With firm and steady step, he entered the building. George Washington had come to attend the opening of the Federal Convention. The day was May 14, 1787.

A few minutes later four sturdy men went swinging down Chestnut Street. They carried a very large chair. Arriving at the statehouse, they set the chair carefully on the pavement. A short, stout man stepped out and hobbled toward the statehouse. His clothes were plain and his white hair straggled over his collar. But the eyes behind the spectacles held a twinkle. At 81 Benjamin Franklin still liked a bit of fun.

Several other men arrived to join the two famous Americans in the statehouse. But a count of those present showed that only 2 States were represented. And not all the delegates from those 2 had yet arrived in Philadelphia. The men sitting in the statehouse had no choice but to wait upon the others. Before the Convention could begin its work delegates must be present from at least 7 of the 13 States. But the men who had arrived understood that travel by carriage or stagecoach was slow. They knew that some delegates must be 2 or 3 weeks on the road.

While waiting for other delegates to arrive the men already in Philadelphia talked together. The Indian Queen Tavern was the scene of many discussions. Benjamin Franklin brought men together around his dinner table. Robert Morris exchanged ideas with his house guest, George Washington.

The delegates from Virginia met for 2 or 3 hours every day. They prepared a series of statements or resolutions. These resolutions set up what they believed would be a good plan of government for the Nation.

On Friday, May 25, delegates from 7 States were in Philadelphia. A heavy rain was falling. This kept the aged Franklin at home. But the other delegates gathered at 11 o'clock in the statehouse.

The delegates met in the east room. Chairs were placed in half circles facing a low platform on the east side of the room. Most of the delegates seated themselves in these chairs. But James Madison took a seat at a table in the front of the room.

"Why do you sit up there by yourself?" a friend asked.

"Because I mean to write down all that is said and done here," Madison replied.

"What a task you've set yourself! Do you think your record will be worth so much labor?"

James Madison nodded. "Yes, I am sure it will be. The work we do in this Federal Convention will affect all our Nation's future."

The convention met in the same room in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted. The chair in which John Hancock had sat still stood on the platform. On its back still blazed the golden sun that shone on the meeting of the Continental Congress. But the chair was now empty. The Federal Convention as yet had no president.



Robert Morris rose and addressed the convention. "I speak," he said, "for our well-loved Dr. Franklin. He wished to move that a president of this convention be elected by ballot. In his absence I so move."

Nodding heads and a chorus of ayes showed that the convention accepted this motion.

Again Robert Morris rose. "It is my great pleasure to speak for my State. Pennsylvania offers the name of our honored general, George Washington, to serve as president of this convention."

John Rutledge of South Carolina leaped to his feet. "I second the motion," he cried. Then he added, "*Since the General is present there can of course be no discussion of this motion. But certainly none is needed. Gentlemen, let us ballot.*"

No other name was offered. The members wrote their votes on papers. The papers were collected and counted. The name of George Washington was on every ballot.

Robert Morris and John Rutledge led the General to the president's chair. Standing on the low platform he thanked his fellow delegates for the honor they had done him. He asked that they would overlook any mistakes that he might make. His words were simple and modest. But his look was the look of a man born to command. The delegates felt their courage rise as they listened to their president. They had new faith in the undertaking because he was their leader.

At the close of the president's remarks, James Wilson rose. "Mr. President," he said, "I move that a secretary be chosen to record the business of this Convention."

The motion received a second and was quickly passed by vote of the group.

Again James Wilson was on his feet. When his right to speak was recognized he said, "I nominate William Temple Franklin for secretary. He has already served his country well by acting as secretary to his famous grandfather. More than that he was secretary to the American representatives who made the treaty of peace with England."

Alexander Hamilton rose when Wilson took his seat. "I nominate Maj. William Jackson of South Carolina," he said. "Major Jackson defended our cause bravely in the Continental Army. He was a lieutenant before he was eighteen."

The Convention voted by ballot for secretary. William Jackson was elected. He was called into the east room. He took his place at a table near the president of the Convention.

The work of organizing the Convention went forward. A messenger and a doorkeeper were named. Before the session closed a committee on rules was chosen. It was the duty of this group to draw up rules for the Convention.

During the following week the Convention adopted its rules. One of these required that the daily business of the Convention be kept secret. The door-



keeper was told to allow only delegates to enter the east room. Armed guards were placed in the hall and around the building. They kept people from lingering about the statehouse.

Other delegates arrived. The Convention took up the business for which it was called. Edmund Randolph presented the resolutions drawn up by the Virginia delegates. These became known as the Virginia Plan.

The discussion soon brought up an important question. Was the Convention to write a plan that would place power in a national government? Or was the Convention merely to revise the Articles of Confederation which left the power in the States? Feeling was strong on both sides of the question. But the Convention decided that a national government ought to be established. It favored a government of the kind suggested in the Virginia Plan.

Day after day the delegates met in the statehouse at 11 o'clock. They sat until 4 or 5 o'clock. On some days they stayed in session until 6. They discussed the Virginia resolutions sentence by sentence. Their discussions brought out sharp differences of opinion among the delegates.

One difference was over the wisdom of allowing the people to elect members of one house or branch of Congress. Roger Sherman spoke out strongly against such a plan.

*"The people should have as little to do as may be about the government,"* the delegate from Connecticut declared.

Elbridge Gerry added his voice, *"The people do not lack virtue (goodness). But they are the dupes of pretended patriots."*

George Mason was on his feet. His eyes flashed. His voice rang clearly through the room. "The members of the first branch should be elected by the people. It is in this house of Congress that democratic principles of government are safeguarded."

The speaker paused. The delegates looked at each other with puzzled faces. Should they accept the arguments of Sherman and Gerry? Or should they be won by the warm words of Mason?

Again the Virginian spoke to his fellow-delegates. Once more he expressed his faith in freedom for all men. *"We ought to attend to the rights of every class of people,"* he declared.

James Wilson agreed with Mason on the wisdom of having some members of Congress elected by the people. "We should give the national government as broad a basis as possible," he argued.

The greatest difference in the Convention arose between the large and the small States. The Virginia Plan favored the interests of the larger States. The small States grew frightened. To protect their interests they demanded equal voting power with the large States.

William Paterson led the fight for the small States. He wanted to keep the Articles of Confederation under which each State had one vote in Congress.

*"This Convention has no power to do more than revise the Articles,"* he

declared. "Congress stated the purpose of this meeting to be revision."

"*The very life of this Nation is at stake,*" thundered Edmund Randolph in reply. "*It would be treason to our trust not to propose what we find necessary.*"

Days stretched into weeks. The arguments still raged. The weather grew hotter. The delegates ordered straw spread in the street to deaden the noise of passing wagons. But nothing could relieve their discomfort. They sat in heavy coats and high stocks enduring the June heat. Vainly they slapped at the flies that bit their silk-clad legs.

A day came when the Convention was at a standstill. Neither side would yield. A committee was appointed. It was told to find a plan on which both sides could agree. The Convention then declared a recess over the Fourth of July.

On the fifth the Convention again met. Elbridge Gerry reported for the committee. He offered a compromise plan. Its principal feature provided that Congress should have two houses. In one house the members from each State would be elected in proportion to the population of the State. In the other house each State would have an equal vote.

The compromise brought another flood of arguments. The small States wanted equal strength in both houses. The large States wanted it in neither. Each word and sentence of the compromise was examined. Tempers flared. Hot words were exchanged. Finally in mid-July the vote was taken. It was as close as it could be. The compromise barely carried.

Neither side was happy over the result. William Paterson proposed that the Convention end. There was talk of the small States withdrawing. It was suggested that the large States might take measure to protect their interests. But gradually a new feeling grew and spread among the delegates. Men began to say it would be well to yield in some matters in order to make a firm plan of government. Delegates took up their further tasks with a better spirit.

Step by step the Convention completed a plan of government. There were other differences. There were other compromises. But at no time after mid-July was there danger that the Convention would fail.

The Great Compromise had settled the sharpest conflict of interests. It had also decided the relation of the States and the Nation. It was now certain that the States would still exist. Through their equal voting strength they could always protect their interests. But at the same time the Great Compromise made possible a strong national government. Through the lower house of Congress the people could make their will known.

The plan of government finally agreed upon provided for three principal parts. The executive branch was headed by a president. This branch was concerned with carrying out the law. The Congress made up of a House of Representatives and a Senate formed the legislative branch. Its duty was to make the laws. A Supreme Court was established. Congress was given the right to set up other courts. The system of courts formed the judicial branch. Its work was to explain the laws.



No branch of the Government had complete power. Each was checked in its exercise of power by the other branches.

The plan agreed upon was put into written form by a committee. Such a written plan of government is called a constitution. When the committee had finished, the Convention discussed the Constitution sentence by sentence. Again there were differences and compromises.

In early September the Convention named a committee on style. It was the business of this committee to write the Constitution in final form. The work was largely left to Gouverneur Morris. When it was finished a printed copy was put into the hands of each delegate. The convention must now decide whether or not to accept the Constitution.

A few delegates objected to accepting it at once. Edmund Randolph moved that a second convention be called. The States would study the Constitution. Then the second convention would decide whether or not to adopt it.

Elbridge Gerry agreed with Randolph on the need for a second convention. He feared certain powers given to the National Government.

But it was George Mason who spoke with the greatest feeling. "This Constitution," he declared, "has been formed without the knowledge or idea of the people. A second convention will know more the sense of the people."

George Mason believed that the new constitution should contain a guarantee of the people's rights. He felt sure that such a bill of rights would be added by a second convention. Only then, he thought, would the freedom of the citizens be safe.

The clock in the State House ticked off the hours. Four o'clock came; then 5 o'clock; then half-past five. The last speaker closed his arguments. The president of the Convention called for a vote on Randolph's motion. All the States answered, "No."

The final question was put before the convention. Shall the Constitution be accepted as amended? All the States answered, "Aye."

At 6 o'clock the day's session ended.

The Constitution was copied by a penman on parchment. Dunlap and Claypoole printed 500 copies of it.

On Monday morning, September 17, the Convention once more sat in the statehouse. The newly-written parchment lay before the secretary of the Convention. Rising from his chair Major Jackson read the Constitution. The words came from the secretary's lips clear and strong,

*"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, 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."*

The secretary read on to the end of the Constitution. At its close Benjamin Franklin rose. In his hand he held a paper. He asked that James Wilson might

read for him a speech that he would make were he able. The old leader's request was granted.

Taking the paper, Wilson read the words that Franklin had written.

*"Mr. President, I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve. But I am not sure I shall never approve them. For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged . . . to change opinions . . . which I once thought right but found to be otherwise. . . ."*

*"I agree to this Constitution . . . because I think a general government necessary for us. . . . I doubt whether any convention we can obtain may be able to make a better constitution. . . ."*

*"On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expressing a wish that every member of the Convention . . . put his name to this instrument."*

James Wilson folded the paper. Benjamin Franklin rose to his feet. He rested his trembling hands on his cane for support. His voice was weak, but there was a light in his eyes.

*"Mr. President,"* he said, *"I move that the Constitution be signed by the delegates as 'Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present.'"*

Three delegates were not willing to sign the Constitution. But there were delegates from each State represented in the Convention who would sign. The form offered in Franklin's motion had been suggested by Gouverneur Morris. It provided a way to give unity to the signing.

