

VII

CURRENT REFORM MOVEMENTS DEMAND AND ARE MAKING CHANGES IN THE LAW

IN stating these measures, instead of using the judicial form, we will adopt in a large degree the language of those who are advocating the various movements in order to present them with something like the form and force that characterizes them as they come before our legislative bodies demanding their increased recognition in the law.

(1) **Direct legislation.** The Initiative and Referendum; in order that the people may have real and continuous control of the government instead of the mere privilege of periodic selection of a new set of masters, whose will during their term of office is the real sovereign power in place of the people's will.

(2) **Popular nominations.** Direct nominations by popular petition only, in order to destroy the control over nominations which rings and bosses possess under the system of caucus and convention.

(3) **Proportional representation.** Propor-

tional representation, in order that every class and interest of substantial weight in each community shall be represented in true proportion in the legislative bodies that make the laws for that community.

(4) **Voting preferences.** Preferential voting or majority choice, in order that single officers, like mayors, governors, etc., may no longer be subject to the election by a minority of the voters, as under our plurality system, but shall invariably be the choice of the majority.

(5) **Civil service reform.** Extension of civil service system to the end that the "spoils system" may be entirely eliminated from political life.

(6) **Home rule for cities.** Municipal home rule, or self-government in local affairs, such as the control of streets, water works, street railways, fire departments, etc., national government of national affairs, state government of state affairs and municipal control of distinctly municipal affairs, constitutes the true adjustment. There is no more reason to permit Boston, Springfield, Fall River, Lowell and Salem to tell the city of Worcester how it shall manage its street railroads, water works or electric lighting system, than there is to permit Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode

Island and Connecticut to dictate to Massachusetts how she shall manage the affairs of state.

(7) **Non-partisan city elections.** Separation of municipal and state elections, and elimination of all party designations from municipal ballots, so that our cities will have a better chance to manage their municipal business on purely business principles, free from the taint of party politics, and to elect municipal officers with reference to their fitness for the work to be done without regard to their political affiliations.

(8) **Public ownership.** The open door to public ownership of public utilities, so that our cities may own and operate street railways, lighting plants, etc., if they so desire.

(9) Exemption of revenue-producing properties from the municipal debt limit.

(10) Provision for the valuation of all public utilities from railroads down to water works, in order to secure a fair basis for the regulation of rates and for estimates of compensation in case of public purchase.

(11) **Diffusion of wealth.** Progressive income and inheritance taxes to aid the diffusion of wealth, which should be one of the prime objects of statesmanship and to provide funds for public use by a system of taxation most in

harmony with the well-established principle already referred to, that equality in taxation means equality in sacrifice.

(12) **A form of "single tax."** The socialization of land values due to the growth of population and the development of civilization, either by public purchase or by the gradual development of a system of taxing land values to absorb the unearned increment for public use.

(13) **Control of corporations.** The regulation of trusts and combines.

Several methods of dealing with trusts and combines are here proposed.

We may let them alone. That might suit the trust magnates, but can hardly be regarded as adequate from the standpoint of the public good.

We may prohibit them. The original savage impulse is to destroy whatever seems to injure us. This primitive instinct crops out frequently in civilized man and even in the most advanced communities, which sometimes manifest a reversion to the savage type of conduct, and resort to blind laws against trusts and combines, trying to destroy what is good as well as what is bad. This method cannot succeed and should not succeed.

We may try to remove the causes of the

growth and power of trusts and combines. The plan of removing the protection of the tariff from industries in which large monopolies have developed is of this class, as are also laws against rebates and railroad favoritism, laws forbidding a corporation to hold stock in other corporations, and laws requiring that goods be sold at the same price to all comers at the factory door.

We may rely upon investigation and publicity. Publicity no doubt does have a powerful restraining effect on the conduct of business affairs wherever the managers have not lost all conscience and sensitiveness to the approbation of their fellow men. But in the very worst cases where relief is most imperative, publicity has proved of little or no avail. The public has known for many years the frauds and iniquities of Standard Oil and the beef combine, and yet those evils have continued in one form or another with practically unabated virulence.

