

Facts About Civil Service Reform

"The best shall serve the State"

Outline Sketch of the Civil Service Reform Movement in the United States *



UNTIL the year 1829 there was virtually no question either of the evil of the Spoils System or of its remedy before the country at large. It is a matter of honorable record that under the first six Presidents only seventy-three subordinate officers were removed, and these, for the most part, for reasons, touching their efficiency solely. The practice of dismissing public servants in order to make places for personal or political adherents was introduced at the national capital with the inauguration of President Jackson, under circumstances and with results that are historic. Jackson removed 2,000 officers within the first year of his administration, and from that time on it gradually became the practice and accepted rule to "clean sweep" the public service, as the term went, with every change of party control.

For forty years the attention of the country was

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so absorbed by the discussion of slavery that the growth and importance of this new danger were entirely underestimated by the people, until the administrative scandals and demoralization of the public service during the years 1865 to 1873, forced the evil upon the public attention.

The system as it existed in 1873,—and as it still exists wherever conditions favor,—may be briefly outlined :

Offices and positions in the public service were treated, not as forming a legitimate class of honorable employment, but as the property of the party in power, to be filled by those who had rendered party services, or who, through any other means, could gain the favor of party leaders. Fitness for the work to be performed was considered as secondary, if considered at all. Promotions were secured through influence, also, and very rarely because of the ability or worth of the employee. Removals were made as soon as the positions were wanted at another change of party or even factional control, and this plan was followed in the filling of offices from the highest to the lowest. As a natural corollary, the cost of administration increased tremendously, a greater *number* of employees being required to the necessary work of the

government, while to meet the constant demand for places for political adherents, a vast number for whom there could be *no* need, were also added to the lists.

The change wrought in the character of our politics was another and even more serious thing. Coincidentally with the introduction of the Spoils System at Washington, came the establishment of the nominating convention as the method of selecting candidates for elective offices,—a method that soon became general in state as well as national elections. The delegates to these conventions were chosen, as they are to-day, at primary meetings of the voters of the party,—meetings usually attended by only a *few* voters, and not infrequently by the political “worker” class exclusively. To buy votes at either the primaries or the conventions with promises of office, became regarded as less serious breach of morals than to buy them with money, and gradually, by both bribers and bribed, as not immoral at all, but a very natural part of the business of “practical politics.” The control of the nominating machinery by the party organization was thus made comparatively easy.

The contagion spread throughout the country to states and cities, and it may, perhaps, be fair to

say that no American community has failed to suffer from it in greater or less degree. State institutions and asylums have been invaded, and the unfortunate classes within them placed in charge of the miserably unfit; great public works have miscarried or been ruined as the result of poor construction; in the cities, the police have been corrupted, and hordes of mercenaries have often been maintained in the place of such trained public servants as those of whom Glasgow, Manchester or Berlin are so justly proud.

The movement for reform began in 1867, when a bill was presented by Representative Jenckes, of Rhode Island, providing for the appointment of a commission to classify the Federal service under the examination and merit system, accompanied by an exhaustive report on the results secured through that system abroad. This served to open the discussion in Congress, and in 1871 a bill was passed giving the president the necessary authority. During the several years following, repeated attempts were made to effect a beginning under this Act, but these were, in the main, defeated, chiefly through the hostility of successive Congresses, and it was not until the assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed office-seeker, in 1881, that

the popular demand for reform became too strong to be resisted.

In 1877 the first Civil Service Reform Association had been formed,—that of New York,—and in August, 1881, the National League, composed of various local associations, under the Presidency and leadership of George William Curtis, was organized. A bill prepared by the New York association, and endorsed by the League, was introduced in the Senate, and towards the end of 1882, was passed by large majorities in both houses. It is still the law for the Federal service, never having been amended. State Acts were passed at about the same time in New York and Massachusetts, and rules applying to certain cities, such as Chicago, San Francisco, Milwaukee and New Haven have been adopted through local action, at various times since.

The Federal system has been taken as a model for others and may serve here to outline the reform generally. The law does not apply to the officers and employees of Congress or the judiciary, or to the military or naval branches. Within the executive service it also excepts all officers nominated for confirmation by the Senate such as presidential postmasters, collectors, United States

district attorneys and marshals, under secretaries of the departments, members of the diplomatic and consular service, and at the other extreme, common laborers or workmen. It provided for the classification of about 13,000 officers at the time of its passage having since been extended until the number now stands at about 75,000, while about 100,000, made up largely of the body of fourth-class postmasters, remain to be brought under the rules.

So far as practicable, the service is arranged in grades, the lower of which are usually filled by original appointment, and the higher by promotion. The entrance examinations are open and competitive, and the persons selected for appointments are taken from among those graded highest. The candidate serves for six months on probation before his appointment is made absolute, and after that he can be removed only for legitimate reasons, stated in writing, and after an opportunity has been offered for an explanation. The examinations are practical and necessarily very diverse in their nature. There are more than three hundred classes of positions under the government,—professional, scientific, clerical and mechanical,—and the tests are made, as nearly as possible, to fit each case.

For the higher positions, they are often very elaborate; for the clerical force they are such as could be passed by anyone with a common school education, and for the mechanical classes, they relate in the main to training and skill in the use of tools. In all cases there are inquiries as to character and general capacity, and where the office to be filled is fiduciary in its nature an adequate bond may be required. Promotions are based partly on efficiency as shown by department records, and partly on examinations.

Within the classified service there are still several thousand of the higher positions that are excepted from competitive examination, and that are in that respect, virtually unclassified; although few of these, in the judgment of the promoters of the reform, should remain so.

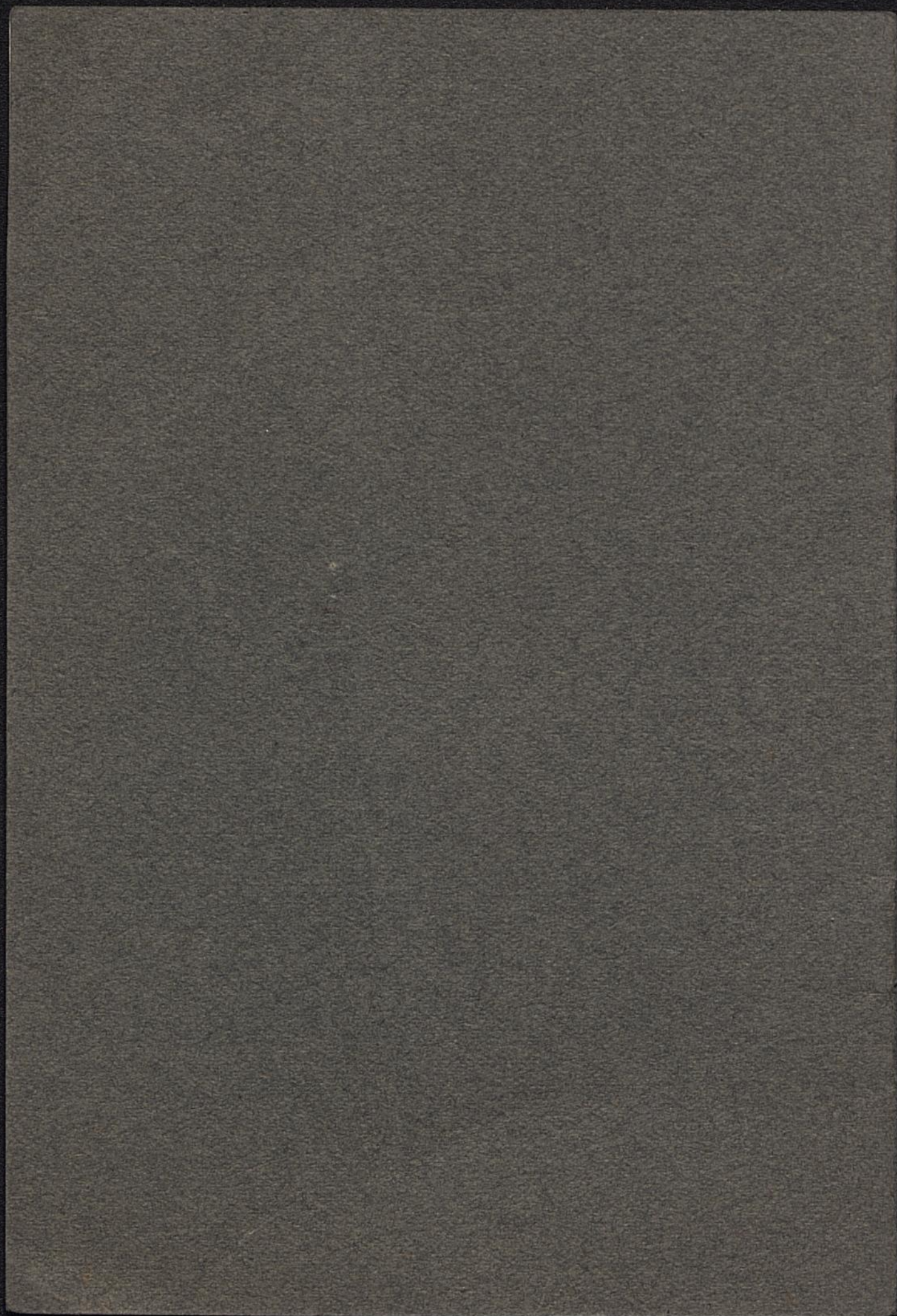
Results produced throughout the service in increased efficiency and economy have been marked and are testified to by Department and Bureau officers in scores of reports.