The motion was accepted. The secretary made ready for the signing of the Constitution.

The president of the Convention dipped his quill pen and wrote,

*G. Washington—Presdt.  
and deputy from Virginia.*

The secretary added his signature. Then the delegates came forward. The two from New Hampshire led the way. The others followed in the order of the States from north to south. Thirty-nine delegates placed their names on the new plan of government. Only Randolph, Mason, and Gerry refused to sign.

While the last delegates were signing Benjamin Franklin turned to a friend. He pointed to the sun painted on the president's chair.

*"I have,"* said he, *"often and often in the course of the session looked at that sun behind the president. I have not been able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."*

The Constitution was in time accepted or ratified by all the States. But ratification was won only after a hard fight in some States. James Madison and Alexander Hamilton greatly aided the fight for ratification.

When 9 States had ratified, plans were made to set up the new government.



George Washington was elected the first president. He took office on April 30, 1789.

The new Congress proposed 10 additions or amendments to the Constitution. These were soon ratified by the States. These amendments formed a Bill of Rights. They guaranteed to the people those freedoms that George Mason had so strongly urged.

Benjamin Franklin had spoken true words. The sun was indeed rising for America. Independence was won. Self-government was established. Freedom was guaranteed.



### *Boys and Girls Practice Self-Control*

Bill Burton could hardly wait for the train to pull into the station. His big cousin, Jack Hill, was stopping in Newton to spend Saturday night with Bill's family. Jack had played football with his college team that afternoon, in a near-by town.

The train puffed to a stop. Jack came down the steps, waving a hand to his team mates who were looking out of the train window.

Bill and his father hurried over to meet Jack. Bill grabbed his cousin's bag. "Gee," he said, "I'm glad you came. We listened to the game this afternoon on the radio. But I want to hear you tell all about it, too."

Bill's mother had dinner waiting. "I know you are starved," she said to Jack, as soon as she had welcomed him. "Come right into the dining room."

The family was soon deep in a discussion of the afternoon's game. Bill's mother broke into the flow of talk to ask, "Jack, will you have coffee?"

"No, thank you, Aunt May, I'll take milk," Jack replied.

"I'd think you'd feel like a cup of coffee after a hard game," Bill's father remarked.

"The coach says milk is better for us, so I'll stick to it," Jack replied.

The family were rising from the table when the doorbell rang. Bill answered it and brought Bob Scott into the living room. Bob was an old friend of Jack's. The two boys greeted each other warmly.

"Have a cigarette," Bob said, passing a pack to Jack, as they settled down to talk.

"No, thanks," Jack replied with a smile. "Training rules, you know."

Presently Bob said, "Jack, a crowd of us are going to the midnight show. I thought you might like to come along."

"I would like to," Jack answered, "but I guess I can't. The coach expects us to keep training rules and they include getting to bed on time."

Bill was delighted that his cousin was not going on the party. He still had

many questions about football to ask Jack. But he wanted even more to ask another question. As soon as Bob had gone he put it to Jack.

"Why are you so careful to keep training rules tonight? The coach wouldn't know if you drank a cup of coffee or smoked a cigarette or stayed up late, just once."

Jack looked a long time at Bill's puzzled face. He seemed to be searching for the right words. At last he said, "The coach wouldn't know. But I'd know. You see, Bill, the coach makes the rules because he believes they'll help us to have stronger bodies and be better players. He expects every player to keep them. But he doesn't follow us around every minute of the day to see that we keep them. That's our job. As for me, I keep them because I believe they are good for me, and because I feel honor-bound to do so."

Bill didn't answer at once. He hunched up in his favorite corner of the couch, thinking over his cousin's words. His father and Jack began to discuss forward passes.

Presently Bill broke in to say, "Gee, Jack, I'd never thought of it that way before. But I guess a fellow can't depend on someone else making him obey rules. He has to make himself keep the rules."

Bill had discovered the first principle of self-government. Each citizen must make himself "keep the rules." Or to put it another way each citizen must practice self-control.

Self-control involves more than keeping rules, though that is a very important part of it. In a democracy a citizen may at times need to make rules for his own conduct. He will often need to keep himself from performing an act that will injure or offend someone else. In all these ways, he practices self-control.

The men who sat in the Continental Congress and in the Constitutional Convention had great need to practice self-control. These men often did not think alike. It would have been easy for them to speak in anger or to refuse to listen to views with which they did not agree. Indeed a few men did just that. But the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention succeeded in the tasks they undertook because most of the delegates controlled their feelings and tried patiently to find a solution to their problems.

Boys and girls need to learn to practice self-control. Very often they can help each other to do this by setting some standards in the group for individual action.

One class<sup>1</sup> set such standards when it undertook a world friendship project. The boys and girls in this group had heard of the need for books, pencils, paper, and other supplies in European schools. One boy said, "We have plenty of supplies. Why don't we send some of them to Europe?"

"Could we spare some of our supplies?" the teacher asked.

"Of course, we could." The answers were a chorus.

The children began to tell what they could bring. But the teacher raised

<sup>1</sup> Five-A—Six-B, Albert S. Brandeis School, Louisville, Ky., Katherine Shivell, teacher.



further questions. "Where shall we send our gift? How will it have to be packed?"

The group settled down to discuss the entire problem. Out of this discussion came the decision to send a wooden box to Holland. The box would be decorated with a picture that would tell the Dutch children something about Louisville. The box would be packed with books, pencils, paper, and certain other supplies.

It was clear that much work had to be done to carry out so large an undertaking. The group decided that each person should be entirely responsible for one part of the work. While doing the work, he should be free to move about the room, to go to other parts of the building, or even to go to the library if that were necessary.

The group listed all the tasks to be done. Each child chose the task that he thought he could best do and set to work. But to help each individual meet his responsibility and to insure the project being finished, the class set up two requirements. These were:

1. Each pupil must complete the task he undertakes.
2. Each pupil must respect the rights of other pupils who are working at the same time.

Busy, happy days followed. The chest was secured, decorated, filled, and started on its journey to Holland. The boys and girls glowed with the sense of a good deed done. They wore an air of quiet pride, too, for they had proved that they could work as responsible, self-controlled members of a group.

Can you think of any situations in which you need to make yourself keep the rules? Or to make rules for yourself? Or to refrain from saying or doing something that would hurt someone else? What can your class do to help you in learning to practice self-control?



*Opening of Philippine Independence Inaugural Ceremonies*

### UNIT III

## Territories are prepared for self-government

### *Western Lands Make New Problems*

**F**OR MANY YEARS English settlements were largely east of the Appalachians. Between the mountains and the Mississippi stretched a huge area. Its forests were filled with fur-bearing animals. Its soil was rich and deep.

Both France and England claimed this western country. The French made a few early settlements there. But they lost the region to the English in 1763 at the end of a war.



Explorers from the English colonies pushed into the region. Hunters went into its forests for furs. A few settlers made their way across the mountains. Forts were established.

During the Revolution, the Americans won control of most of the region. At the close of the war the entire area was granted to the United States. Several of the States held claims to this western land. But it was agreed that these States would give such land to the United States. The new Nation thus had two parts. East of the Appalachians were the Thirteen States. West of the mountains was a huge territory with few settlers.

This condition soon presented problems. Men wanted to settle in the new territory. How could they secure land? How would it be surveyed? What would it cost? These and other questions came before Congress.

But most important of all was the question of how the new territory should be governed. Some men thought that settlers in the West should have the rights of self-government. They held that in time new States should be formed from the territory. They believed that these States should be equal in power with the older States.

On the other hand certain men took a very different view. They thought that the territory should be ruled by the older States. They agreed that new States might be formed from the territory. But they held that such States should never have equal power with the older States.

North and west of the Ohio River was a region almost without settlers. Efforts to make a plan of government for this territory stretched over several years. Many men helped to shape the plan. But when it was done self-government in America rested on a more secure base. Freedom and justice had been guaranteed for millions of future citizens. A model had been established for the government of later territories.

The first step in forming the plan was made in the closing days of the Revolutionary War. The last step was taken during the summer in which the Constitution was written. As you follow the growth of this plan of government you will need (1) to learn what each of the earlier steps gave to the final plan; (2) to find how freedom and self-government were made secure by the plan; (3) to decide why this plan became a model for future plans of territorial government.



### *The Ordinance of 1787 Is Adopted*

"I've fought 7 years to make America free. Now, what do I have to show for it? Worthless paper money! Empty promises from Congress! Bah!"

The speaker was a poorly-dressed Continental soldier. His bitter words were



addressed to a group of fellow soldiers. The men listened with sober, troubled faces. Some nodded. But one man shook his head.

"Maybe the paper money isn't worthless," he said, "Maybe Congress will keep its promise. It may yet give us land to pay for our war service."

"I hear that our officers are sending a letter to Congress," a third man stated. "It's said that the letter will offer a plan for a new State in the West. We'd get land there to pay us for our war service."

"The officers may send the letter," the first soldier snarled, "but Congress will never do anything about it. Congress has no time for soldiers now that the war is won. For that matter neither have the merchants or the bankers. Fat profits, that's what they want!"

"You have no faith in the Nation you've helped to establish," the second speaker protested. "But I believe that there are men of honor in Congress. And I know there are officers who will help us win our rights."

"Yes, we can count on General Washington," a man said. "He has already told Congress of our need for money."

"General Rufus Putnam will speak up for us, too," another soldier said.

"So will Colonel Timothy Pickering," a new voice added.

"And Colonel Benjamin Tupper," someone called.

"My eye and Betty Martin!" the first soldier exclaimed. "You talk as if you really expected to get paid! As for me, I'll be glad to hear what the officers have to suggest. But I'll not start moving West just yet."

The Continental Army was camped at Newburgh on the Hudson. There they waited through long, weary months. The Revolutionary War had been won on the field of battle. But the treaty of peace had not yet been made. General Washington did not dare send his army home until this treaty was signed.

The soldiers had little to keep them busy in camp. Food and clothing were none too plentiful. They lacked money. If they were paid at all, it was in paper money that had little value. Their families were in want. It was small wonder that the men complained.

The officers knew that the men should be paid. They thought this might be done by granting them land in the West. Gen. Rufus Putnam led in forming a plan to this end. In June 1783 the plan was written by Col. Timothy Pickering. It was signed by 288 officers.

The paper was sent to General George Washington. He approved the plan that it set forth and sent it on to Congress.

The officers asked that a territory be opened for settlement in the West. Soldiers of the Revolution would receive grants of land in the territory. A constitution would be written for the territory before settlement began. The territory would later be made a State, equal in power with the older States. There would be no slavery in the new territory or State.

When the treaty of peace was signed the soldiers were sent home. They were paid for their service with Continental certificates. These were a form of paper



money. They were really promises-to-pay made by the Government. But at the time the certificates had little value.

The Continental Congress took no action on the plan sent to them by the officers at Newburgh. But in the West there were still great stretches of land waiting for settlers.

In 1784 Congress took up the matter of how this land should be sold and governed. A committee was named to draw up a plan of government. Thomas Jefferson was made chairman of the committee.