We may provide for Federal license and incorporation with thorough and continuous supervision by Federal authorities. This is an excellent plan from which much good may be expected. But we cannot hope in this way to prevent excessive charges or the secret use of combine power for anti-public purposes.

We may enact that prices and wages shall be subject to final adjudication by boards of arbitration representing all three parties in interest, namely, labor, capital and the public. It is not fair for either party to a sale or contract to fix the terms. In a monopolized industry it is unfair to permit the seller to fix the price, and it would be equally unfair for the public, which is the buyer in this case, to fix the price. The only recourse in harmony with economic and ethical principles is the fixing of prices and wages by decision of impartial tribunals.

We may adopt a system of graded taxes; putting a high rate of taxation on aggressive, anti-public combines which refuse to open their books to public inspection, or make fair prices, or reasonable capitalization, etc.; and a low rate of taxation on public spirited combines which open their books to public inspection and make fair capitalization, just prices, etc.

The reason that men combine to-day in anti-social forms is that profit lies in that direction. If profit can be severed from anti-social methods and attached to forms of organization and management that are in harmony with the public good, while loss is attached to anti-social conduct, men will adopt the superior types of organization and business methods, and trusts and combines will become coöpera-

tive and public spirited instead of aggressive and anti-public.

We may provide that labor and the public shall be recognized as partners in monopolistic industry and entitled to elect representatives to act on the board of directors.

We may resort to temporary public operation of the business of trust and combines which violate the law. If a corporation cannot pay its debts a receiver may be appointed by the court to manage the business of the company until it is once more on a sound basis. So, if a trust or combine is convicted of breaking the law a public officer might be appointed by the court who should manage the business under supervision of the court, using the profits to pay off and extinguish the watered stock or excess capital, reduce wages to a fair level, see that labor had reasonable wages and just conditions, and bring the whole business into harmony with law and the public good. Then the property could be returned to the company to be managed under careful and persistent supervision with salutary fear of public management in case of any further serious breach of law.

We can establish permanent public operation of monopolistic industries, acquiring title by the issue of public bonds or through purchase

with funds raised by progressive income and inheritance taxes, or in any one of several other ways that have been frequently urged upon the public. In the case of railroads, street railways, lighting systems and other natural monopolies where the problem cannot be adequately met by the development of voluntary coöperation, public ownership is the ultimate solution, care being taken in all cases that political conditions shall be made such as to afford a reasonable prospect of successful public operation of these important properties. In commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, on the other hand, where the field is open for the most part, to the growth of voluntary coöperation, legislative coöperation should not be resorted to until every reasonable effort has been made to solve the problem by methods of voluntary action under the direction and encouragement of wise laws.

(14) **Public ownership of monopolies.** The abolition of private monopoly.

We have seen that it is held by the courts that on the fundamental principles of justice inherent in every government taxation cannot be levied for a private purpose, but only for a public purpose, and that an act levying taxes or authorizing the levy of taxes for a private purpose, as, for example, to bestow the money

on a manufacturing company under private control and operated for private profit is beyond the power of a legislative body in a free country, being not an act of legislation but of confiscation.

Every private monopoly involves the power of taxation for private purposes.¹ Wherefore no legislative authority in a republic has a right to establish or permit a private monopoly. It follows that every franchise grant or legislative act creating or protecting a private monopoly is a violation of fundamental principles of justice inherent in our system of government.

(15) The conservation of natural resources, forests, mines, waterfalls, etc.

(16) The establishment of a parcels post.

(17) A national telegraph and telephone system in connection with the postal service.

(18) Postal savings banks in order that the people's money may be absolutely safe and the savings of the common people may be invested for public improvements and other purposes more in harmony with the public good than the Wall Street investments to which our bank deposits are now so largely devoted.

(19) **Government insurance, loans and bank-**

¹ See the discussion of Municipal Charges in MILL's *Political Economy*.

ing. Government insurance so that loss may be diffused as widely as possible and certainty of payment be rendered absolute and the cost reduced to a minimum.

(20) A government loan office operating through the Post Office and lending money at low interest on reasonable security so that farmers and workingmen may be able to borrow on terms as advantageous as those which are obtained by the great capitalists from our private banks.