In New York even more advanced ground was taken in the passage of a new measure by the Legislature of 1899, embodying many improvements in detail, and rendering enforcement much easier.

But with all the encouraging gains since 1883, the fact must be emphasized that the reform work has but just begun. It must go on until the whole service of federal, state and city government has been reclaimed. Constant vigilance must be maintained, by the friends of the reform, to hold the ground already gained, and to defeat the persistent attempts at evasion that are in some cases systematic and almost nullifying; attacks in Congress and in the Legislatures must be met, and new and stronger legislation secured where practicable. Above all, public opinion must be educated. The people must understand more plainly than they do how shamefully the system of spoils has marred our past history, how essentially un-American it is, and how much of the national future must depend upon its utter eradication.

SARAH SCOVILL WHITTELSEY,
1901. *of Connecticut.*

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DOCUMENT NO 2

EVERY MAN ON HIS OWN MERITS

Address delivered at Twentieth Century Club

BY

WILLIAM W VAUGHAN



BOSTON

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1902

EVERY MAN ON HIS OWN MERITS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

When you did me the honor to ask me to say a few words before you on the subject of Civil Service Reform, I confess that I had a certain amount of hesitation. Not because I questioned the strength of our cause, but simply because I felt that, except when speaking to an organization formed for that express purpose, I might naturally hesitate to speak about any "Reform." The word has been so much bandied about and misused of late years that its use sometimes raises a kind of suspicion. Indeed, our Association is in the situation in which many an individual finds himself who is christened in haste in infancy and left to repent at leisure in maturity. I very much wish that there were no "Reform" in our name at all, and that our aims were stated by the simple phrase, the "Merit System"; for there is, in the very nature of it, a certain arrogance in the word "Reform"; it assumes, as its very foundation, that somebody — presumably not yourself — is doing something very wrong that needs reforming; and it also contains the implication that you yourself are the spotless and somewhat self-sacrificing person who stands ready to do the reforming. So that I fear that there was not a little secret sympathy among many real friends of Reform when Mr. Asa Bird Gardiner, an official of New York City, a few years ago, in an inadvertent moment, forgot himself and said precisely what he meant and consigned all reform in general to the nether world. It was a rash act and it met with

prompt retribution. You may remember that he was immediately reminded the next morning that if his object was to give permanent relief, and effect an ultimate separation between *his* friends and any reform, he had selected quite the wrong department of the next world to banish reform to. But, however that may be, and whether the members of Tammany are to be punished in this world or the next for their neglect of reform here, it is absolutely certain that *we* shall be punished, and punished heavily and speedily, in this world if we neglect to reform certain crying evils which threaten us in our political life — threaten us, indeed, during the last two years more insistently and dangerously than ever; partly because the spoilsmen are beginning to feel more keenly the pressure of the law upon them, partly because they are encouraged by the recent relaxation at Washington in the administration of the system. It is this that makes me venture something on behalf of Civil Service Reform before you.

But I assume at the start that I do not need to uphold or defend the system as a whole. I am sure that you all believe, at least in a general way, that the spoils system is an evil and that the Merit System is the only cure for that evil. What you want to know is what practical thing can be done about it. Now it seems to me that the most practical thing that can be done for a reform is to study it carefully and see just where its difficulties lie; to note the objections that are daily made to it, and to see what sound answers can be made to these objectors; and it is to these points that I am going to ask your attention.

A gentleman much in public life, who was classified by himself as a statesman and by his friends as a politician, said not long ago, in an impatient mood, that he had no difficulty at all in making the people understand what he *was*, but that he

had great trouble in making the people understand what he *was n't*. It might seem at first sight that Civil Service Reform labored under the same difficulty. Certainly it is constantly accused of being something which it is not. But I am inclined not to agree with the impatient statesman in his method of procedure, which I have just quoted, for I believe that the best method of preventing later misunderstandings about anything is to make sure that the initial conception of the subject, with which you start, is clear and well understood.

Now, while Civil Service Reform is exceedingly simple in its foundation principle, because it is merely an application to politics of the simple commandment "Thou shalt not steal," taken in its broadest sense, yet the working out of this principle, in the practical life of politics, is by no means so simple, because it affects very different classes in the community, who look at the subject from exceedingly divergent points of view.

You recall the old fable of the shield with varying sides, which caused such a world of trouble to the two gentlemen who approached it from opposite points of view. Civil Service Reform, being quite modern, eclipses the old fable and has *three* sides to its shield: one, when you look at it from the point of view of those who serve the public; one, when looked at from the point of view of the public who are served, more especially the appointing officer; and the third when looked at neither from the one or the other, but from both together, *i.e.*, its effect on the whole public in its political relations, and more especially its effect on the boss. In each of these three aspects I think you will find the simile holds good, and that it is indeed a shield, — a shield against the attacks of men who are trying to serve, not the State, but themselves, and a help to those who are trying to fight them. Looked at from the point of view of the employed, it is a contest

for fair play and no favor. Looked at from the point of view of the employing public, it is a fight for morality in economics. Looked at, finally, from the point of view of the public at large, it is a struggle for morality in politics. The reform is after all but one great movement, and yet, unless we bear in mind that it can be approached from any one of these three points of view, it is impossible to discuss it intelligently with any one, and we are certain to meet with confusion in our defence of it. Unless you are perfectly certain that you and the man you are talking with are both looking upon the same side of the shield, there is certain to be as much confusion as there was in our fable — indeed, it will be as much worse as a three-sided misunderstanding is worse than one of two. It is, therefore, quite worth our while to look at each side separately for a few moments.