One day in March, Jefferson rose from his seat to present the plan. The members of Congress listened eagerly. They knew that this tall Virginian loved freedom. They remembered the stirring words that he had written in the Declaration of Independence. Would he once more speak out for the rights of men? The answer was given as Jefferson read the plan offered by his committee.

*That the territory . . . shall be formed into . . . States . . .  
That (when) any state . . . shall have acquired 20,000 free inhabitants  
(people) . . . they shall . . . establish a . . . constitution  
and government for themselves. . . .*

*That after the year 1800 . . . there shall be [no] slavery . . .  
in any of the said States' . . .*

*Such States shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United  
States on an equal footing with the . . . Original States . . .*

Men sat back in their chairs. There were nods and smiles as Jefferson took his seat. He had not failed those who counted on him. The plan provided for self-government in the West. It stated that new States formed there would be equal to the older States. It spoke out against slavery.

But all members were not ready to support the committee's statement about slavery. A delegate from North Carolina sprang to his feet. He moved that the words be removed from the plan. His motion was accepted by vote of the delegates.

In the weeks that followed some other changes were made in the plan. But the principal parts of it were accepted. In April a law was passed that put a plan of government into effect. This law was called the Ordinance of 1784.

Congress next directed that the land should be surveyed. Benjamin Tupper was hired to do this work. He made two trips to the region north and west of the Ohio River. This area was sometimes called the Ohio country. Tupper liked the country, but he found few settlers there.

Upon his return to the East, Tupper went to see his old friend, Rufus Putnam. The two men talked of Ohio.

"It's beautiful," Tupper said, "and there's fine land out there, too. But settlers aren't going out."

"An empty country has little value. Ohio needs people," Putnam replied.

"That it does," Tupper agreed. "And while that great region cries for settlers men here are in need."



"Yes, many soldiers have not been able to find work since the war ended. Their Continental certificates are worth very little. These are hard times for poor men," sighed Putnam.

"What's needed is a plan by which these men can get to the West. There's work for all there."

Rufus Putnam nodded, "You're right, my friend. And why shouldn't we start making such a plan?"

The two men decided to act upon Putnam's idea. They sent out a call for a meeting. They invited former soldiers and others who wanted to go West to attend.

The meeting was held in March 1786 at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston. The men who met agreed to form a company. It was to be called the Ohio Company. A share in it could be bought with \$1,000 of Continental certificates and \$10 in gold or silver. The money would be used to purchase land northwest of the Ohio River.

During the following year, shares in the Ohio Company were sold. The next step was to buy the land. Since it belonged to the United States, the company had to arrange with Congress for its purchase.

Congress was hard pressed to pay the Nation's debts. Some members thought that much needed money could be secured by selling western land. From time to time measures to bring about settlement in the West had been considered by Congress. But there were few results. The land still lacked settlers. Congress still lacked money.

The Ohio Company chose a group of men to direct the affairs of the company. The directors believed that a new plan of government was necessary before settlers went to Ohio. They wanted this plan to guarantee the rights of the settlers. They wanted new States formed there to be equal to the older States.

Among the directors were Rufus Putnam and Dr. Manasseh Cutler. It was decided that Dr. Cutler should go to New York where Congress was meeting. There he would arrange for the purchase of land. At the same time he would see that the plan of government met the ideas of the directors.

Dr. Cutler set out from his home in Massachusetts in a one-horse carriage. He arrived in New York on July 5, 1787. The Doctor put up at the Plow and Harrow. But he rested only a short time at the tavern. He was soon paying calls upon members of Congress.

In the next few days Dr. Cutler attended a round of parties. He was a pleasant gentleman with many interests. He made friends quickly. And to each friend he spoke a word about the Ohio Company. He reminded members of Congress of the large sums to be had by selling western land. He suggested that western settlements would protect the older States from Indian attack. The delegates were soon talking among themselves about the matter.

"Here's something we must look into," one member remarked.



"It's too good a chance to let pass," a friend agreed.

"The Ohio Company is asking for a plan of government that guarantees certain rights," a third man said. "Perhaps we should make a plan that meets their ideas."

Within a few days Congress named a committee to draw up a new plan for the Ohio region. The committee members asked Dr. Cutler to discuss the proposed plan with them. He offered several suggestions to the committee.

"I make these suggestions," Dr. Cutler said, "for the men of the Ohio Company. They will accept nothing less. They are the ideas that Rufus Putnam and his friends set down in their letter written at Newburgh. They have never given up those ideas and they never will."

The committee reported its plan to Congress. During the discussion Nathan Dane of Massachusetts rose.

"I move," he said, "an amendment to be added to the law as it is proposed."

In a clear, firm voice, Nathan Dane read his amendment.

*"There shall be [no] slavery • • • in the said territory • • • provided always that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor and service is lawfully claimed in any of the original States, such fugitive (runaway) may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed (taken) to the person claiming his or her labor — • • •"*

The amendment was accepted by Congress. On July 13, the proposed law was passed. It was known as An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River. It is usually called the Ordinance of 1787.

The Ordinance set up a plan of government for the territory. This plan provided that States should be formed. These States were to enjoy self-government. They were to have equal power with the older States. The citizens were guaranteed certain rights. Among these rights were trial by jury and religious freedom. The building of public schools was promoted. Slavery was forbidden in the territory.

Terms were agreed upon for the sale of land. The Ohio Company bought a huge area on the Muskingum River. It chose Rufus Putnam to direct the settlement. He soon had a party ~~started~~ toward the Muskingum. On April 7, 1788, 48 men, led by Putnam, reached the river's mouth. A settlement was begun. It was named Marietta. It was the first settlement made under the Ordinance of 1787.

The Ordinance of 1787 marked another step in the growth of self-government in America. It made free churches, free schools, and free men secure in the Northwest Territory. But more than that it established the principle of self-government for territories. It also established the principle of equality between new and old States.

The Ordinance of 1787 was a charter of liberty. It was likewise the model for all future territorial government in the United States.



## *Self-Government Follows the Flag*

The passing years brought new territories into the United States. By 1850 the country spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Each time land came under the American flag a plan of government was made. In each case, the plan gave the people of the territory certain rights of self-government.

The plan also provided that States could be formed when there were enough people in the territory. The States thus formed were granted equal power with the older States. Their citizens enjoyed full rights of self-government.

The United States secured territories in other parts of the world as well as at home. In most of the overseas territories the people had not governed themselves. The United States trained them for self-government.

Some of the distant territories may one day become States in the Union. One territory has already gained not only self-government but independence.

The Philippine Islands became American territory in 1899. At that time President William McKinley said, "*The Philippines are ours not to exploit (use for our own ends) but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in . . . self-government. This is the path of duty which we must follow.*"

The United States followed the "path of duty" suggested by President McKinley. Step by step the rights of self-government were granted. At the same time schools were set up in the islands. Hospitals, roads, and other public works were built.

The Filipinos elected their first assembly in 1907. This was a long step forward for self-government in the islands.

The Filipino people had a burning desire for independence. They worked always toward that end. In 1916 their cause was helped by an act passed by Congress. The Act stated the purpose of the United States to recognize the independence of the Philippines when a strong government was established. At the same time the law gave the Filipinos a larger measure of self-government.

The next step toward independence came in 1934. An act was passed that year by the Congress of the United States. It stated that during a 10-year period the Philippines were to prepare for independence. In this period they would form the Commonwealth of the Philippines. At the end of 10 years the Republic of the Philippines would be established. It would be a fully independent nation.

The Filipinos wrote a constitution. It set up a plan of government somewhat like the plan followed in the United States. The Constitution contained a bill of rights. This guaranteed certain freedoms to the people. The constitution was accepted by the Congress of the United States and by the Filipino people.

A government was established for the Commonwealth of the Philippines. Manuel Quezon was elected the first president.



Before the date set for independence, the Philippines were attacked by Japan. American and Filipino forces fought to protect the islands. But in spite of their brave defense, the Japanese seized control of the Philippines. The President of the islands and several other government officials escaped to the United States.

Some 2 years later American forces landed in the islands. The American commander and the President of the Philippines waded ashore together. They stood side by side to watch the American flag and the Philippine flag raised.

After bitter fighting, the islands were freed from the Japanese. The commonwealth government again went into force. An election was held in April, 1946. Manuel A. Roxas was elected President of the Philippines.

The United States prepared to keep its promise to the Filipinos. July 4, 1946 was set as the day when the islands should receive their independence.

As you read of the events of that day, you should be able (1) to explain why the day was important to the Filipinos; (2) to tell why an American can be proud of the independence of the Philippines; (3) to explain how the granting of independence to the Philippines is related to self-government in America.



### *A Republic Is Born*

Manila was astir with life. For days people had poured into the capital of the Philippines. Every plane and ship was packed with visitors from other lands. Thousands of Filipinos trooped into the city. They filled all the spare rooms in Manila. They set up tents in the parks. They slept under the trees.

Early in the morning of July 4 crowds flowed into Luneta Park to attend the independence ceremony. There were official representatives of 23 nations. There were newspaper reporters and visitors from other lands. But most of all, there were Filipinos—thousands and thousands of them.

The crowd was in high spirits. Black clouds piled up in the sky. But nothing could check the gayety of the people.

A speakers' platform stood on the broad, green stretches overlooking Manila Bay. The platform was shaped like the prow, or front, of a ship. It was built thus to represent the Ship of State that was soon to start on its voyage. High above the platform floated an American flag.

The men who were to take part in the ceremony took their places on the platform. On the stroke of 8 o'clock a minister in the group stepped forward, with upraised hand. A great quiet settled over the crowd. The minister asked God's blessing upon the new Republic, about to be born.

The ceremony opened with speeches by three men who represented the United States. Senator Millard E. Tydings had offered the bill which set up a

plan for Philippine independence. General Douglas MacArthur had led the American forces that swept the Japanese from the islands. High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt had represented the American Government in the Philippines, under the Commonwealth.

Senator Tydings spoke of the years that the Philippines had spent under the American flag. In closing he said, "*We have kept faith. We have helped you to erect . . . democratic government, and to build . . . the ideal that government shall be the servant and not the master of the people. . . . Long live the Republic of the Philippines! Long live the United States of America!*"

General MacArthur spoke of the importance of the day's ceremony. He said, "*Let history record this event in the sweep of democracy . . . . Let it be recorded as one of the great turning points in the age-long struggle of man for liberty . . . .*"

High Commissioner McNutt rose. He was there to act as the representative of the President of the United States. It was his duty to read the President's Proclamation. This was a statement announcing the independence of the Philippines.

The High Commissioner began to read, "*Whereas the United States of America . . . .*" Suddenly the heavy clouds broke. A flood of rain drenched the people. The High Commissioner read steadily on. His clear voice rose above the noise of the downpour. Not a person moved to seek shelter. To a man the Filipinos stood in the driving rain. They listened with shining faces to the words that made them a free people.

"*Now, Therefore, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America . . . . do proclaim that . . . . The United States of America hereby withdraws and surrenders all rights of possession, . . . . control, or sovereignty . . . . over the territory and people of the Philippines; and*

"*On behalf of the United States of America, I do hereby recognize the independence of the Philippines as a separate and self-governing Nation . . . .*"

Coming to the end, the High Commissioner looked out at the sea of faces before him. He saw in those faces marks of the struggles that were past. He saw the hopes of the Filipinos for the years that lay ahead. In a voice deep with feeling the High Commissioner gave America's blessing to the new republic.