(21) The issue of all money by the Government and the management of the money system by public authority in the public interest.

(22) **Direct election of U. S. Senators.** The election of United States Senators directly by the people to the end that the Senate may become as truly representative and as responsive to the will of the people as the House of Representatives.

(23) **Curb the Speaker.** The abolition of the autocratic power of a Speaker of the National House, so that he may no longer be able to interpose his will to prevent the passage or even the discussion of laws demanded by the people, but which are objectionable perhaps to the prejudice of the Speaker or the interests which he may represent.

(24) Old age pensions and disability annui-

ties, in order that industrial veterans and disabled workers may have a reasonable support without the ignominy of a transfer to the poor-house.

(25) Industrial arbitration or judicial decision of labor disputes. In primitive times all difficulties were settled by combat, but as civilization has advanced the method of judicial decision has been substituted for the method of combat in all classes of dispute except international difficulties and labor contests. International questions are now rapidly being brought within the scope of judicial procedure so that industrial disputes are practically alone in the resort to primitive methods of decision. If two men cannot agree upon their rights, they are not permitted to fight out their troubles in the public streets, but must go into court and submit to the judgment of an impartial tribunal. A corporation and its employés have no more right to fight out their difficulties in the streets to the disturbance of the public business and the production of great loss, not only to themselves but to the public; and our laws should provide for arbitration on the request of either party to an industrial dispute, on the lines that have been adopted in Australia and New Zealand.

(26) The complete establishment of an

eight-hour working day, so that the working classes may have sufficient time for the cultivation of the social and intellectual elements of life.

(27) **Work for the unemployed.** Recognition of the right to work. In this complex civilization of ours, it is many times impossible for men who are able and willing to work to find the opportunity. No guarantee of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness can avail unless the right to an opportunity to earn an honest living is also guaranteed. The task of keeping an adequate record of the need for labor of various kinds in different parts of this great country and of placing men where there is a demand for the services they can render is too much for any private institution, and should be undertaken by our governments, municipal, state and national. In Massachusetts a State Employment Office has already been established, but it falls far short of the need and its efficiency does not compare favorably with that of the National Employment Office in New Zealand and the Australian Colonies, where the state uses the police and the post offices throughout the country to keep constantly in touch with all opportunities for employment, and carries workers and their families on the state railways free of cost to

the places where their labor is needed, the remitted fares to be refunded at some future time when the earnings of the assisted workers may justify the payment.

(28) **The right to be born well.** A systematic effort to improve the quality of the next generation by the encouragement of breeding from the best and the prevention of breeding from the defective classes.

(29) **The rights of motherhood.** Recognition of honest and efficient motherhood as a public service; protection of mothers from drudgery, want, and other conditions calculated to deteriorate their offspring; provision in the public schools for thorough training in the sciences of parenthood and child culture; and requirement of a working knowledge of the principles of these sciences as a condition precedent to the issue of a marriage license.

(30) **Rights of childhood.** Prohibition of child labor in factories and mines. A child may do some work on a farm or as a newsboy or bootblack without interference with physical or mental development, but the grinding toil of the mill and the mine stunts both the body and soul of the child.

(31) A guaranty to every child, so far as possible, of a wholesome birth and a bringing up under conditions calculated to secure a

healthy and effective development of mind and body. The present system or lack of system under which hundreds of thousands of children are allowed to be born under bad conditions and brought up underfed, underclothed, undereducated and overworked—stunted in body, mind and character—is the most short-sighted public policy it would be possible to imagine, for it pollutes the stream of life and civilization at its very source.

(32) **A better criminology coming.** Improvement of the criminal law. At the dawn of history the prime object of the criminal law was vengeance. Now the main emphasis is placed on the deterrent power of punishment, with some attention to reformation. The need is the adoption of better means of prevention and reformation. Probation of first offenders and of women and boys not only of the first but on later offenses also, if need be in the discretion of the judge, is one of the methods by which excellent results have been secured where it has been adequately tried. It is much better to save the young offender by sympathetic treatment and careful watching than to imprison the new recruit with hardened criminals and risk the perpetuation and intensification of the disease by contact with the contagion of inveterate cases. Judge Lindsey's Juvenile

Court in Denver has achieved most notable results on these lines.