Take first the point of view of the employed. Nowhere is there more misunderstanding and nowhere is it more unnecessary. It is not two weeks since I saw in a committee room at the State House an excellent man, representing a labor union, who had come up to oppose the Civil Service Reformer at every point. When his position came to be investigated, it was found that what he really wanted was, not to oppose Civil Service Reform, but to have more Civil Service Reform, — though he did not in the least know it himself. That, however, was not his fault, because to use his hands and not his brains happened to be the trade to which he had been brought up. Think of the position of those seeking employment under the spoils system. With the announcement in the papers on the morning after election, there comes at one stroke the practical disqualification for public employment of more than one-half of the community. I say more than one-half because, although the winning party must necessarily have had a

plurality, it is very seldom that the opposing and defeated parties do not exceed it in their total numbers, and no one of these defeated parties can hope for employment. It is not forty-eight hours since an official was quoted to me as saying that he would no more think of employing as a stenographer any one except a person in good standing in his own party than he would of sending to Texas for one. But even this might not be so bad if the best men of the successful party were always selected to fill the places. For the party is numerous and contains many competent men. But, unhappily, under the spoils system, men are not chosen because they are competent, but because they are useful to the boss or the party. A laborer is appointed to take charge of a gang of men, not because he can get the best work from that gang, but because he can get the most votes from it. A clerk is appointed, not because he can figure correctly, but because he has voted correctly. I shall never forget the account which I received some years ago from an eye-witness of a scene in one of the departments in Washington. A candidate for office was being examined as to his qualifications by the appointing officer. What he was questioned and cross-questioned upon was not as to his capacity for doing the work, but as to what ticket he had voted, how many years he had voted it, what he had done and could do for the party, and what his influence was with his race. The course of the examination lasted more than twenty minutes while other visitors in the office had to wait their turn in the room, among them the eye-witness in question. The person examined for office was an ignorant negro, an applicant for a postmastership in the South; the officer who was conducting the examination was the then postmaster-general of the United States of America. No comment is needed on such a system of exam-

ination for office as this. What does Civil Service Reform offer as a substitute in its place? A perfectly simple form of competitive examination, under which any man, whatever his race or religion or politics may be, can apply for examination and be placed upon a waiting list according to his success in meeting the various simple and practical tests imposed upon him. These tests are physical if the position requires physical strength; mental for those requiring mental processes; and, in all respects, as simple and practical as years of experience on the part of boards of competent examiners can make them. The stories to the contrary are merely idle fables. When an appointing officer desires an employee, he has only to send to the Civil Service Board, receive the names of a small group of applicants from the head of the list, from whom he can make his selection and complete the examination of the man's qualifications by testing him in the practical work of the place for six months. If the man passes his final examination of experience, he receives his appointment. Can anything be simpler or better adapted to promote the welfare of the people? Indeed, on this side of the reform, there is little danger of misunderstanding; it is a pure fight between the plunderer and the defenders, and labor in general needs only to be well informed of its rights and interests to side heartily with the Reformer.

Let us now turn to the second side of the shield and look at it from the point of view of those who are served, and, more especially, from the point of view of those who appoint to office. Here we shall find somewhat less simplicity and much less harmony. We shall meet at once two groups who are distinctly hostile, or, at least, doubtful about the value of the merit system. One group represents the vehement party-man; the other the appointing officer of superior ability and independ-

ent views who is hampered by the rules of the Civil Service. These two classes of objectors are especially worth considering, for both contain men of recognized standing and intelligence, who have a right to be heard.

Take first the case of the strong party-man. At the start you will find no difficulty. He recognizes the growth of the idea that public funds are trust funds; he goes with you most of the way, and it is only the last step that he refuses to take. Trace for a moment the growth of this trust idea. If you go far enough back in history, you find the fiction that the king was the state, and that, therefore, the money of the state was the money of the king, to be disposed of as suited his pleasure. But that fiction was long ago wiped out, and the money of the state has long been recognized as belonging to the public, from whom it comes. It is universally agreed, too, that the money of the state, as such, cannot be diverted for the private benefit of any man, whether that man be acting alone or acting jointly with others. To so divert it is now everywhere recognized as stealing or embezzling. With a few belated exceptions, it is also agreed by this time that the public has not only a right to this money, but also a right to that which this money produces; in other words, that it has a right to have this money so spent as to bring the greatest return possible, and that to take away from it this right and divert it to private use is just as fundamentally a breach of trust as to divert the money itself. You will find, therefore, that substantially all men, whether in private life or in public life, whether laymen or politicians, whatever their practice may be, agree with you in theory that public office is a public trust, and that no appointing officer has a right to use the power of appointment to pay his private debts or discharge his own personal obligations, political or

otherwise. The practice of some of them may be quite otherwise, but in theory, at least, you will find an almost universal agreement on this point. They would agree that selling appointments to places for actual money or the equivalent of money was clearly criminal, and that to use the right of appointment to pay off your private obligations to some one who had worked or voted for you was clearly wrong, and, if done, it were distinctly wise to conceal the fact from public notice. But where you will meet with conflict, not merely as to practice but as to theory, is in the case where the appointing officer uses this power of appointment, this right of the state, not for his sole private and individual advantage, but for the benefit of himself jointly with a large number of other persons who are of the same way of thinking, and who, because they happen to be of the same way of thinking, are known in these days as "a party." If he diverts the property of the public for the benefit of this large group, — in other words, if the breach of trust is not for himself alone, but for himself and others, is not for individuals, but for groups of individuals, — he considers it as not only not wrong, but as a fit and proper carrying out of his duty. This seems a strange view, and yet you will find that it is held by many men of highly respectable position, both in office and out of office, in the higher public positions as well as in the lower. It denotes a somewhat curious condition of mind, not altogether unlike the view which many apparently respected persons in the South hold on the subject of lynching. Not one of these would think of going alone to the victim, cold-blooded, and killing him, but he has no hesitation whatever about going in company with a large number of other men of the same way of thinking and killing the victim with great deliberation and cruelty, and sees nothing wrong in so doing. In other words, from

his point of view, single murder is murder, but co-operative murder is not murder at all, but something quite justifiable, perhaps meritorious. There is not much hope of making any immediate impression on men who are holding such views as these, for such a view is not really a mental conclusion which can be combated with argument. It is rather a mental and moral condition which can be affected only by public enlightenment and public pressure. We can only hope that it will be changed, as the sentiment of so many people in the North as to slavery has changed in the last forty years; changed so completely that many men who look back on their views of 1860 can scarcely be made to believe that they ever held them. Time and an advancing public sentiment is our best hope here.

The other class of objectors are much less numerous, but they are important because they are men of standing and they are in the midst of the Civil Service. It is not two weeks since the wife of one of them said to me that her husband, who was an appointing officer, was "very much hampered by the rules of the Civil Service. He did not like to say much about it because he was friendly to Civil Service Reform, but he could do a great deal better if there were no rules and if he could make his own appointments." Now, it is possible that this may have been literally true, and yet it was perfectly inevitable. It was simply the penalty of living in a democracy. With certain exceptions, — exceptions of which Massachusetts has had a most noble line of examples, — with these exceptions it must be true as a general rule that a government by universal suffrage must be a government of averages, and not of excellencies; and that, if a man who is a member of the government does, in fact, greatly excel his fellows, he will inevitably be hampered by laws and by regulations made for the average man. It has been

absolutely proven, not as a theory, but as a fact shown by years of experience, that the appointing officer of average ability, if left to himself, does *not* make the best appointments that are to be had in the community. He may misuse his power for his own use deliberately; or, even if he intends to make good appointments and would make them if left alone, he may not in fact make them because he is not left alone. Some superior power descends upon him with cunning force and practically orders him to appoint this man or that, and he must either obey or lose his standing and, perhaps, his place. The system of competitive examinations that I have described has been devised to prevent this misuse of his power. It forces him, so to speak, to appoint the best man, or one among a small group of the best men. This simple device, known as the "Merit System," has been found to be of enormous force in preventing the misuse of the appointing power. Such a rule, intended for the average man, undoubtedly hampers any man of exceptional ability, of sturdy honesty and of sufficient strength to resist any pressure from above. But if the Civil Service rules are of any value, — and the determined opposition of the spoilsman shows how great their value is, — it is impossible to make exceptions on behalf of special and favored persons. You cannot set up a competitive examination for superior persons who shall be above the law! You are undoubtedly a superior person, — that is the very foundation of the difficulty we are discussing, — but if you are going to paste on a label publicly stating that fact, it is quite certain to excite comment in a democracy. And then, again, there is the practical difficulty arising from the widely divergent views of what constitutes a superior person. In their own line of business, Mr. Platt and Mr. Quay are both superior persons, very superior persons indeed. So that there is not much

to be done for the unfortunate office-holder of superior ability and independent views, except to hold his hand and sympathize with him for suffering from his excess of merit.