"*A Nation is born. Long live the Republic of the Philippines! May God bless and prosper the Filipino people, and keep them safe and free.*"

The High Commissioner stepped to the center of the platform. President Roxas joined him.

A band struck up the "Star Spangled Banner." High Commissioner McNutt pulled the rope on the flagstaff. The Stars and Stripes flying high above the



platform began to drop. Slowly, steadily, the American flag slipped down the staff. American rule in the Philippines was ended.

The band broke into the Philippine national song. Another red, white, and blue flag was fastened to the rope. But this one bore, not 48 stars, but a golden sun and 3 golden stars. President Roxas pulled the rope. The flag of the Philippine Republic began to climb the flagstaff. Up, up it went, till the banner fluttered high above the platform. A new republic was born.

Twenty-one guns roared a salute to the new nation. Whistles blew. The church bells rang.

"*Kalayan! Kalayan!*" (freedom, freedom). The glad cry broke from the thousands of Filipinos massed in Luneta Park. It rolled across the city. It was echoed through the length and breadth of the islands. A subject people had learned to govern themselves. A territory had become an independent nation.

The President and the Vice-President of the Philippine Republic took the oath of office. Then President Roxas addressed his people. His opening words pointed to the importance of the day's ceremony.

*"My countrymen, . . . The American flag has been lowered from the flagstaffs in this land . . . by the act of the American Nation. The flag which was first raised in conquest here has been handed down with even greater glory . . ."*

*"Some hundreds of yards from here, the American flag was first planted. . . . As its brave colors fluttered down the flagstaff a moment ago . . . history had completed a full turn . . . For America today's act . . . was the climax of triumph (height of victory) for democratic values, for liberty. We mark here today the forward thrust of the frontiers of freedom."*

The signing of an agreement followed President Roxas' speech. It was drawn between the United States and the Philippine Republic. The President and the High Commissioner signed for their governments. The agreement was one to promote good relations between the two nations.

A chorus of a thousand voices sang the Philippine hymn of independence.

A minister offered a prayer of thanksgiving and praise.

President Roxas and High Commissioner McNutt stood side by side to review a parade. Columns of American and Philippine soldiers marched past. Decorated floats that told the story of independence rolled through the streets.

The parade ended the ceremony which marked the birth of the new republic. But the celebration went on for many hours. A tree was planted to honor the day. Fireworks were set off in the evening. President Roxas gave a great ball at his palace. The happy Filipino people trooped through the streets, laughing and singing.

The ceremony in Luneta Park was an important event for two nations. To the Philippines it marked the victory in their long struggle for independence. To the United States it marked a victory for the principle of self-government.

The Ordinance of 1787 had established that principle in territorial government by bringing 48 self-governing States together into the Union. Now in a distant part of the globe the principle had again proved its worth. A people trained in self-government had taken their place in the family of nations.



### *Boys and Girls Practice Self-Government in a Direct Democracy*

The seventh grade classroom was very quiet. Bill Burton stole a glance at his classmates. Some were taking books out of their desks. Some pretended to be busy with arithmetic problems. But no one was really busy. Bill knew that they were all waiting to see what Miss Stone would say.

The seventh grade had just returned from recess. Snow covered the play ground—soft, wet snow, that made wonderful snowballs. Snowballing was against the rules but on a day like this it was easy to forget the rules. During recess a snowball had suddenly whizzed through the air. It had landed “spang” against a window of the schoolhouse, and sent broken glass flying.

The bell had rung at that moment. The seventh-graders had flocked hastily into the building. Now they waited, wondering what their teacher would say.

Perhaps you would like to know what another teacher<sup>2</sup> said in a similar situation.

On a snowy morning this teacher said, “Snowballing weather is here again. Maybe we should discuss some of the problems that it brings. What do you think of snowballing?”

“I think snowballing is fun,” a boy said.

“It’s really a kind of sport, like baseball,” a girl added.

“But it’s a sport in which property is often damaged and people are sometimes hurt,” the teacher replied.

“Yes, but boys and girls just will throw snowballs, even if it’s dangerous,” a second boy said.

A quiet girl spoke. “We have a place to throw baseballs,” she said. “Maybe if we had a place to throw snowballs, there wouldn’t be the danger there is when they are thrown wildly.”

“I think Mary has something,” the first boy said. “Why can’t we set aside a place on the school grounds for snowballing. We could make rules, too, and play by the rules just as we do in baseball.”

Nods greeted this suggestion. Eager suggestions poured out.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth and Sixth Grades, Pleasant Valley School, Schenectady, N. Y., Helen Davin and Helen Schejrer, teachers.



"We could have targets."

"Maybe we could fix a backstop behind the targets, so no one would be hit."

"We could mark off the snowballing area and not let anyone get in range of the snowballs."

"We'd need to tell the other kids about it."

"Let's ask the sixth grade to help us."

"Let's get the whole school to help."

Plans were soon under way to secure a special snowballing area and set up rules for its use. The help of the other classes was secured. Committees were appointed. One committee published a bulletin on the dangers of the sport. Another made arrangements with the principal for the use of an area and set up targets. A third committee worked out rules for the use of the area and made these known to all groups in the school. This committee also reported from week to week on the progress of the plan.

All the pupils in the school had fun snowballing. No rules were broken. No property was damaged. No one was hurt.

These boys and girls had solved a problem by democratic action. They had acted directly in making the plans and carrying them out. This is a simple form of self-government.

In another class<sup>3</sup> four new view-masters were received one day. A view-master shows a color film. It is so made that the picture shown seems very real. Not a single child in the room had ever seen a view-master before. They were curious about this new kind of "picture machine."

The teacher said, "You may look at the new view-masters now."

"Clatter! Bang!" There was a rush for the front of the room. Books were knocked off of desks. Pupils pushed and shoved each other. Thirty-three pairs of hands tried to grasp four view-masters.

It was soon clear that no one could see. The teacher asked the pupils to take their seats.

Earlier in the year they had set up some standards for group living. The teacher asked them to read these and see if they offered any help.

The children opened their notebooks and read their standards. But they did not think these offered suggestions to fit this situation.

"We need to make some rules for using the view-masters," a boy said.

The other children agreed. The teacher asked them for their suggestions. These were quickly given and discussed. The rules were worked out from these suggestions. Within a short time the rules for the use of the view-masters were agreed upon. Each pupil took his turn in looking at the beautiful pictures that they showed. Everyone was happy because a problem had been solved by democratic methods. But sometimes a group needs to consider its past conduct rather than to make rules.

<sup>3</sup> Fifth grade, Capitol Heights School, Birmingham, Ala., Elizabeth Zachry, teacher.



A substitute teacher was in charge of a class<sup>4</sup> one day. The pupils were rude to her. The next day the regular teacher returned. She said, "How did you get along yesterday?"

A silence fell. Then a girl said, "We were rude to Mrs. Hindman."

Little by little the story came out. The teacher listened without making any comment. When the whole story had been told, she asked, "What do you think we should do about this situation?"

This room had a citizenship club. It was decided to discuss the matter at the next club meeting.

During the club meeting the whole matter was considered. A girl finally said, "I think that we should write a letter of apology to Mrs. Hindman."

This suggestion was discussed. It was accepted by vote of the group. A letter was composed by the whole class. It was written by the club secretary and sent to the substitute teacher. The letter said,

Dear Mrs. Hindman,

The Fifth Grade at Smith School is very sorry for being discourteous when you were in our room. We feel very ashamed of ourselves. We wish that you would forgive us.

If you come back again, we will be more courteous to you.

Sincerely yours,

THE FIFTH GRADE.

Boys and girls usually enjoy clubs. A club practices self-government. Each member votes on every question that is to be settled. This form of self-government is called direct democracy.

There are a number of clubs in Smith School. The members<sup>5</sup> were asked one day to write their opinion of the clubs. Terry told some important things that a club can do. He said:

"I think the clubs help make Smith School a better school because everybody gets a chance at most everything and the club helps decide things. It makes Smith School have a government of its own. It helps civilize the school."

Classes sometimes organize a simple form of self-government. Perhaps you would like to know how such a class organization operates.

With the sharp tap of the gavel and the familiar question: "Will the meeting please come to order?" another class meeting<sup>6</sup> was under way. Tommy, the president for February, called for the nominations and the votes which decided that Patty was to be the class leader during March. This newly elected president had a big job ahead of her. In addition to conducting all meetings, she would act as the hostess to all visitors and be in complete charge of the room during the teacher's absence.

<sup>4</sup> Fifth grade, Smith School, Sioux City, Iowa, Clara Barnes, teacher.

<sup>5</sup> Fourth Grade, Smith School, Sioux City, Iowa, Mary Little, teacher.

<sup>6</sup> Fifth and Sixth Grades, Hale H. Cook School, Kansas City, Mo., Mary Meehan, teacher.



In quick succession, the vice president, the secretary, and the treasurer for the next month were elected. The post of treasurer was very popular because this officer handled the lunch money every day. He also managed all special collections such as the Red Cross and the community fund drives.

Another popular office was that of team captain. Four captains were elected each month, two boys and two girls. Each captain chose his own team and assigned positions to his players. He was responsible for all balls, bats, and other equipment used during the game.

When the class organization was formed two rules were agreed upon. Each child could hold his office for only 1 month. No child could refuse an office without a good reason.

During the year many problems were solved in class meetings. Each was settled by discussion and vote. Among questions to which satisfactory answers were found were these: How can we make our room more attractive? (A mural was made for the coat room doors showing a fierce battle between dinosaurs.) How many parties shall we have? (Three—Halloween, Christmas, and Valentine's Day won out over Thanksgiving and Easter.) What quota shall we have for the monthly paper sale drive? Eight bundles for each child—those who can bring more will help out those who cannot bring so many.)

The pioneers who went out to settle new territories valued the right to self-government guaranteed to them by the Ordinance of 1787. As quickly as they could they organized the territories where they had some rights of self-government. Thus they secured practice in solving their own problems and managing their own affairs. When the territories were ready to become States the settlers were ready to use their full powers of self-government.

In somewhat the same way boys and girls may gain practice in self-government. They can do this by settling problems as they arise through the democratic methods of discussion and agreement. They can do it through clubs and class organizations in which they consider their problems and make decisions by majority vote.

Do you have any problems that might be settled in either of these ways?

## UNIT IV

### Self-government strengthens democracy at home and abroad

#### *The Welfare of the People Is Threatened*

**T**HE YOUNG NATION, founded upon the principles of self-government, grew strong. Time and again in the passing years it met and overcame difficulties. For the most part the Nation solved its problems through the orderly processes of self-government.

Hand-in-hand with the growth of the Nation went a growth in democracy. This growth was brought about through the action of self-government. The right to vote was extended to all men and women 21 years of age or older. Public schools were encouraged for the education of children and young people. Women were given new rights. Wiser and kinder treatment was extended to unfortunate citizens.

These and other changes strengthened democracy because they put its



ideals into action. They made the basic beliefs of democracy live for the people.

Yet, even while democracy grew stronger, the welfare of millions of Americans was threatened. A citizen could no longer be sure that he would have a chance to earn a living. He lacked the security that earlier Americans had enjoyed.