Where punishment is meted out, certainty and rapidity are far more important than severity; and more speedy trial and execution of judgment are of vital moment.

The old methods of punishment ineffective. Still more important is the indeterminate sentence. The definite sentence of a stated term of months or years is an unqualified evil. A thief is convicted and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. At the end of that time he is released with the practical certainty in many cases that he will steal again at the first opportunity. There are said to be in New York city more than four hundred professional criminals well known to the police. They have been arrested and convicted again and again, and it is perfectly well understood that they go to operating again as soon as they are out of jail. In other words society knowingly permits four hundred inveterate criminals to be at large to prey upon the city, and employs a body of police and detectives to watch them and run them in whenever they are smart enough to catch them at the game. It would be just as sensible to turn loose a mass of tigers or wild-cats, employ a body of men to watch them, arrest any of the wild beasts caught biting any

one, put them in a cage for a few months and then release them to try it over again. When a man has proved himself to be of criminal nature he should be kept under close restraint until he has given evidence of reform sufficient to make it safe to give him his liberty again. The law presumes a man innocent until he is proved guilty. And when he is once proved guilty of a serious offense the law should presume that the criminal nature remains unchanged until there is reasonable proof to the contrary. Instead of a definite sentence of so many months or years therefore, the sentence should be indeterminate, its duration depending on the conduct of the prisoner and the evidence he gives of sufficient reformation to restore the presumption of future innocence and make it safe for society to restore his freedom.

Reformation the goal. Meanwhile, during his confinement, every effort should be made to aid the prisoner to regain his manhood. The most successful methods so far tried are the appeal to appetite, honor and the cultivation of the power and habit of useful industry. In one of the best prisons for example, where reformation has been reduced to a science, the method is as follows: Three tables are set in the dining room where all the convicts eat. At the first table the fare is little more than bread and

water. At the second table there is an abundance of well cooked plain and wholesome foods but no delicacies. While those at the third table enjoy all the delicacies of the season and the best cooking obtainable. The convicts who refuse to work in the prison shops sit at the first table, but they get the fragrant odors from the other tables and they soon begin to ask for work. Those who work regularly and conduct themselves well are entitled to seats at the second table and if they achieve success in their work and attain a certain standard of merit in labor and conduct, they are promoted to the third table. There are carpenter shops, machine shops, shoe factories, saw mills, stone yards, printing shops, etc. The convict learns a trade by means of which he can support himself by honest labor anywhere in the civilized world. He gets full pay for the value of the work he does, part of which goes to pay the expenses of his imprisonment. Another part is devoted to restitution or compensation to the persons injured by the wrong for which he was committed. Still another part goes to the support of his family if he has one. And the remainder is put to his credit and paid over to him when he leaves. The time of his release depends upon his record. When in the judgment of the Court he has given sufficient proof of fixed

habits of industry and good conduct he is released. He goes out with the money he has earned by honest labor in his pocket and the consciousness of skill that will enable him to make a good living without resort to crime. At the prison gate he is met by the officers of a sympathetic organization that will help him find employment and friends and keep him from his old associations until he is firmly rooted in the new life of an honest citizen and has become a useful member of society.

Such are some of the methods that should be grafted into the criminal law of all our states. There are other measures which are very important in their relation to the prevention of crime but which are also advocated on other grounds as follows.

(33) **Better opportunities for immigrants.** Better immigration laws. In addition to sound body and mind, good character and visible means of support, immigrants who come to remain in this country should be required to acquire a working knowledge of the English language. There should be a national bureau to help immigrants to place themselves in localities where their labor is needed and to get a foothold in the path that leads to good citizenship and industrial independence. Society has as much of a duty to protect itself from the in-

fection of mental and moral disease and debasement, as it has to guard itself against physical contagion—as much duty to determine the sort of people it will admit to fellowship as members of its communities, as a family has to decide what sort of folks it will admit to its fold, what associations and influences shall be brought to bear upon its children. Immigration that is adapted to republican institutions and twentieth century civilization, is no problem, but half-civilized and uneducated populations bring us an opportunity for social assimilation and civic service of a high order. The state for the general welfare must provide education, protection and opportunity for these wards. They should be fed and clothed if necessary while they are taught the elements of American citizenship and helped to secure the opportunity to become self-supporting. They should be if necessary compulsorily taught, and paternally looked after while their opportunity is being found.