The two sides of the shield at which we have been looking so far both concern the appointment to office. First, the getting of it, and second, the giving of it. The first is important and valuable because it promotes fair treatment to all who wish to serve the state. The second is much more important and valuable because it prevents any breach of trust in public office. It introduces, as I have said, morality into economics. But valuable as both these aspects of the reform movement are, they are not to be compared in vital importance with the third and final aspect of this great movement. The legend that is written on the third side of our shield is "the moral movement in politics," and it is just because it is fundamentally a moral movement, that it has so stirred the people and is daily gaining in strength. We could get along even if only a small part of those who desired places had any chance of getting them; we could get along—badly, it is true,—even if the appointing officers gave us a service vastly inferior to anything we are entitled to. But the one thing that we cannot get along with, if we are going to make any progress in political life, is the "Boss," and what the Boss stands for in politics. And in politics you will find that the Boss and the spoils system are inextricably interwoven.

This is not the time to discuss the Boss. I assume that you know partially what he is. I say partially without in any way impugning your intelligence, because I think that no man knows fully the origin and cause of that strange tyrant who has come into our lives; the final diagnosis of the Boss is yet to be made. One thing we know: his advent

was wholly unexpected. If any one had foretold to Jefferson and to Hamilton that within a little over a hundred years there would arise, in certain parts of the country, under the constitution that they were making, certain forms of government which more closely resembled the tyrannies that existed in Florence, in some other Italian cities, and in certain of the German cities, during the middle ages, than anything else, the founders of our government would have turned their backs on such a prophet with a scorn too deep for words, and yet that is precisely what has happened. The government of the Boss is a tyranny. It is pure tyranny. It is founded on usurpation and it exists only by the hope of reward and the fear of punishment. In the middle ages, the axe and the knife that punished were realistic and literal; to-day they are symbolical and political, but they punish effectively and their punishment is dreaded. A man whose wife and children are dependent for their bread upon a salary which he earns in a government office is as purely at the mercy of a political headsman as if that man controlled his actual life. He dares not do other than obey. So, too, the rewards that held the tyrant's followers together in the old days were spoils and plunder, and the coin in which the Boss of to-day pays his mercenaries consists equally of spoils and plunder, though of a different kind. And just here we put our finger on the vital point. If we choke off the stream that is pouring this coin into the lap of the Boss, he is shorn of his greatest power, for his followers serve, not for love, but for pay. And have we no means of checking this stream? Certainly we have, and of the simplest kind, if only the people are willing to apply it. Put in use the "merit system" and the chief power of the headsman is gone. The superior officer may still remove the employee, but if he cannot get his protégé into

his place, he has no motive for removing him, and he does n't do it, and the employee stands erect and fears no man, and declines to do the dirty work of the Boss. The control through fear is gone. Not merely that, but the control through hope of reward is gone too. Put the "merit system" into effect and the Boss can no longer appoint to office at will as a reward for past service, nor give his promise to secure places hereafter as a reward for services to come. These will no longer avail as an inducement because his followers will know that it is worthless. And a Boss who can neither punish nor reward will soon lose his followers, and when his followers are lost the Boss is lost, for the essential requirement of this kind of ruler is that he should actually rule. A Boss who cannot *boss* is not a Boss at all.

Of course, the whole question is too complex for us to be able to say at one stroke that the abolition of the spoils system would mean the final and total abolition of the Boss in politics; but we can certainly say that to abolish the spoils system would put a spoke, and a spoke of the largest size, in the wheel of the Boss; and unless a spoke is put in the wheel of the Boss, that wheel will become even as the wheel of the car of Juggernaut and crush some of the very best hopes and possibilities of the American people.

And what can effect this change? Nothing but public opinion. And what is public opinion? Why simply your opinion and my opinion and that of the next person. But is it powerful enough, you say, to do this? Certainly it is. It is the power that governs this country, though often the public that wields it does not realize that fact. Indeed, one of the most remarkable things of the time is the curious ignorance of the public of their total collective weight. In the physical realm this has long been observed and known. Any one used to

handling crowds knows that just because it costs a mere volition to move from one place to another, a crowd of people will follow each the same volition and move simultaneously upon a float, upon a stand, into a boat or upon the ice, without the slightest thought that they are causing a joint total physical weight of tons upon tons, a pressure that is often irresistible, as we know to our cost. Just so with the mental world; because it costs a mere volition to think of a certain subject, merely another volition to share your thought with your neighbor, the public are wholly unaware of the enormous resulting influence of the total of these volitions. They are like some great giant who thinks he is bound hand and foot and lies groaning and complaining of the tyranny to which he is subjected, and of his own helplessness to drive off his persecutors, when all the while he has only to rouse himself and stand up, and lo! he is free and strong and never was bound at all, and all men hasten to do his bidding. But the rousing of the giant, you say? Aye, that is the crux; but it can be done, and it must be done. Will *you* help to do it?

*At the Twentieth Century Club,
Saturday, 6th April, 1901.*

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THE MERIT SYSTEM IN MUNICIPALITIES

BY

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF



BOSTON:

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THE MERIT SYSTEM IN MUNICIPALITIES

We often hear the statement made in public or see it in print that the great problem of the day is the municipal problem. I wonder if we know just what this means? If we turn to the dictionary we are told that a "problem is a question for discussion and settlement; a matter of uncertainty requiring further light to determine the truth." So when we speak of the great problem of the day, we mean a great question which is before the people for discussion and settlement; a great matter of uncertainty requiring further light to determine its truth.

Why should the municipal problem be considered a great one? Why should it require discussion and consideration and further light? First because it affects or touches so many people. James Russell Lowell once said that any question which affected the welfare of thousands and hundreds of thousands, no matter how trivial in itself, acquired dignity and importance. Now when we come to talk about cities and their management, we at once begin to talk of figures so big as to be beyond the understanding of most of us who have never counted over 5,000 at any one sitting, if we have reached so far. Perhaps we can form some idea of how cities have grown in size and importance when we say that in 1790 when the first census or counting of the American people was taken, three people out of every hundred or thirty out of every thousand lived in cities. Now according

to the last census or counting, that of 1900, thirty-three people out of every hundred or three hundred and thirty out of every thousand lived in cities. If we should count the people who live in the suburbs of the cities, those doing business in the city and sleeping in the country, then we would find that nearly one-half of the people of this country, and there are 76,000,000 of them, should be considered as making up the city population.

Perhaps we can get at an understanding of what the cities are by stating that there were more people living in Greater New York in 1900 than were living in the United States at the time we elected our first President; or to take another illustration:—

In 1900 there were 8,704,017 people living in eight of the leading cities of this country, or nearly as many as were living in the whole country in 1820, when the country was almost half a century old. It is only when we compare the present day figures with those of an earlier day and generation that we can appreciate what the urban or city population is.

We get an insight into the importance of the city by taking a simple illustration, such as was given by Mr. Horace E. Deming a year or two ago. He said, "When a trail has become a cart road, the cart road a highway, the highway a constantly travelled and closely thronged city street, the proper maintenance and care of the latter is an administrative problem of the greatest importance to thousands, and it may be to hundreds of thousands."

The care of a trail through the woods or forest was a matter of small importance and to a few people only. The care of that trail when it became a cart road was not a matter of much more importance; but when it became a highway, travelled by hundreds every week, then it was; and when it became a city street, used by thousands every day, it needed the constant care and attention of trained men. Then it became, as Mr. Deming says, "an administrative problem of the greatest importance."

That is to say, the matter of caring for it and of keeping it in good repair, was a question of importance, because it affected the welfare of thousands and hundreds of thousands of people.

I might multiply illustrations by taking up such matters as that of supplying cities with water, light and police protection; but they all teach the same thing, that the great numbers involved make the question important, as do the extent of territory covered and the services rendered.

One hundred and twenty-five years ago, when our federal government was founded, no city had attained to the dignity of 50,000 inhabitants. Philadelphia was the first city and it had only 42,520 population. Greater New York now employs a greater number than that, its pay roll containing over 50,000 men and women. Think of what that means! New York now requires more people to carry on its government than resided in the largest city of the United States in 1790!