A pioneer could get a living from farm and forest. His farm produced much of his food and part of the material from which his clothing was made. The forest yielded game for food, skins for clothing, wood for fuel, logs for a house. Materials of farm and forest were made into needed articles by the pioneer's own family.

Every member of the household had a part in making the living. Even children and grandparents in a pioneer home had work to do. They could help with such tasks as cutting wood, hoeing corn, carding wool, spinning thread, weaving cloth.

The pioneer had very little money, but he needed very little. This was true because he could produce most of the articles he needed for himself.

But swift changes occurred in America. Machines came into use. Farmers produced larger crops with less labor. Factories turned out the goods once made in homes. Cities grew. Millions of people could no longer depend directly upon farm and forest for their living. Under the changed conditions, children and old people were less able to help earn the family living.

A modern worker had to have money. This was true because money was necessary to buy the things needed.

But often, through no fault of his own, the worker could not find work to do. Thus he was unable to get the money that he needed. His chance to earn a living was not secure. It was threatened by unemployment, old age, and misfortune.

In 1929 a period of hard times began in the United States. Many business firms failed. Others reduced the number of laborers that they employed. Factories shut down. Millions of people were thrown out of work. They had no way to earn the money that they needed to live. It was clear that something must be done to make people in America more secure.

The first action to provide economic security through law was taken in 1935. In taking this action the Nation used its regular machinery for self-government as provided in the Constitution.

The Constitution requires that a law shall first be passed by both houses of Congress. It shall then be sent to the President. He signs it or returns it with his objections. The latter is called vetoing a bill. If he does neither within 10 days and Congress is still in session, the measure can become a law without his signature. A measure vetoed by the President still becomes a law if two-thirds of the members of both houses vote for it.

The passage of an act by Congress requires certain steps. The proposed law, called a bill, is introduced, either in the House of Representatives or the



Senate by a member of the body. Often the same bill is introduced in both houses of Congress at the same time. .

After the bill is read by title it is sent to a regular or standing committee of the House in which it is introduced. The committee studies the bill. It listens to officials of government and other citizens who wish to give facts or offer arguments for or against the measure. This process of committee study is called a hearing. If the committee believes that the bill should become a law it recommends its passage. Sometimes the committee rewrites a bill. In such case the new bill is then introduced.

When a committee has finished its work the bill is considered by the whole body. Changes or amendments may be made in it. If a majority of the members of the body vote for the bill it is then sent to the other House of Congress for its action.

There the bill is again studied by a standing committee, discussed by members, and voted upon. If it passes the second House in exactly the form it passed the first, it is sent to the President.

It often happens, however, that the two Houses are not agreed upon the exact form of the bill. Before it can be sent to the President an agreement must be reached. Such an agreement is often arranged by a joint conference committee of the two Houses.

As you read about the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935, you will want (1) to follow the steps by which it became a law; (2) to learn the general types of security that it provided; (3) to understand how through the process of self-government the meaning of democracy was broadened in America.



### *A Social Security Law Is Passed*

On a June day in 1934 Congress received a message from the President of the United States. The message was read in both Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Senate heard the message as soon as roll call was completed. It was read by the chief clerk. President Franklin D. Roosevelt pointed out in the message that democracy can meet the dangers that threaten a nation. As the President put it, "*We have shown the world that democracy has within it the elements necessary to its own salvation.*"

The clerk read on. The Senators gave close attention to the President's statement of goals or objectives for the Nation.

*"Among our objectives I place the security of the men, women, and children*



*of the Nation first. . . . People want decent houses to live in; they want to . . . work; and they want some safeguards against misfortunes . . . ."*

The clerk's even voice continued. The message offered facts to support the objectives stated. The Senators leaned back in their seats. Here and there one of them glanced at a paper on his desk. But suddenly a sentence brought every man to attention.

*"If, as our Constitution tells us, our Federal Government was established among other things 'to promote the general welfare' it is our plain duty to provide for that security upon which welfare depends."*

Some Senators nodded their agreement with the President's argument. Others were unable to accept it. But all knew that the President had touched the heart of the problem. If security were guaranteed to American citizens, it would be done because the Constitution states that government shall provide for "*the general welfare*" of the people.

But should the meaning of the general welfare clause be broadened to include providing security? If so, what kind of security should be offered? For whom should it be provided? To these and other questions answers must be found.

The President appointed a committee to help find the answers. The committee was made up of five officials of Government. The Secretary of Labor acted as chairman. The President told the committee to study problems "*relating to the economic security*" of the people. By this he meant that the committee was to study the problems that had to do with a citizen's chance to work and earn a living.

The committee had the help of many people. It worked for 6 months. In January 1935, it sent its report to President Roosevelt. The report set out several plans through which the people might be made more secure.

The President sent the report to Congress. With it he sent a message in which he asked Congress to pass a law that would provide certain kinds of security for American citizens. The President closed his message with these words, "*We cannot afford to neglect the plain duty before us. I strongly recommend action to attain the objectives sought in this report.*"

The message was read to the Senate by the chief clerk. When he had finished, Sen. Robert F. Wagner of New York rose. Senator Wagner had long been interested in laws that extended greater benefits to the people.

*"At this time,"* the Senator said, *"I introduce a bill to carry out the recommendations made by the President and also the President's Committee on Economic Security."*

Senator Wagner handed a copy of the bill to a clerk. The bill was read twice by title. It was then referred to the Committee on Finance.

On the same day two bills were introduced in the House of Representatives. These bills, which were exactly alike, offered the same plan for security



provided in Senator Wagner's bill. They were sent to the Ways and Means Committee of the House.

Hearings were held on the bills for furthering economic security. The Ways and Means Committee decided that a number of changes were needed in the bills they were considering. The committee wrote a new bill which included the changes.

The new bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by Robert L. Doughton, Representative from North Carolina. It was called the Social Security Act.

This bill was referred to the Ways and Means Committee. This group quickly reported it back to the House. The committee recommended that the bill pass.

The Social Security Act was considered by the House as a whole. Speeches were made in support of it. Speeches were made against it. Forty-one amendments were offered. But except for 2 offered by the Ways and Means Committee, the amendments were voted down or withdrawn. On April 19, the vote was called for. Three hundred and seventy-two Representatives voted, "Yea." Thirty-three voted, "Nay." The Social Security Act had passed the House of Representatives.

The bill was sent to the Senate. It was read and referred to the Committee on Finance. The committee studied the bill. It recommended that the bill be passed, but with certain changes or amendments in it.

Debate in the Senate on the Social Security Act was long and serious. Some Senators opposed providing security through action of the Federal Government. They felt that such help, if required, should come from State or local government. Others objected to certain parts of the bill as it had passed the House. Day after day the discussion continued. Amendment after amendment was offered.

But some Senators gave the bill strong support. Senator Wagner was one of these. He believed that it was the duty of government to provide for the general welfare of the people. He pointed out that Congress had already passed welfare laws of less importance than this one.

The Senator drove home his argument with telling words when he said: *"Congress has appropriated money for the relief of the distressed inhabitants of other lands. Can there be less power to ameliorate (improve) the widespread distress of our own people? Congress has devoted funds to the extinction of the Mediterranean fruit fly. Was that fly a greater scourge than unemployment? Congress has provided generously for the victims of the Mississippi River floods. Are these floods more constant or more dreadful than the advent (coming) of uncared for old age?"*

The effect of the arguments made for the bill was shown when the vote was taken. Seventy-seven voted, "Yea." Only six voted, "Nay." But the bill as it passed the Senate was not in exactly the same form as when it passed the House. The Senate had added a number of amendments.



The bill was put in the hands of a conference committee in late June. The committee members struggled to clear up the differences between the two houses. At last the committee brought in a report.

The Senate still insisted on certain amendments. The House still opposed them. A second conference committee was named. Again men struggled to bring agreement between the ideas of the two bodies.

Millions of Americans watched that struggle. For them the aid provided by the bill spelled the difference between hope and despair.

Men made bitter by a hopeless search for work took new courage. The bill provided aid for the unemployed. "But will the bill pass? Does anyone care about our trouble?" Those were the questions men put to each other again and again.

Parents of crippled children looked at the twisted bodies of their little ones. They thought of the promise of treatment offered by the Social Security Act. With eager fingers they turned on their radios to learn if the committee had reached an agreement.

Mothers of hungry children thought of the bill in terms of bread and milk. Blind men dreamed of being freed from some of their difficulties. Crippled men grasped at the hope of learning a trade and earning a living.

The Social Security Act promised aid to these and other citizens. They needed that aid. They wanted it. But the act offered something even more precious than aid. It offered proof that democracy had a heart. It was a sign that America cared about its old and unfortunate citizens.

Small wonder then that people waited eagerly for the news from Washington. And small wonder either that the committee labored desperately to find an agreement. They, too, knew what this act meant.

Through long summer days the committee met. They sat behind closed doors in a room in the Capitol. They talked and talked and talked. Finally, they reported a plan for agreement.

There were some members of Congress who were still not entirely pleased with the proposed agreement. But they realized that agreements must be reached if self-government is to operate. They knew that compromises about details are sometimes necessary in order to reach agreements. Acting upon this knowledge the House and the Senate agreed upon the form of the Social Security Act.

The President signed the act on August 14, 1935. It provided several types of aid. Some of the aid was handled directly by the Federal Government. But most of it was given through grants of money made to States which then handled the aid. Among the citizens who received benefits were old people, unemployed persons, the blind, needy mothers, and children who lacked certain kinds of care. Aid was also provided for some health and welfare services.

In later years the Social Security Act was amended. Its services were extended. But its purpose was still to provide a measure of economic security for American

citizens. Its chief concern was still for those citizens least able to provide for their own needs.

The Social Security Act stands as a milestone in the development of democracy in America. It is proof that self-government can operate to strengthen democracy. It is also proof that democracy has a heart—that it cares about the welfare of its citizens.



### *Democracy Is Challenged*

*"Democracy is like living tissue—it must ever be a-growing."* Former President Woodrow Wilson used these words to explain the nature of democracy. He might have added, that as it grows democracy also changes to meet the needs of people. Such change is possible because democracy is not a fixed form of government. Instead democracy is a way of living together. It is a way that is concerned with giving freedom, justice, and opportunity to all people everywhere.

Democracy has grown and changed in the United States. Again and again laws have been made to extend freedom, secure justice, and enlarge opportunity for American citizens. The Social Security Act was one such law. There have been hundreds of others.

But the United States is not the only country which accepts democracy as a way of life. In certain other nations people also believe in its ideals. They try to put these ideals into practice in the affairs of their daily living. The people in these democratic countries and the people of the United States have a common interest. They all want to live as free men and women.

There is great need for nations to learn to work together. But this has been a hard lesson for the nations to learn. However, through the years some progress has been made.

One example of such progress is the Pan American Union. This is a union of nations of North and South America. It has helped the people of these countries to know and understand each other. In this way it has strengthened friendship and promoted peace among the nations.

The nations of the two Americas sent representatives to a number of meetings. Some of these meetings considered the problem of defending the two continents from outside attack. But others tried to find ways to solve problems within the nations, and thus to strengthen their democracy. Among the problems considered were health, education, child welfare, and women's rights.