(34) **Government should clean up the slums.** The slums of our big cities are prolific sources of disease and crime. The law should provide for the clearance of slum areas and the permanent abolition of the conditions which now exist in those areas where thousands upon thousands of children are being brought up under circum-

stances directly and definitely calculated to create defectives and criminals. Laws should be passed to enable our cities to do as Birmingham and other English cities have done, namely, take over slum areas, tear down congested and unsanitary buildings, open up wide thoroughfares and recoup the cost by retaining the ownership of the land along the boulevards and renting or building upon it for the benefit of the city.

(35) **Take the profit out of the saloon.** Abolition of the traffic in liquors for the profit of the seller. Just so long as the vendors of intoxicants can make a profit by their sale, there will be an organized effort to attract boys and workingmen to the saloons to spend their wages for drink and the development of drunkenness and crime will be the result. Eminent judges declare that from three-fourths to nine-tenths of the crimes and misdemeanors that occupy our courts are the direct or indirect results of the traffic in intoxicants. A recent grand jury, after dealing with the winter docket of crimes, states that, "the grand jury feels it a duty to state that in many cases brought before us, a few drinks of liquor have preceded the trouble. The expenses of this jury, of the State's attorneys and stenographers, together with the great expense which

must follow in order to punish adequately the men we have indicted, therefore apparently flow in great measure from the presence of saloons."

The Gothenburg system. It is not necessary, in order to remedy these conditions, to prevent individuals from drinking intoxicating liquors. All that is really necessary is to sever the relation which now exists between the sale of liquor and the profits of the seller. The existing order of saloons should be abolished, and in their stead a better kind of saloon established, where men could find the social atmosphere they crave and could buy liquors, if they chose, in moderate quantities and under stringent regulations calculated to prevent the possibility of intoxication; where the seller will have no profit from the sale of liquors, but will make a profit on the sale of non-intoxicating drinks to be sold in great variety in the same saloons. In this way the vendor will have every interest to develop the sale of temperance drinks and no interest at all to increase the sale of intoxicants; instead there will be a definite counter interest resulting from the fact that if men buy intoxicants, the demand for the temperance drinks on which he makes a profit will be to that extent diminished. This is substantially the

Gothenburg system which has produced such admirable results in Sweden. The state should guarantee the purity of the liquors and to carry out the plan in sufficient perfection might find it best in the end to take over the manufacture of intoxicants and abolish entirely the private liquor business from the manufacture to the sale. If such a plan on thorough trial in American cities should not eliminate drunkenness and the criminal effects that now flow from the consumption of intoxicating liquors, more drastic measures would be then in order, even to the complete abolition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, if that were found to be the only means of ridding society of this prolific cause of crime and debasement.

(36) **Train the children for the work of life.** Industrial education and expert vocational counsel. Our public schools teach the common English branches, but as a rule give no definite instruction in the means of making a good living. Society is very short-sighted as yet in its attitude toward the development of its human resources. It trains its horses, as a rule, better than its men. It spends unlimited money to perfect the inanimate machinery of production, but pays very little attention to the

business of perfecting the human machinery, though by far this is the most important factor in production.

The great mass of our children leave school before getting even a reasonable training in the common branches of an English education. According to the figures given by the school authorities a year or two ago less than 1-16 of the children in the Boston primaries go through a High School course. In Philadelphia less than 1-30 of the children go through the High School, and in Washington less than 1-13. Here are the data for these three cities. The High School figures include the pupils in all schools and courses of High School grade, commercial and manual training, as well as academic.