When we consider a city government which involves the services of 50,000 men and the welfare of 4,000,000 people, or to take some of the other cities, where the armies of officeholders range from 2,000 to 8,000 and where the people affected run from one-fourth of a million to nearly two millions, as in the case of Chicago, we ask ourselves what principle should we follow in appointing them?

Tammany Hall in New York and the "machine" in Philadelphia and other cities insist upon regarding them as spoils of office. That is to say, that these offices, so great in number and so important in the services they are called upon to render, are to be used to pay political and personal debts. They are to be used in place of money or other valuable things to pay somebody for favors granted or to come.

Let us state the question a little differently. Policemen are to be appointed, not because they are good thief takers and can preserve order, but because they can or will control or have controlled a certain number of votes; firemen are to be appointed,

not because they know how to put out fires, but because they are related to some one who has done a favor or is expected to do one to the machine; clerks are to be appointed because they belong to the party in power, not because they can write and figure well. The question of fitness to do the public work is not considered; the question of political usefulness to the machine is.

Imagine for an instant, if you can, the Pennsylvania Railroad, with its great interests, although not comparing in extent with those of the leading cities of the country, selecting its engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen and clerks upon any other basis than that of fitness! What would we say if the superintendent of one of the divisions of that railroad, in looking for two assistants, found two in every way capable, but who happened to be Republicans, and then refused to appoint them because their politics did not happen to be the same as his, and selected two inferior men because they were of his way of political thinking? Would the stockholders of the Pennsylvania Railroad, even though fifty-five per cent might be of the same party as the superintendent, tolerate such conduct? To ask these questions as to a railroad or other corporation is to answer them, if they are not too absurd for attention. And yet just such a condition does prevail in our municipalities in respect to municipal offices, and just such practices create the municipal problem and bring our cities and their governments into disrepute. Men have been appointed to clean streets because they were Democrats or Republicans, and for similar reasons have been chosen clerks and janitors and surveyors and firemen and engineers. Their partisan affiliations and usefulness have been the first consideration for their appointments. Their usefulness to the public has been of secondary importance, if considered at all. This is the spoils system.

The next step after appointing men because of their politics and their political usefulness is to organize them into a compact body to carry on the system.

It leads directly to what we call the "bread and butter brigade" in Philadelphia, an army of 10,000 men, or ten to an election division, who march shoulder to shoulder and fight battle after battle at the primary and general elections, to keep their positions and sustain a system which puts their selfish ends before the public good.

Society is built up on the voluntary sacrifices of a few that the many may live and prosper. When our land and its government are in danger men volunteer to serve in its army and navy, that their country may be protected. They are willing to sacrifice their lives that the country may live. The spoilsman proceeds on the reverse principle, and so he is in truth an enemy of his country. He insists that a man shall be appointed to serve his ends, to help him in his ambitions. Men in public service are known as Croker's men, Quay's men, Lorimer's men, Cox's men. How seldom do we hear the good old-fashioned "public servant?"

In Philadelphia, when the present mayor went into office, he removed good men and true, who had been for years serving the public. Had they lost their ability or their experience and usefulness? No, they were all in the prime of life and at the height of their usefulness. Why, then, were they removed or forced to resign? Simply because they would not become Ashbridge men, or because their places were wanted by Ashbridge men.

The life of Colonel Waring is to be charged up to the spoils system. If he had not been replaced by a Tammany politician as Superintendent of Street Cleaning in New York he would not have accepted the Cuban appointment, and so would not have contracted that dread disease which ended his life. Why was Colonel Waring replaced? Not because he did not know how to clean streets, because no man had ever done the work better. Not because he was less honest or efficient, but simply and solely because he was not a Tammany man.

The Greater New York Republican Convention was right when it declared, after nominating Seth

Low for mayor in 1901, that "The great city is a great business corporation. There should not be such a thing as a Republican or a Democratic way of cleaning the streets, or collecting the taxes, or arresting the pool-room and dive keepers; and it makes no difference whether a man is a Republican or a Democrat, when his duties are to manage the police department, to conduct the finances, or to supervise the whole municipal administration."

In short, men should be selected for office because they merit the appointment; because they can do what the duties of their office require them to do, to the advantage of the public; and without any consideration of their politics or religion or their private relationships, except as these indicate their character and training. This, in short, is the merit system, wherein merit and not "pull" or special favor or political usefulness is the basis of appointment.

In these days the value of a professional training is everywhere recognized and in every department of activity, except that of government. It is based upon a recognition of the fact that the execution of a policy or its administration is a matter to be committed into the hands of trained men. To go back to the Pennsylvania Railroad for an illustration, it is a matter of policy, to be determined by the directors, whether a road shall be built between two cities; but engineers are given charge of the actual construction of the road, and they select the men who know how to build the road. The engineers do not select their assistants and helpers on the basis of their religious or political beliefs; they only ask that they be honest and capable. The other matters are irrelevant, and so it must come to be with the execution of municipal enterprises; and fortunately an increasing number of men and women are coming to look at the whole matter in this light. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The city is becoming a constantly increasing factor in our lives. Each year it becomes of more importance, because it touches us at more points. For

years national affairs were given first place in the consideration of the average citizen. This has been shown time and again by the size of the vote at elections where national questions were involved, as compared with those where state or municipal ones were at issue. The interest, as shown by the vote, decreased from national to state and thence to city, so that at times the vote at those elections where only local issues were involved was shamefully small and insignificant. This condition of affairs is gradually yielding to one where a more rational view prevails, and we see citizens giving more and more attention to those affairs which they are realizing affect them most directly of all.

James C. Carter, for years the acknowledged leader of the American Bar, in a recent address before the National Municipal League, of which he has been the president since its organization in 1894, clearly set forth the basis for this change of feeling:—

“If I should compare the importance of national politics, if I may so call them, the importance of a proper control of national affairs with that of municipal affairs, I should say that the former were less important, *almost like dust in the balance, compared with the latter*. In national affairs, whichever party is elected, the business of the country, the administration of its affairs goes on in about the same way. You would scarcely know the difference; but in municipal affairs, the moment degeneracy begins it is felt in every corner of your civil and political life. The moment unscrupulous men get possession of your municipal offices and turn them to their own purposes, your schools begin to suffer degradation, the pavement of your streets is affected, the cleanliness of your city is gone, your police come into alliance with crime and you are threatened with every sort of danger, and there is no form of social or political life in which you do not instantly feel the result. It is for this reason that I cannot help thinking that attention to municipal affairs is vastly more important in immediate results than any at-

tention to national politics, although I would by no means disparage the latter."

In other words, in the opinion of this distinguished man, now long past his three score and ten and with an experience of fifty years and more in the practice of the law before the highest tribunals in the land, yes, in the world, for he was counsel for the United States before a recent international court of arbitration, these municipal questions are of greater importance than the national issues, which take up so much space in the newspapers and occupy so much of public attention. The reason is not far to seek. Municipal government has to do with such matters as light and water within the house, its protection from thieves and fires without. It has to do with the streets we walk upon and the cars we ride in; with our education and our recreation. Whether young or old, rich or poor, indoors or out, at work or play, all come in touch with the municipal government in some form or another, every day in the year. Except for the postman, how many of us have much, if any have business with the national government?

A few months ago a former captain of police in Philadelphia came into my office, at my request, to tell his story. He had been dismissed from the force to make way for a new captain. Why? Was he less efficient as a policeman? No, but he had been a policeman so long, he had ceased to be politically useful and he had to make way for a new man, who had more of a pull and knew more of politics. Think of school teachers being selected because of the politics of their brothers and fathers; and clerks appointed because they are Republicans or Democrats. We might just as well select our doctors or lawyers because of their politics. Or to put it another way: Suppose boys and girls were admitted to school and promoted, not as they showed their fitness and because they merited it, but because their fathers were Republicans or Democrats and had a certain political pull! What would be said of such a system as that? And yet that is just

what is done in the municipal service. Men and women are admitted to it and promoted in it for other reasons than their merit and fitness.