In 1918, the United States entered a war in which many nations were already



fighting. The conflict (now known as World War I) ended in victory for the side upon which the United States fought.

As a result of the war an organization of nations was formed. Woodrow Wilson was a leader in forming the new organization. It was called the League of Nations. It was President Wilson's hope that the League would strengthen democracy and guarantee peace.

Most of the nations of the world joined the League. The United States did not join. However, it did work with the League on certain matters, for example, on problems of labor.

The League did some work that benefited the world. But its efforts to keep peace were threatened by a new movement that appeared in Europe and Asia. This was the rise of the totalitarian nation.

Such a nation is one in which the life of the people is completely controlled by the government. What a citizen believes, where he works, how much he earns—these and other problems of living are decided for the people.

In a democratic nation citizens practice self-government. They make their own laws, after a free discussion of their problems. In a totalitarian nation free discussion of problems is not permitted. The people do not make their own laws.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Russia), Germany, Italy, and Japan were among the more powerful nations that became totalitarian. They differed in many of their beliefs. But they were alike in believing that a nation should completely control the lives of its citizens.

Under the totalitarian system of living one man often came to have supreme power. Such a person is called a dictator.

There was no place for democracy in a totalitarian nation. A dictator treated with scorn any talk of freedom or justice. The only opportunity that he wanted for his people was the opportunity to serve the nation as the government ordered.

The totalitarian system challenges the democratic way of living. It threatens the safety of all nations because totalitarian nations are not content with practicing their system at home. They go into other nations and try to impose their practices. Time and again the armies of totalitarian nations have overrun and conquered neighboring countries.

This campaign of conquest finally led to World War II. Germany, Italy, and Japan fought together in this war. They were called the Axis powers. Opposed to the Axis was a large number of nations. The United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China were leading powers in this group.

The leaders in these countries realized that some form of government was necessary among the nations fighting together. On New Year's Day, 1942, in Washington, D. C., the representatives of these nations signed a paper. It was called the Declaration by United Nations. Each nation that signed pledged itself to use all its forces to defeat the Axis. Each nation also promised that it would not make a separate peace with the enemy.



In the next few years, other nations signed the Declaration and entered the war against the Axis.

During 1943 and 1944 the United Nations held four meetings to consider special problems. The first meeting took up the problem of feeding the people of the world. Out of the second came a plan for providing aid to the people of war-torn countries. The third meeting dealt with problems of money and banking. At the fourth, representatives of 52 nations discussed the best means of providing international air service.

The representatives in these four meetings did not always agree. They did not find solutions to all the problems that they considered. But the meetings had value nevertheless. They gave the nations experience in seeking to solve problems through democratic methods of discussion and agreement. The meetings also helped the nations to form the habit of working together.

Leaders in the United Nations saw the need for an organization that would continue when the fighting ceased. Late in 1944 talks were held by representatives of the four larger powers. These men proposed a plan for such an organization. This plan was studied and discussed in all the United Nations. The people thus had a chance to offer their ideas as to the form that a permanent organization of United Nations should take. This was another use of democratic methods.

In April 1945 the eyes of the world were on San Francisco. In this gleaming California city 5,000 people gathered. There were official delegates from 50 United Nations. There were men and women who came to report the events of the meeting that was to be held. There were men and women who were there to advise and consult with the official delegates.

The meeting opened on April 25. It was called the United Nations Conference on International Organization. The purpose of the conference was to write a charter or plan of organization for the United Nations.

Two months of struggle followed. The plan already proposed by the big powers was only a starting point. Suggestions for change poured in from the other nations. Amendments to their own earlier proposals were offered by the big powers. Committees were appointed, each to consider a special part of the plan. Advisers consulted with official delegates.

There were general sessions, meetings of the big powers, committee meetings, gatherings of small groups. There were speeches, arguments, and debates. Every word and phrase of the charter were discussed again and again.

Almost hour by hour reports were made by newspaper and radio to the waiting world. Millions of men and women hoped and prayed for the success of the meeting. They knew the horrors of war. They wanted to make peace secure for all time. They believed this could be done through an organization of nations.

The great moment of the conference came on June 26. The delegates had completed their work. The Charter was written. It lay on a huge round table on



the main floor of the Veterans' Building. Behind the table against a blue curtain, were the flags of 50 nations.

On the stroke of noon the eight Chinese delegates stepped through an opening in the row of flags. The chairman sat down at the table. With a Chinese writing brush he signed his name to the United Nations Charter. The other delegates added their names under his.

The seven delegates from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Russia) followed the Chinese. A pen replaced the writing brush. The Soviet delegates each in turn signed.

The ceremony continued. Nation by nation the other delegates came to the table. One after another they signed the Charter. Fifty nations thus gave their support to a world-wide organization. They pledged themselves to try to solve their international problems through the United Nations.

The Charter was written. The delegates from the United States had signed, but the United States could not become a member of the United Nations until the Charter was ratified by the Senate of the United States.

This was true because the United States practices self-government. In a self-governing nation the people must give their consent to any plan for international action. The people make their will known through the Congress of the United States. An agreement between or among nations needs to be ratified only by the Senate. But when an action requires the spending of money, a law must be passed. This is done by the usual method of lawmaking.

The people of the United States want to live at peace with their neighbors. They want to enjoy the blessings which democracy has given them. They want to see democracy grow in other lands. Again and again the people have acted through Congress to achieve these ends. They have tried to make peace more secure. They have tried to strengthen democracy in other lands as well as at home.

As you read of a few such actions you will want (1) to understand what each action was intended to accomplish; (2) to learn the several ways in which the United States has attempted to strengthen democracy abroad; (3) to understand how the American people have acted for this purpose through the process of self-government.



### *The United States Works With Other Nations*

Shortly before 1 o'clock on July 2, 1945, Sen. Alben W. Barkley addressed the Senate of the United States. As leader of the majority party in the Senate it was his duty to arrange the order of business.

Senator Barkley said, *"The President of the United States is about to address the Senate. . . . I ask that the Chair appoint a committee of four Senators to escort the President into the chamber."*

The Presiding Officer of the Senate at once appointed four Senators to act as an escort. This committee withdrew.

At 1 o'clock President Harry S. Truman entered the Senate chamber. His coming was announced by the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate. The President walked to the front of the chamber, escorted by the committee.

The Presiding Officer said, *"Gentlemen of the Senate, the President of the United States."*

President Truman took his place at the clerk's desk. He greeted the Senators with a beaming smile. He spoke of his pleasure in being once more in the hall where he had served as a Senator.

Then the President's face grew grave, for he spoke of a matter of great importance. In quiet tones he said,

*"I have just brought from the White House and have delivered to your presiding officer, the Charter of the United Nations. . . ."*

*"I am appearing to ask for the ratification of the Charter . . . in accordance with the Constitution."*

*"The Charter which I bring you has been written in the name of 'We, the peoples of the United Nations.' Those peoples—stretching all over the face of the earth—will watch our action here with great concern and high hope. For they look to this body of elected representatives of the people of the United States to take the lead in approving the Charter . . . and pointing the way for the rest of the world. . . ."*

*"The objectives (purposes) of the Charter are clear."*

*"It seeks to prevent future wars."*

*"It seeks to settle international disputes by peaceful means . . ."*

*"It seeks to promote world-wide progress and better standards of living."*

*"It seeks to achieve . . . respect for . . . human rights and . . . freedoms for all men and women . . ."*

*"It seeks to remove the economic and social causes of international conflict and unrest. . . ."*

*"This Charter points down the only road to enduring peace. There is no other. Let us not hesitate to join hands with the peace-loving peoples of the earth and start down that road. . . ."*

*"I urge prompt ratification."*

A burst of applause greeted the President's final words. The Senators rose from their seats. They stood and clapped loudly as the President walked from the Senate chamber.

The Charter was in effect a treaty or agreement between the United States and certain foreign nations. For this reason it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The chairman of the committee was Sen. Tom Connally



of Texas. He had served as one of the delegates of the United States at the Conference in San Francisco.

The Committee on Foreign Relations held hearings on the Charter for 2 weeks. During that time many citizens of the United States appeared before the Committee. Some represented large organizations that had many thousands of members. Some represented small organizations with only a few members. Some were members of no organization, but expressed only their own views.

By far the greater number of these citizens spoke in favor of ratification of the Charter. But some were opposed to ratification. The committee listened to arguments on both sides of the question. Senator Connally had helped write the Charter. He believed that it should be ratified. Nevertheless, he asked those who were against it to state their reasons fully. The Senator knew that in a democracy the minority as well as the majority must have a chance to express its ideas.

During the third week in July the Committee on Foreign Relations placed the Charter before the Senate. The committee recommended that the Charter be ratified.

Senator Connally opened the discussion before the Senate as a whole. He spoke of the feeling all over the world of need for an organization that would attempt to keep peace. He said that the Charter had been written in answer to this longing.

Then Senator Connally made an important statement about the Charter. He said of it,

*"We advance it not as a magical instrument which will guarantee that there shall be no more wars. \* \* \* This Charter is not an absolute guaranty that there shall never be another war. However, it is an advance over the ground where we now stand. It is an approach. It brings into contact the nations of the world."*

Senator Connally explained some of the ways provided by the Charter for keeping peace. He said:

*"It establishes a World Court to which may be referred \* \* \* questions. It establishes an Assembly where matters may be freely discussed by the humblest, smallest, and weakest nation, as well as by the mightiest nation. It will be one place where the equality of all nations will be recognized."*

*"The Charter also establishes a Security Council. It places upon the Security Council and the great nations which possess powerful \* \* \* resources, the primary obligation of preserving the peace."*

Senator Connally had worked long and hard in the writing of the Charter. He had listened patiently to arguments made in the hearings. He had presented the facts about the Charter clearly. Now he called upon his fellow-Senators for the courage to take a forward step. In a voice ringing with feeling the Senator cried:

*"We have not been afraid to go to war. We have had the courage to fight on"*



*the battlefields. Shall we lack the courage now to assume the responsibility of this organization? \* \* \**

*"Can we not have the same courage \* \* \* with which we faced the enemy upon the battlefield? \* \* \* Can we not show some of that same courage in the cause of peace? \* \* \**

*"I hope we may ratify this Charter by a vote that will resound round the earth. \* \* \*"*

For a week the Senate considered the matter of ratifying the Charter. Questions were asked and answered about certain parts of it. A few Senators objected to the Charter. They stated their positions, as was their right. But by far the largest number of Senators spoke in favor of ratification.

Sen. Arthur H. Vandenburg of Michigan had been a delegate to the Conference at San Francisco. Upon his return from there he spoke to the Senate regarding the newly-written Charter. He explained his own feeling about the Charter by reminding the Senators of an earlier event in America's history. The Senator said:

*"I think that I now know \* \* \* what was in Benjamin Franklin's soul, When at the end of the American Constitutional Convention in 1787 he \* \* \* said, 'I consent, sir, to this Constitution because I expect no better and because I am not sure it is not the best.'"*

*"Franklin never had cause to regret his act of faith. \* \* \* In kindred faith I am prepared to proceed with this great adventure. I see no other way."*

During the debate Sen. Elbert D. Thomas of Utah sounded a note of warning, while expressing his hope for the Charter. Senator Thomas said,

*"The Charter is a hopeful beginning of things which will occur in the world, if all of us will put our \* \* \* will to the task. \* \* \**

*"A bully in any community can wreck the \* \* \* community \* \* \*. A bully among the nations can wreck the \* \* \* nations, unless the power or the force or the mastery of the community is expressed against it. My hope for the Charter is that the power of the community will be so expressed \* \* \*"*

During those July days speech after speech was made in the Senate. Over the world men and women waited with anxious hearts. "Will the Senate ratify? Will the United States take its place in the United Nations? Will the American people pledge themselves to work for peace and democracy all over the world?" These were the questions that people put to one another.