PUPILS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

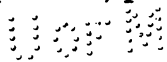
	<i>Boston</i>	<i>Philadelphia</i>	<i>Washington</i>
First year primaries.....	13,622	33,588	9,198
First year grammar.....	10,007	19,386	5,061
Last year grammar.....	4,869	5,710	3,136
Last year high schools.....	850	1,089	663

Nearly two-thirds of the children in Boston and Washington and five-sixths in Philadelphia drop out of school even before they finish the grammar grades. There are not seats enough in the grammar schools for much over one-third to one-fifth of the children, nor seats in the High Schools for more than one-tenth to one-

twentieth. Our cities evidently do not expect or intend to educate the bulk of the boys and girls beyond the primaries or lower grammar grades. The mass of children go to work to earn their living as soon as they are old enough to meet the law, and often before that.

Do not specialize too young. Science declares that specialization in early years in place of all-round culture is disastrous both to the individual and to society. There is a clear relation between intelligence and variety of action and experience. A knowledge of each of the great classes of industry by practical contact is the right of every boy. This varied experience should be obtained under a thorough-going, scientific plan of educational development and not by the wasteful and imperfect method of drifting from one employment to another in the effort to make a living, running an elevator in one place, marking tags in another, tending a rivet machine in another, etc., etc., spending many years of time and energy in narrow specialization, and getting no adequate, comprehensive understanding of any business or industry.

The union of a broad, general culture with an industrial education including a practical experience broad enough to form a true foundation for specialization in the proper field, pos-



sesses an economic and social value that can hardly be overestimated. Yet practically all our children are subjected to the evil of unbalanced specialization—specialization that is not founded on, not accompanied by the broad culture and experience that should form its basis and be continued as coördinate factors in a full development—specialization that is not only unbalanced and ill-founded but also in many cases inherently narrow, inefficient and hurtful in itself.

But learn to do something. Most of the children who leave school early specialize on narrow industrial lines, and most of them who remain in school specialize on book learning. Book work should be balanced with industrial education, and working children should spend part of their time in culture classes and industrial science. Society should make it possible for every boy and girl to secure at least a High School education and an industrial training at the same time. This can be done by the establishment of Public Half-Work High Schools, in which boys and girls can *study half of each day*, and support themselves by *working the other half day* for the public water works, lighting or transportation systems, street departments or some other department of the public service, or for private employers.

Part time schools are practical. A city or town can easily make arrangements with merchants, manufacturers and other private employers, whereby High School pupils may have the opportunity to work half time in many lines of industry. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston is already carrying on this sort of arrangement with some of the leading merchants of the city, so that the girls in the Union's classes in salesmanship are able to support themselves and get most valuable practical training by working half time in the stores. Enlightened employers are glad to make such arrangements, realizing the importance to themselves and to the whole community of such advanced industrial and cultural training. Some of our agricultural colleges and state universities, especially in the West, afford opportunities for young men and women to earn their living while getting a college education. All that is necessary is to extend the methods and principles already in use to the public school system as a whole, so that no boy or girl shall longer be debarred from the training of mind and hand, which is the rightful heritage of every child society allows to be born into this complex and difficult world.

With proper provision for self-support by half-time work, the law might well require that

school attendance should be continued until sixteen or even eighteen in place of the present requirement of fourteen years.

A variety of scientific trade schools and continuation schools should also be established on the plan that has done so much for the development of German industry in recent times, whereby young people after leaving ordinary public schools may continue their education, general and industrial, by attending these special schools in the evening or on part time.

Expert vocational advice should be provided. In connection with the public school system of education throughout the country, provision should be made for expert counsel in the choice of a vocation. Young people should be thoroughly tested and aided and helped to come to a true understanding of their aptitudes, abilities, interests, resources and limitations, and the relations of these to the conditions of success in different industries, substantially on the lines adopted by the Vocation Bureau established by Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw in connection with the Civic Service House in Boston on plans drawn up by the present writer at the beginning of 1908.

An account of the Bureau and its methods and results may be found in the *Arena* for June, July and August of this same year.

(37) **Civic training in the public schools.** Education for citizenship. The School City, or student self-government, should be established in connection with all public schools as one of the most important means for the development of character, civic interest, and habits of good citizenship in the plastic years of youth before the money motive has come to warp the judgment and the conscience.

Still more emphatic is the duty of improving our general system of education.