We are told that when the statue of the god Hermes, in Athens, had been mutilated by some vandal, the Athenians were frightened and furious; they felt that for a moment's pleasure or a stupid whim inevitable calamity would be brought upon all. Walter Bagehot, in commenting upon this incident, attributed this to the feeling that an injury to one was an injury to all. All suffered through the injury to one or inflicted by one.

In these days we do not regard the public welfare with that sacred reverence essential to its maintenance and highest development. In every direction we see a disregard of it on the plea that anything is good enough for the public. The municipal problem is primarily due to the failure to apply to the transaction of public business the same standards as are applied in private life. Public offices are spoils to be distributed among the victors. Public contracts are to be distributed as rewards to the favored. Public franchises are to be given to those who make the best *private* offers to the agents of the public for the time being.

Suppose the same spirit pervaded our modern municipalities as pervaded Athens when the statue of Hermes was mutilated. Tammany or the Philadelphia machine could not exist for a day. We would not tolerate for an instant the appointment of a single public official to pay a private or political debt; and this brings us to the fundamental argument for the merit system in municipalities: it is immoral to appoint men to office on any other basis than that of fitness or merit. Municipal government is too sacred a trust to have any portion of it used to pay private political debts or to have it diverted for personal or factional ends. Dr. Albert Shaw has stated the proposition in this way:—"The making of partisan appointments to office would be deemed in English towns not merely a blow at the efficiency of administration, but also a violation of

every principle of civic justice and equality, a proscription of half the taxpaying community by governing authorities,—in short, an act of hostility which carried on to its logical end would mean the denial of civic rights to all citizens not adhering to a single political party, or, in a word, civil war."

If an act of hostility, a denial of civic right, if civil war in England, why not in America? Is the spoils system unrighteous there and righteous here? Is it improper to use public offices as pawns on a political chess board there and right on this side of the Atlantic? Does the ocean change immorality into morality? To ask these questions is to answer them. The spoils system is wrong everywhere and in every way, because it proceeds on a wrong basis. It regards public office and public property as means to private ends. Whereas they should be everywhere and only considered as instruments to promote the public welfare.

This is not only the ethical, but also the legal view. A few years ago a West Virginia court declared that "The incumbent of an office has no property in it under our system of government. His right to exercise it is not based upon any contract or grant. It is conferred on him as a public trust, *to be exercised for the benefit of the public*. Such salary as may be attached to it is not given because of any duty on the part of the public to do so, but to enable the incumbent the better to perform the duties of his office by the more exclusive devotion of time thereto."

I might multiply instances of the absurdities of the spoils system, to show how it establishes a wrong principle in public life; how it denies the free and equal right of every man to serve his country, if he is fit to do so. Suppose when the Civil War was being fought out the government had said only Republicans will be accepted, only men who have served that party will be taken into the ranks, only men with a pull will have a chance. Every one would have denounced as absurd and treasonable such a policy; but wherein does it differ from the

spoils system, under which admission to the public service is denied to all except those who belong to the party in power and those who serve its ends or will? Further, I might show the hardships following the spoils system, how men are deprived of their places after years of faithful service, simply to make way for those politically more useful; but all to the same end—the spoils system is unwise and immoral.

The ills of such a system are appalling. They endanger the lives of our families, and they bring our government into disrepute and make men wonder whether democracy is a failure.

The duty is incumbent upon every American citizen who loves his country to root out that which has brought such serious reproach upon us as a nation. Let us bear in mind those sturdy words of James Russell Lowell:

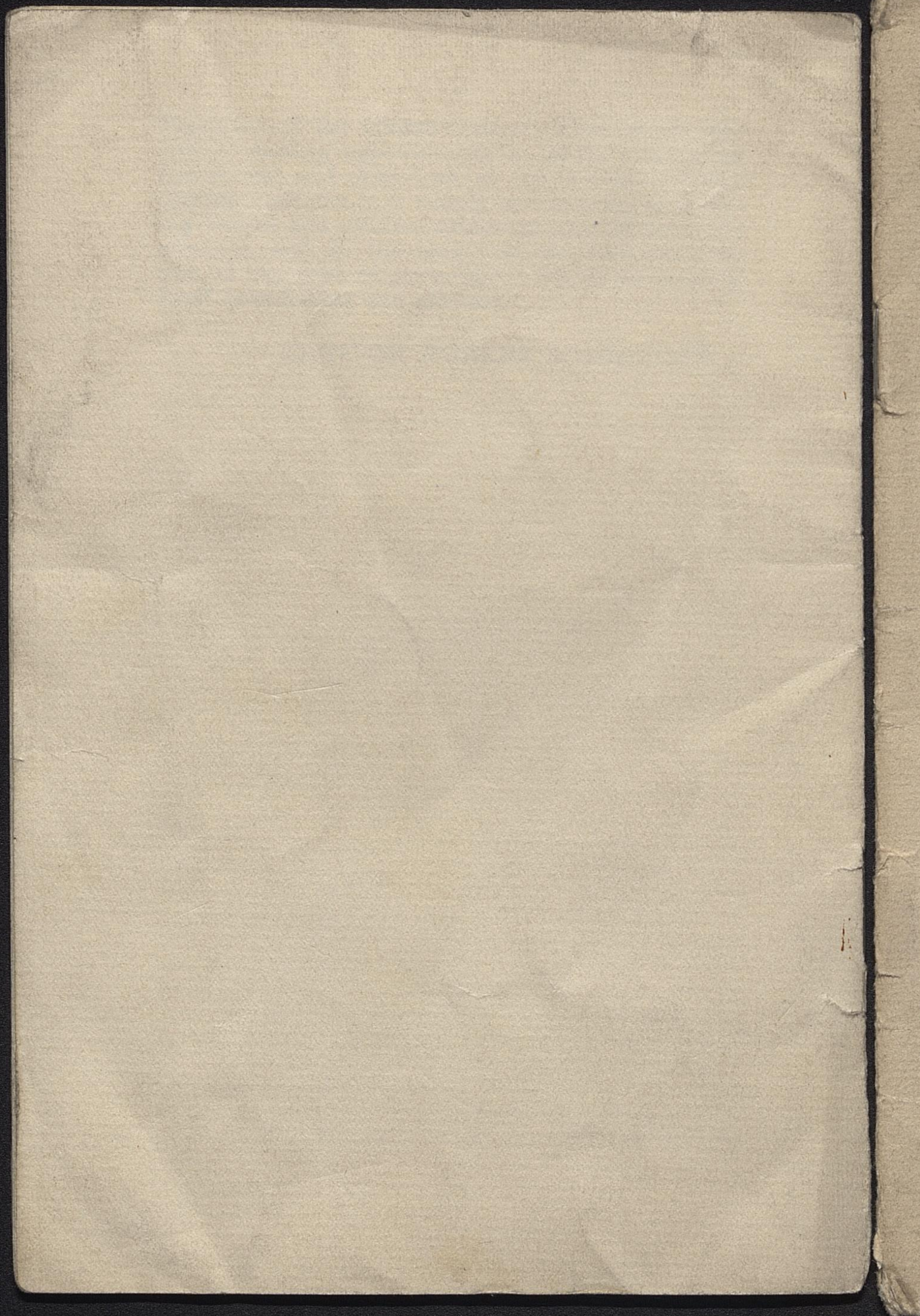
"I loved my country so as only they
Who love a mother fit to die for may;
I loved her old renown, her stainless fame,
What better proof than that I loathed her shame?
Never land long lease of empire won
Whose sons sate silent when base deeds were done."

The merit system is the new morality. It places the "public good" above all else; above personal interests, above factional and partisan interests. Until the American people realize that "the newer morality demands that men should place the 'public good' above all other consideration," the merit system cannot be completely established. There must be no cessation of effort until the people realize and act upon their realization, that "the good of a part must, if necessary, be sacrificed to the good of the whole; that love of party must be subordinated to love of country; . . . that loyalty to neighbors must be forgotten if the public well-being is endangered or if it exacts the sacrifice."