They had their answer on July 28, 1945. On that day the Presiding Officer said, *"The resolution of ratification will be read."*

The clerk read the resolution. The Presiding Officer then continued, "The question is on agreeing to the resolution of ratification. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll."

The clerk called the roll of Senators. As each member's name was called he voiced his decision on ratification.



"Yea, Yea, Yea," the answers rang out. The vote seemed to swell and roll through the Senate chamber. Ninety-one Senators cast their votes. Eighty-nine answered, "Yea." Two answered "Nay."

The Senate had ratified the Charter. The United States had taken its place as one of the United Nations. Through the regular processes of self-government the American people had taken a step to strengthen peace and democracy throughout the world.

World War II ended within a month after the Senate ratified the Charter. The tie that had held the United Nations together as fighting partners was dissolved. But the Charter provided a bond for holding the nations together in a permanent organization.

The Charter was soon accepted by many countries. The United Nations began its new life under the Charter in October 1945. As rapidly as possible the various bodies required or permitted under the Charter were formed.

The three principal bodies of the United Nations are the Security Council, the General Assembly, and the International Court of Justice. These bodies are concerned mainly with political problems.

The Charter also provides for the formation of other bodies to deal with certain matters. One such body is the Economic and Social Council. Under it a number of special groups have been organized. Each of these groups is attempting to find the answer to certain social or economic problems. Such problems, if not solved, often become the root of political difficulties. They may even become the causes of war.

As each of the special groups is formed, the United States must decide whether or not to become a member of the group. The decision is made by Congress. The measure which permits membership is introduced in one or both houses of Congress as a resolution. The resolution follows the same steps as a bill. It must pass both houses of Congress and be signed by the President before it goes into effect.

Unesco is a short name for the United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. It is one of the special groups set up under the Charter of the United Nations. Its work is suggested by the opening sentence of its Constitution, which declares "*that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed.*"

Americans helped at every step in forming Unesco. When the plan for the organization was completed in 1946 a resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives. The resolution provided that the United States should become a member of Unesco. It also provided a plan by which persons would be chosen to carry on this Nation's part of the work. And, finally, it made possible the setting aside or voting of money to pay this Nation's part of the expenses of Unesco.



The resolution was sent to the Foreign Affairs Committee. When the committee held hearings many people asked to be heard. But not one person spoke against the resolution. All wanted the United States to become a member of Unesco.

The resolution passed through the usual steps followed by a bill in Congress. There was discussion in both houses over details. But agreements were reached. The resolution was accepted by Congress. It was signed by the President on July 30, 1946. The United States took its place as a member of Unesco.

The act of joining Unesco is an example of how the United States can through self-government strengthen democracy. From time to time the Nation has through similar action of self-government, extended its support to other special groups set up under the United Nations.

Unesco is working to help people all over the world get and use more knowledge. It is helping to rebuild schools that were destroyed by war. It is securing books, pencils, paper, and other supplies for the schools. It is trying to find the best methods to teach people who cannot read and write, to do so. It is arranging for students of one land to travel and study in another. It is arranging for teachers to exchange places with other teachers in distant parts of the world.

By these and other means Unesco works to overcome ignorance and hatred. These are often the causes of war. They are always the enemy of democracy.

World War II ended in 1945. But real peace did not come to the world. Differences between nations grew into disputes. Quarrels threatened to become wars.

The United Nations attacked the problems that arose. But the United Nations is not a super state. It cannot at once establish peace and security. It must achieve these ends through the cooperation of the most powerful nations.

Democracy was threatened by conditions resulting from the war. Many countries had suffered destruction. Cities were bombed. Factories were ruined. Railroads were torn up. Houses were blown to bits. Thousands of people were killed. Other thousands were injured. Millions suffered from hunger and cold.

Germany, Italy, and Japan were defeated in World War II. In those countries the totalitarian way of life was no longer followed. But Russia had fought with the United Nations. It was one of the victors in the war. In that country the totalitarian way of living was still firmly established.

Once more small nations were brought under the influence of a larger nation. One after another countries lying near Russia were drawn into the power of their mighty neighbor. In each of the countries the people lost their freedom.

Democracy was once more challenged by totalitarianism. Freedom was threatened by tyranny.

The American people watched with distress as nation after nation fell. The feeling began to grow that the United States must find a means to strengthen democracy abroad and to protect peace.

A speech made on a June day in 1947 suddenly stirred the world to action.



It caught the interest of men and women everywhere. It became big news. It was repeated again and again by radio and printed word.

The speech was made by Secretary of State George C. Marshall, at Harvard University. The Secretary called for a new plan to help Europe recover from its war losses. He called for a plan by which European nations could again become self-supporting. He proposed that aid be given upon the basis of European self-help.

Secretary Marshall's words brought a ray of hope to European nations suffering the wounds of war. They acted at once upon the idea. Leaders in Britain and France sent out a call for a conference of nations. Sixteen nations answered the call by sending representatives to a meeting in Paris, France. Only Russia, and the nations under Russian control, refused to send representatives.

The representatives labored for 10 weeks. They made a plan to help Europe recover from its war losses. The plan required that each nation taking part should help itself. This would be done in part by producing more goods and trading more freely. The plan stated the amount of aid from the United States that would be needed to make recovery possible. It stated that such aid would be given to a nation only when the nation was helping itself.

The American people read of the plan with eager interest. They wanted to see Europe recover. They knew that misery in Europe was a threat to democracy everywhere. But they realized that the plan would cost an enormous amount of money.

The plan became the subject of hot discussion. "Can we afford it?" a man asked his neighbor. "That is not the question," the neighbor replied, "The question is, can we afford not to give this aid? Without it democracy may be lost as a way of life in western Europe. Can we keep democracy in America if it is destroyed abroad?"

"But the plan will cost billions of dollars. Can the United States spare that amount without making our own people suffer?" the first man continued.

"This is a rich nation—the richest on the earth," his friend said. "I believe we can help Europe without ruining ourselves. But giving this aid will require some sacrifice on our part." The speaker paused. He looked sternly at the other man. Then he added, "But making freedom safe has always required sacrifice. Are you not willing to make a sacrifice to strengthen democracy in the world?"

This argument was one of thousands that raged in America. On the streets, over dinner tables, in the halls of Congress—everywhere people talked of the plan for European recovery. Some favored the plan. Some opposed it. Others favored extending some aid, but questioned the amount and the way that it should be handled.

Efforts were made to learn all the facts about the matter of giving aid. Government officials studied the problem. A large committee of citizens who were not government officials studied it. Writers and speakers discussed it.

Early in 1948, a bill was introduced in the Senate. It authorized or made



possible the spending of money for economic aid to certain European countries. The bill was sent to the Foreign Relations Committee. Sen. Arthur H. Vandenburg was chairman of this committee.

For 5 weeks the Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on the bill. Men and women poured into the committee room. Some spoke strongly for the bill. Others spoke strongly against it. When hearings were finished, the committee members studied the problem for 10 days longer. They secured advice from experts outside the government. Then they recommended to the Senate that the bill should pass.

Senator Vandenburg led the fight for its passage. In a speech in the Senate he stated why he believed that the United States should render aid to Europe:

*"The greatest Nation on earth either justifies or surrenders its leadership. We must choose. There are no blueprints to guarantee results. We are \* \* \* surrounded by \* \* \* risks. I \* \* \* believe that the pending program is the best of these risks.*

*"This program seeks peace and stability for free men in a free world. \* \* \* It proposes to help our friends to help themselves in the pursuit of \* \* \* liberty in the democratic pattern. The quest can mean as much to us as it does to them. It aims to preserve the victory \* \* \* which we thought we won in World War II. It strives to help stop World War III before it starts. \* \* \**

*"It is a plan for peace, stability, and freedom. As such it involves the clear self-interest of the United States. \* \* \* If it fails we have done our final best. If it succeeds our children's children will call us blessed \* \* \*."*

All the Senators did not agree with Senator Vandenburg. Some feared that the measure might lead to war instead of peace. Some thought the amount of money authorized was too great. These and other objections were stated in speeches and debates. But in the end the Senate passed the bill.

The House of Representatives made European recovery only a part of a larger measure. It authorized aid to China, as well as to certain European countries. It authorized military as well as economic aid. It included aid marked especially for children who had suffered by reason of war.

The bill was studied and favorably reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs. But a whirlwind of debate raged when it came before the House. Heated arguments flew back and forth. Representatives who believed that the measure would strengthen democracy and secure peace urged its passage. Other Representatives pleaded with equal passion for its defeat.

The eyes of the world were on the Capitol of the United States. The foes of democracy were moving fast in Europe. More strongly than ever they threatened the nations that still remained free. In those countries two questions were on men's lips. They asked:

*"Will America help us? If so, will the help come in time to save us?"*

America gave its answer. In the late afternoon of March 31, 1948, the House



of Representatives passed the bill before it. At midnight on April 1, a conference committee agreed upon the terms of the Foreign Aid Act. On April 2, the terms of the conference report were accepted by both the Senate and the House of Representatives. On April 3, the President of the United States signed the Act. On April 5, the United States began its program of aid.

The Foreign Aid Act was like no other measure ever passed in the United States. It pledged this nation to a vast program of economic aid in Europe and China. It pledged military aid to certain countries. It pledged direct help for children who are victims of war. It called for the spending of more than 6 billion dollars in providing this aid.

But the act was more than a pledge of food and guns. It was a mighty effort to strengthen democracy abroad. It was the voice of a free people challenging the onrushing forces of tyranny.

The passage of the Foreign Aid Act furnishes a splendid example of the way in which self-government operates. The act was not the work of any one man or of any political party. It grew out of the thinking of hundreds of men and women who studied the problems involved. Every step of the measure was examined in public debate. Those who opposed the act had a full and fair opportunity to state their objections. The final terms were hammered out by resolving differences of opinion. The act was passed because the people of the United States had made clear to their Senators and Representatives in Congress that they wanted it passed.

The passage of the Foreign Aid Act was proof that the process of self-government can be used to meet changing conditions. It was proof that swift and vigorous action can be taken without losing the democratic privileges of discussion and debate. It was proof that democracy is pledged to secure "liberty and justice for all."



### *Boys and Girls Practice Self-Government Through a Representative Body*

"Miss Stone, something should be done about the lunchroom. It's a disgrace to our school."

The seventh-grade pupils had just returned to their classroom after the lunch period. They were barely in their places when Bill Burton voiced his angry protest.

A classmate agreed. "That's right," he said. "The little children yell and make a lot of noise."

"They drop paper napkins on the floor, too," a girl added. "And today a child spilled milk. Those things make the lunchroom messy."