(1) By providing for thorough and scientific moral training, both by precept and practice, from the primary up through the High School and the university. Care, thoroughness, reliability, energy, enthusiasm, courtesy, helpfulness, coöperation, sympathy, kindness, the sense of justice, etc., can be developed by exercise, just as the muscles and mental faculties are expanded and strengthened by exercise, and such development should be made a prime object of our educational system.

(2) The laws of health should be drilled into the children so persistently and effectively that, in addition to a clear understanding of those laws, obedience to them shall become habitual, and daily living in full accord with the laws of physical well-being shall become the natural order of society.

(3) Full instruction should be given in the public schools in regard to the relations of the sexes so that boys and girls may come to a knowledge of this vital subject from the moral and scientific side instead of getting their information from polluted and secret sources as they do for the most part now. The conditions of true marriage and the best methods of child culture should also be taught together with ideals of conduct that will cause defectives to refrain from multiplying their kind, and lead to the breeding of each generation from the best of the preceding generation instead of from the lower strata chiefly as is the case at present. A satisfactory record of proficiency in such courses of instruction, and a thorough working knowledge of the principles involved, might well be made the conditions precedent to the issue of a marriage license.

(4) The *methods* of general culture should be materially modified if we are to give our boys and girls an adequate preparation for life and work instead of a preparation for passing an examination to get a degree. We should train for ability and character rather than for examinations. And the principal test should be the successful performance of things that have to be done in daily life rather than the answering of a series of questions about a book

or lecture course. Systematic and scientific training of body and brain, of memory, reason, imagination, inventiveness, care, thoroughness, truth, promptitude, reliability, sympathy, kindness, persistent industry, etc., etc., is what we need. Education for power with actual performance and useful work should be the fundamental test. Power in any direction comes from *exercise* or activity in that direction together with sufficient development in other directions to give symmetry and balance to the whole. Even the power of sympathy and the sense of justice can be developed by daily exercise on the same principle that we develop the biceps or the bicycle muscles. Knowledge is excellent but a man with knowledge only, without the power of original thought and the ability to put his ideas into effective execution is little better than a book,—he contains a record of facts but cannot build or execute. He may not be even up to the book standard of life if he has not learned to *express* and *impart* his knowledge. That is why college graduates, even those who stood high in their classes, often fail to make good in business. They are good bookworms, sponges, absorbing machines, but they do not know how to do things, and have no taste for doing things. They are really unfitted by their habits of passive absorption for

the active life of the business world. We must train our students to full powers of action, not only in football and other athletic sports, but in the various lines of useful work so far as possible according to their aptitudes as brought out by scientific tests and varied experience. And we must give our working boys the power of thought and of verbal expression that come with general culture. And we must do all this in the formative period before the progressive hardening of the system has taken the bloom from development and modifiability.

The state should prepare every child for a useful life. Youth is the period of plasticity and rapid development in which the foundations should be laid for an all-round culture, character development, and special vocational power. In the schools we have the next generation plastic in our hands ready to be molded to any form we please. The fluidity of youth is shown in the fact that practically 75% of the infant's body is water, while only 58.5% of the adult's body is liquid. Though some degree of plasticity may be retained to the end, the more fundamental characteristics of a man are generally fixed at twenty-five and the mental at thirty-five to forty years. If you were molding a statue in plaster you would not think it wise to neglect

the work or let it drag along half done till the plastic mass had stiffened into rigidity. It is just as unwise to neglect the opportunities afforded by the plasticity of youth. A year of the period from fifteen to twenty-five is worth more than two years after thirty-five for formative purposes and the development of power. In this plastic period of rapid growth, this age of brain and heart, society should guarantee every child a thorough all-round development of body, mind and character, and a careful planning of and adequate preparation for some occupation, for which, in the light of scientific testing and experiment, the youth seems best adapted, or as well adapted as to any other calling which is reasonably available. If this vital period is allowed to pass without the broad development and special training that belong to it, no amount of education in after years can ever redeem the loss. Not till society wakes up to its responsibilities and its privileges in this relation shall we be able to harvest more than a fraction of our human resources, or develop and utilize the genius and ability that are latent in each new generation.