One final word, and let that be from one who has rightly earned the reputation of being the foremost advocate of the merit system—Theodore Roosevelt,

President of the United States:—"The merit system of making appointments is, in its essence, as democratic and American as the common school system itself, for it is simply one method of securing honest and efficient administration of the government, and, in the long run, the sole justification of any type of government lies in its proving itself both honest and efficient."

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.



Syllabus for the Study of the History of Civil Service Reform

BY

LUCY MAYNARD SALMON



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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTORY NOTE	3
I. CIVIL SERVICE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD . .	5
II. THEORY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.	5
III. THE CIVIL SERVICE UNDER STATESMEN - - - -	6
IV. INTRODUCTION OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM - - - -	8
V. RESULTS OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM - - - - -	9
VI. THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM - - - - -	9
VII. RESULTS OF THE MERIT SYSTEM - - - - -	11
VIII. CIVIL SERVICE IN THE STATES - - - - -	11
IX. MUNICIPAL CIVIL SERVICE - - - - -	12
X. CIVIL SERVICE IN EDUCATION - - - - -	13
XI. CIVIL SERVICE IN STATE AND MUNICIPAL PHILAN- THROPIC INSTITUTIONS - - - - -	14
XII. WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE - - - - -	15
FULL LIST OF TITLES REFERRED TO IN THE SYLLABUS.	16

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.



THE history of civil service reform is but one part of the general history of the country. Its place, therefore, among other movements can be understood only as its relation to the general history of the country is understood. It is also true that it is in large part a history of individuals—of those who have exercised the power of appointment with good judgment and for the best interests of the country, of those who have trafficked in government offices for their own personal advancement, of those who have labored untiringly to undo the evils resulting from the spoils system and to put the civil service beyond the reach of grasping politicians.

It is, therefore, recommended that those who are to make a detailed study of the subject should take up works in the following order: First, a general outline; second, a detailed account; third, a biography; fourth, the works of the person whose biography has been studied; fifth, the legislation of the period; sixth, a special history of civil service reform. This plan may be illustrated by the following study suggested for the period of Washington. First, Albert Bushnell Hart, *Epochs of American History*; second, James Schouler, *History of the United States*; third, Henry Cabot Lodge, *George Washington*; fourth, *Writings of Washington*; fifth, organization of the executive departments in *Annals of Congress*; sixth, Gaillard Hunt, *Office Seeking During Washington's Administration*, in *American Historical Review*, January, 1896; seventh, Gaillard Hunt, *Calendar of Applications and Recommendations for Office During the Presidency of George Washington*; eighth, *United States Civil Service Commission, Fifteenth Annual Report*. Similar lists may be made out for succeeding administrations.

Special studies may be made of various features of the spoils system and civil service reform, such as the following: Applications for office, the classified service, the examination system, the claims of army and navy veterans, the consular service, the diplomatic service, the Indian bureau, the census bureau, rural free delivery, fourth-class postmasters, the four years' limitation law, work of the United States Civil Service Commission, work of the National Civil Service Reform League, George William Cur-

tis, Dorman B. Eaton, *Harper's Weekly* and civil service reform, *The Nation* and civil service reform, the civil service in Porto Rico, the civil service in the Philippines.

It has been difficult to make out satisfactory lists of references. Many libraries do not contain important works needed for a thorough study of the subject, and it has seemed inadvisable to cumber the lists with works not generally accessible. This explains the omission of titles like Niles' Register and similar ones. On the other hand, several titles have been included of works not particularly valuable *per se*, but of some service because found in most libraries. Periodical literature and the publications of different societies organized to promote civil service reform have not been included, since these have been given in full in the *Bibliography of Civil Service Reform* issued by the Women's Auxiliary to the Civil Service Reform Association.

It would not have been possible to send out this syllabus with the accompanying references without the efficient help rendered by three friends, alumnae of Vassar College—Miss L. A. Moriarity, Miss H. Sinsabaugh and Miss K. F. Belcher. Miss Moriarity has prepared the outlines and references for the first six parts, and Miss Sinsabaugh and Miss Belcher those of the remaining parts. The merits of the syllabus are due to them, its defects are my own.

L. M. S.

Poughkeepsie, New York,
October, 1902.

I.

CIVIL SERVICE IN THE COLONIES.

Proprietary colonies—power of proprietor. More limited powers of the governor of charter colonies. Provincial governor's power of appointment and suspension of councillors. Independent right of military appointment. Unlimited power in appointment and removal of civil officers up to 1700. Later rule requiring the advice and consent of the council. Conflict between the board of trade and the governor over "tenure of judges." Corrupt use of patronage by royal governors. Open sale and barter of offices. Encroachment of legislature on the power of the governor. Salaries. Tenure of office. Principle of rotation in office.

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GREENE. Provincial Governor, 72-78, 81-82, 85, 110-17, 133-44, 157-59, 182-88. Appendix A., 207-64.

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LARNED. Ready Reference. See names of states.

MORTON. Popular Objections.

POORE. Charters. See charters of different colonies.

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II.

THE CIVIL SERVICE IN THE CONSTITUTION—ITS THEORY AND INTERPRETATION.

CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS OF THE APPOINTING POWER.—Defects in method of appointment under the Articles of Confederation and in the State Constitutions. Theories in the federal convention of 1787 concerning the power of appointment,—proposals to place it in (a) the national legislature, (b) the President and Senate, (c) the President alone. The appointing power given to the President. Eligibility of members of Congress to appointment.

INTERPRETATION OF CONGRESS IN 1789.—Ambiguity of the Constitution regarding tenure and removal. History of the measure giving the power of removal to the President. Arguments in favor of removal by the President. Arguments in favor of removal by the President and Senate. Other interpretations of the Constitution. Questions settled by debate and passage of bill.

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III.

THE CIVIL SERVICE UNDER STATESMEN.

UNDER FEDERALISTS, 1789-1801.—Washington's opinions as to appointments to office. His views put into practice. Mr. Adams' appointment of relatives. Appointments made without advice of the Cabinet. Removal of Mr. Pickering. Judiciary filled with federalists. "Midnight appointments."

UNDER REPUBLICANS, 1801-1829.—Situation with reference to patronage. Principles governing Jefferson in appointments. His views on removal. Use of power. Complaints against Jefferson regarding appointments and removals. Legislative measures proposed. Decision of the Supreme Court. Mr. Madison opposed to removals. Conduct in appointing. Opposition of the Senate

concerning appointments and removals. Mr. Monroe's views. Ineligibility of members again discussed. Tenure-of-Office Act of 1820. Mr. Adams' position. Annoyed by office seekers. Irreproachable conduct in appointments and removals. Results of his course. Attacks on executive patronage in 1826.

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- LODGE.* George Washington, II., 61-73, 246-47, 260-66.
- MADISON. Letters, III., 5-6, 26, 196, 200, 202, 268-70, 319; IV., 343, 350-53, 356-57, 370.
- MAGRUDER*. John Marshall, (S.), 154-58, 180.
- MONROE. Writings, 322-24; V., 347.
- MORSE*. John Adams, (S), 295-98, 309-11, 316-17.
 ——— John Quincy Adams, (S), 177-87, 197-200, 205-6, 209.
 ——— Thomas Jefferson, 218-25; (S), 183, 194-202, 230-34.
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- SCHURZ*. Henry Clay, (S), I., 258-61, 281-82, 289-90, 334-34.
- SHEPARD*. Martin Van Buren, 46, 137-39.
- STEVENS*. Albert Gallatin, (S), 186-88, 291-92, 297; 281-82.
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IV.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

Jackson's views in 1812. Need of reform discovered in 1829. Application of his principles: In a general proscription; in custom houses; in the post office department; in the revenue department; in the appointment of members of Congress; in the use of the press. Rush for office. Character of Jackson's appointees. Statesmen feel the danger of the spoils system. Reluctance of the Senate to confirm Jackson's nominations. Resolutions to inquire into the extent of executive patronage. Patronage bill of John C. Calhoun.

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V.