"It's not just the little children that are careless either," a second girl said. "Some of the older pupils leave their trays and dishes on the tables instead of carrying them to the service counter."

"What do you think we should do to help the situation in the lunchroom?" Miss Stone asked.

"Maybe we could make some new rules," a girl suggested.

"But we can't make rules for the lunchroom," a boy said, "All the children in school go there. The seventh grade can't make rules for all the pupils."

"Then let's get all the pupils in school together," a girl proposed. "We can talk about the matter and make some rules if we need them."

"But that's too many people to talk it over," Bill Burton said. "A small group can discuss problems better than such a large group."

Miss Stone nodded. "That's true, Bill. But how can we get a small group to handle this matter?"

"We could ask each room to elect a representative. The pupils in each room could tell their representatives what they wanted done in the lunchroom. Then the representatives could meet and decide on rules."

Bill had suggested that his school follow a plan of self-government that is in very general use. It is called representative government.

When a self-governing group is small and the members can come together easily a direct democracy is possible. But when the group is large or the members scattered over a large area, direct democracy does not work well. In such cases the people in each division of the large group or area elect one or more representatives. The representatives then come together and act for the people. They consider problems and decide them by majority vote.

It is important to remember that the people still have the final power in a representative democracy. If they do not like what their representatives do, they can, at the next election, choose new representatives.

The United States has representative government. Answering the following questions will help you better to understand how it work. If you do not know the answers reread Unit II, Episode 2 and Unit IV, Episodes 1 and 2.

1. How many Senators does each State have?
2. How are the number of Representatives in each State determined?
3. Through what steps must a bill pass in order for it to become a law?
4. What responsibility does the President of the United States have in regard to making laws?
5. What must be done before a treaty between the United States and another country can go into effect?
6. What are the three principal branches of government? What is the duty of each branch? How is the power of each branch affected by the other two branches?
7. Why was a Bill of Rights added to the Constitution? How did this strengthen democracy in America?
8. How has democracy been strengthened through the use of our plan of representative self-government? Why has it been possible to use the plan to make democracy stronger?



Bill Burton proposed using the representative plan to deal with the problem of the lunchroom. Many schools use this plan to carry on student self-government. The body of representatives elected in the school is usually called the student council.

A student council may be so simple in its organization that it can be carried on by young children. One such council<sup>7</sup> was made up of a group of kindergarten and primary boys and girls. Each room had two representatives.

The group met in the principal's office. The boys and girls sat in a circle on the floor. The president and vice-president of the upper-grade council sat with the little people. They were there to advise and help. They had been the first to feel a need for the lower council.

Again and again the older boys and girls had said, "It's the little kids that cause the trouble."

Now the older council officers were helping to train the little children so that these small citizens could avoid trouble.

The teacher-sponsor asked, "Does anyone want to bring anything before the council?"

Representatives reported matters that they thought required attention. These were discussed, and decisions were made by the group. Representatives later reported these decisions to their classmates.

Not all student councils are so simply organized as this one. Quite often councils use the form of conducting business that is followed in grown-up groups. A complete report of one such meeting<sup>8</sup> was written. It tells exactly what was said and done:

**PRESIDENT:** The Student Safety Council of the George Rogers Clark School will please come to order. We will open our meeting today with the American Creed. Will all please stand? [All stand, face and salute the flag, and recite the creed together.] We shall now have roll call. [Classes are called by teachers' names. One class was not represented and the sergeant-at-arms was sent for a representative.] May we have the minutes of the last meeting?

The secretary read the minutes of the last meeting.

**PRESIDENT:** If there are no corrections, the minutes stand approved as read. Is there any old business?

**SIXTH-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE:** Mr. President, we did not decide what to do about the matter of how far the kindergarten patrol boys are to take the children on their way home.

**PRESIDENT:** May we have some discussion of this matter?

**FIFTH-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE:** I think that the patrol boys should take the children up or down about four blocks.

**FOURTH-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE:** They should surely take them across the railroad tracks.

**SIXTH-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE:** I move that the chairman of the Kindergarten Patrol talk the matter over with Miss Esch [the principal].

**SECOND-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE:** I second the motion.

<sup>7</sup> Lower Student council, Harlan School, Wilmington, Del., Helen Baylis, sponsor.

<sup>8</sup> Junior Student Safety Council, George Rogers Clark School, Louisville, Ky., Lettie, J. Noland, sponsor.

PRESIDENT: All in favor raise hands. The motion has been made and carried. John, will you see Miss Esch about this? Is there any more old business? [No response.] We will now have the committee reports. The Corner Committee please.

CHAIRMAN OF THE CORNER COMMITTEE: Our boys have all been at their posts on time this week. We wish that the teachers of the little children would tell them to pay more attention to the Safety boys. They should go across the street all together. It makes it hard if they run around on the corner and we have to catch them.

PRESIDENT: Will all of the representatives please make a note about this to take back to their classes? [Each representative comes with a pencil and paper on which to keep notes.]

Mrs. Noland the teacher-sponsor writes on the blackboard:

1. *"Children should stand still on the corner and wait for Safety boy to help them across."*

The representatives copy this to take back to home rooms.

PRESIDENT: May we have the Hall Committee report?

CHAIRMAN OF HALL COMMITTEE: I noticed this morning that the second-grade class went down to the basement all mixed up. One child is liable to stumble and then many would fall. I think it would be better if the children go down in two lines.

PRESIDENT: Do we have any discussion?

FIFTH-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE: I think it would be safer that way. The children would then have a bannister to hold on to in case they stumbled.

FOURTH-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE: Our class tried this two-line idea and it works fine and it is certainly much safer.

SIXTH-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE: Why couldn't we ask all of the classes to try the two-line idea?

PRESIDENT: Will you make a motion to that effect?

SIXTH-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE: I move that we ask all classes to come down and go up the stairways in two lines.

SECOND-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE: I second the motion.

PRESIDENT: All in favor say "Aye." All opposed say "No." The motion is carried. Will all representatives take this back to their classes?

Mrs. Nolan writes on the board and children write on their papers:

2. *"It is safer to come down the stairways in two lines."*

PRESIDENT: May we have the report of the Library Committee?

LIBRARY CHAIRMAN: The library has been left in good order by all of the classes this week.

PRESIDENT: Please take this notice back to your classes. We are always glad to send a good notice back to the classes.

Mrs. Noland writes:

3. *"The library has been left in fine order all week."*

PRESIDENT: May we have the Door Committee report?"

CHAIRMAN OF DOOR COMMITTEE: "The children seem to be using the exit doors we decided on sometime ago. I didn't notice any running through the upper hall either. Last week at fire drill there was a little confusion, but perhaps it was due to the fact that classes had changed and the exits were new to some."

MRS. NOLAND: I'm sure that was the reason and that the next fire drill will be just right.

PRESIDENT: May we have the luncheon report?



CHAIRMAN OF LUNCHROOM COMMITTEE: The children seem to be remembering to push their stools under the tables when they get up. I did find some lunch on the steps the other day. Somebody might slip on it.

PRESIDENT: Let's ask the children to be careful about this. Please ask the children again to stay at the tables until they have finished their lunch.

Mrs. Noland writes:

4. "Try not to drop any lunch on the floors or stairways."

PRESIDENT: The Kindergarten Patrol report.

SIXTH-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE: We are now helping six kindergarten children across Frankfort Avenue. Someone usually meets them on the other side.

PRESIDENT: Have we any new business?

THIRD-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE: Mr. President, I want to report the name of Billy Green for not paying attention to the corner boy at Galt and Payne Streets. We tell him every day about running across the street and he pays no attention to us.

PRESIDENT: Is this the first time he has been reported to the council?

THIRD-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE: No, I told him about this before, several times.

PRESIDENT: We shall have him brought to the Council meeting next week. Let's all remember that the first time a child's name is mentioned to the council his class representative is asked to talk to him; the second time, the president of the Safety Council speaks to him; and the third time, he is asked to come before the council. [The usual punishment is that he is asked to attend the Safety School which is held after school hours.]

PRESIDENT: The time is now up. May I hear a motion that we adjourn?

THIRD-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE: I move that the meeting adjourn.

SECOND-GRADE REPRESENTATIVE: I second the motion.

PRESIDENT: The meeting is adjourned.

A student council may be very useful in caring for everyday problems such as those considered in this meeting of the Clark School Safety Council. But a student council may also solve larger problems that arise from time to time. A student council usually makes certain rules for the school and deals with cases in which rules are broken. But even more important than this is the work that a council does when it plans and carries out a new program for the school.

One student council<sup>9</sup> had much success with its larger projects. It planned, organized, and paid the expenses of a safety patrol of fifth- and sixth-grade boys. The patrol worked with the police at crossings near the school. This council worked with the principal in setting up plans for fire drills. It supervised all Junior Red Cross projects in the school. Its officers served as the school representatives at city-wide Junior Red Cross meetings.

The council sponsored three programs during the year in the school auditorium. The council secured the speaker for these programs and made all the plans for the meetings. In the spring it planned and carried out a special program in honor of the nation's heroes. This program was given at the foot of the flagpole in the schoolyard.

<sup>9</sup> Student Council, Forest Avenue School, Birmingham, Ala., Helen North, principal.

The council made and sold the colors worn by all students at the play day held in the spring. The sale of colors provided funds which the council used in carrying on its projects.

The council found so many interesting kinds of work to do that it often had to choose between two projects. This caused the council members to compare the values of different undertakings. It caused them to try to judge the value of what they had already done.

The boys and girls of Forest Avenue School gained experience in planning, organizing, and checking the value of undertakings. They found that practicing self-government was fun as well as good training.

Are there any projects that need to be done in your school? Are there any problems that need to be solved? Would a student council help meet these needs? What steps would be necessary to organize a student council? Who could give you help?

You began this study by exploring the nature of self-government. Before a plan for self-government can operate successfully in any group, all members of the group need to understand the nature of self-government. Can you help the boys and girls in your school to find the answers to the three basic questions about self-government?

1. Who has the power?
2. What responsibility does each citizen have?
3. How does a system of self-government work?



## CONCLUSION

**I**N THE PAGES of this book you have traced some of the steps in the development of self-government in America. You have seen the idea brought to America by English settlers grow into a plan by means of which the will of millions of citizens is expressed.

You have learned that self-government is no fixed form, but a process that can be used to meet the changing needs of the people. It is a process that protects the rights of the minority while expressing the will of the majority. It is a process that can be used by citizens of all ages and by groups of all sizes.

You have learned that democracy is a way of living together. But you must understand that it is a way that cannot be bought with money. Neither can it be secured by force. It can be established only by the slow process of individual effort.

The key to the success of democracy in America lies in the heart of each of America's citizens. Upon each one rests the responsibility for practicing self-control; for putting the well-being of others above his own desires.

You have found that the United States has tried through the processes of self-government to strengthen democracy at home and abroad. In the years ahead this work of making democracy more secure must go forward. The nations of the world must learn to live together in peace. That is the challenge of the future to you who will be the grown-up citizens of tomorrow.

Today you are learning the principles of self-government. You are practicing these principles in your own groups. Tomorrow you must put these principles into practice in your community, in your State, in your Nation, in your world. Through them you can make democracy and peace secure. Through them you can make "liberty and justice for all" a reality.