THE RESULTS OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

Results in Van Buren's administration. Harrison and Tyler promise reform. General Harrison confronted with difficulties. Webster's circular against electioneering by officials. Tyler endeavors to reform the government. Failure of legislation under Tyler. Polk's address non-committal on spoils system. Spoils system fully established. Taylor's ideas on civil service. Futile legislation under Polk and Taylor. Pass examinations instituted in 1853. Pierce carries spoils system to the extreme. Attempt to reform the consular service. Culmination of the spoils evil in Buchanan's administration.

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VI.

THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM.

PERIOD OF CIVIL SERVICE LEGISLATION, 1861-1871.—The clean sweep under Lincoln. Increase of Congressional influence. Improvements in the consular service. Use of spoils under Johnson. First Civil Service Reform bill. Tenure-of-Office bill passed.

PERIOD OF OPERATION OF THE FIRST CIVIL SERVICE RULES, 1872-1874.—Civil service under Grant. Civil service commission instituted. Modification of the Tenure-of-Office act. Question of reform in the election of 1872. Congress nullifies civil service act of 1871 by refusing appropriations.

PERIOD SUCCEEDING THE ABANDONMENT OF THE RULES, 1874-1883.—Civil Service in the campaign of 1876. Keynote of reform sounded by President Hayes. Reform in New York custom house. Reform in New York post office. President Arthur continues the reform. Increase of public interest in the question. Pendleton Bill of 1883.

GROWTH OF THE MERIT SYSTEM SINCE 1883.—Attitude of the later presidents towards civil service reform. Extension of the classified service between 1883-1902. Executive order of President McKinley, May 29, 1899, and its effects. Violations of the civil service law. Question of political assessments. Agitation for consular reform. Scope of civil service rules and regulations in 1902. Action of Congress affecting the merit system, 1883-1902. Repeal of Tenure-of-Office Bill. Failure of Congressional attack in 1898. Philippine civil service act of 1900. Appropriations made by Congress for carrying out civil service law. Decisions of courts upon Federal civil service statutes.

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VII.

RESULT OF THE MERIT SYSTEM.

DIRECT RESULTS TO THE STATE.—Economy and efficiency. Officials saved time and annoyance from office-seekers. Appointees devoted to their work rather than to party. Better class of men attracted to the service. Efficient service can be retained notwithstanding elections and change of party. Secures the best practical talent of both parties at the same time.

INDIRECT RESULTS TO THE STATE.—Important stimulus to education. Political contests become a battle for principles rather than struggle for offices. Increases patriotism.

RESULTS TO THE INDIVIDUALS.—Advances the cause of democracy. Merit and fitness rewarded. No discrimination for politics, race or sex. Industry secures stability of tenure and advancement. Honesty encouraged. Appointees independent of politicians. Independence of thought and action secured.

REFERENCES.

All of the material for this part of the subject is found in periodical literature. A selected list of important articles is given in the *Bibliography of Civil Service Reform*, published by the Women's Auxiliary to the Civil Service Reform Association.

VIII.

CIVIL SERVICE IN THE STATES.

More limited opportunity for scope of civil service reform in state than in federal or city government, but increasing need comes with present tendency for state to assume more responsibility. Appointing powers of governors very limited by early state con-

stitutions; official appointments depending largely on councils. Example of abuse of this in New York previous to 1821. Later, power of appointment often transferred from state councils to election by people. Tendency, since civil war, to vest more power in governor. Present condition of appointing power; not uniform in the states. Abuses of appointing power. Seen in New York and Pennsylvania even before 1800. Helped by rapid development of party machinery; domination of state politics by national parties. Means of promoting reform seen in changes in form of government; adoption of civil service rules in many states. Slow progress of reform in Southern states. Progress due in part to influence of good results of United States civil service laws. Demands of reformers.

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 For articles in periodicals, see *Bibliography of Civil Service Reform*.

IX.

MUNICIPAL CIVIL SERVICE.

VITAL RELATION OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM TO MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.—Comprehensive functions of city government. Tendency toward municipal control or ownership. Great number of appointive offices in city government. Great expenditure of money. Existence, in many cities, of large ignorant foreign element. City government dominated by national party feeling.

POWER OF APPOINTMENT IN CITY GOVERNMENT.—Lack of uniformity—appointment by mayor, by council, by heads of departments, by governors, state legislatures, or by combinations of two

of above. Present tendency to give more power to mayor. Model charters and changes proposed.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM IN OPERATION IN SOME OF OUR GREAT CITIES.—New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Minneapolis.

PROGRESS OF MUNICIPAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN CITIES OF NEW YORK, MASSACHUSETTS, ILLINOIS, WISCONSIN AND IN ISOLATED EXAMPLES IN OTHER STATES.—Rules and regulations for civil service in cities. Limitations of civil service reform in cities. Introduced into comparatively few cities. In these often not completely, but in one or two departments, or, for only small class of employes. Violation of municipal civil service laws. Laws more difficult to carry out than United States civil service laws.

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See also charters of different cities and reports of the municipal civil service commissions where civil service regulations have been adopted. Reports of the National Municipal League. Proceedings of the National Conference for Good City Government.

X.

CIVIL SERVICE IN EDUCATION.

SYSTEM PRIOR TO REFORM MOVEMENT.—Patronage often made the basis for the selection or election of members of school

boards, the appointment and removal of teachers and assignments of special positions. Political element strongly developed. High standards of efficiency or ability not required. Tenure of office unstable. Dependence upon favor. Evils—weakness of administration, introduction of extravagant and corrupting use of funds, political evils akin to those in municipal affairs, inefficient service, power of trained educators limited and weak, difficulty of securing removal of inefficient teachers.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT.—Application of municipal civil service theories to education. Administrative officers elected by the people, or appointed on non-partisan basis, and serving without pay. Superintendents selected on basis of professional qualifications, and required to be professionally trained. Principals and teachers appointed on basis of training, efficiency or experience, by professionally trained superintendent, or by nomination of superintendent and election by committee, or secured by competitive examination. Non-professional employees appointed on basis of efficiency, with a tendency to subject employees to civil service test. Demand for high standards of efficiency and ability in all departments. Education divorced from politics.

RESULTS WHERE SPOILS SYSTEM PREVAILS.—Schools full of politics. Scandals arising from weakness in administrative and executive departments. Wasteful use of funds in buildings, etc. Corrupt methods of appointments. Unfair promotions of teachers and increase of salaries not based on training, ability or success.

WHERE THE REFORM MOVEMENT PREVAILS.—Schools are removed from the control of politicians. Administrative and executive powers are strengthened. More economic administration and money spent to greater advantage. Higher standards of education exist. Promotions made and salaries increased according to ability, training and success. School work better done. Better educational spirit developed in the community and in the schools.

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The most accessible articles on this phase of the subject are found in the annual reports of the National Educational Association. See especially the Reports for the years 1891, 1898, 1899 and 1900.

XI.

CIVIL SERVICE IN STATE AND MUNICIPAL PHIL- ANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS.

INSTITUTIONS INCLUDED.—Penal, corrective, charitable; hospitals; educational institutions for dependents and defectives.

OPPORTUNITY FOR CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN STATE AND MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS.—Overcrowded conditions in many departments due to insufficient and inefficient working force; enormous waste of funds due to careless management, political misuse and pronounced officialism.

PRESENT MANAGEMENT OF THESE INSTITUTIONS.—Established by state, county, city; private institutions subsidized by state or city. Officials appointed either through patronage, or on a qualification basis. Other employes appointed through patronage or after civil service tests.

EVILS RESULTING FROM INEFFICIENT OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.—Caused in part by general indifference of the public, by lack of proper advisory supervision and by indifference of managers. Political corruption in charities. Scandals seen in abuse of power, waste of funds, inefficiency of officers and the service, undue severity or laxity of discipline. Evils from subsidizing private charities, hospitals, etc., seen in waste of funds; impossibility of proper state or city supervision and control of private institutions. Possible remedies coming through the application of civil service reform to all departments.

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XII.

WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE.

[Suggestions for an answer to this question are given in the Introductory Note.]

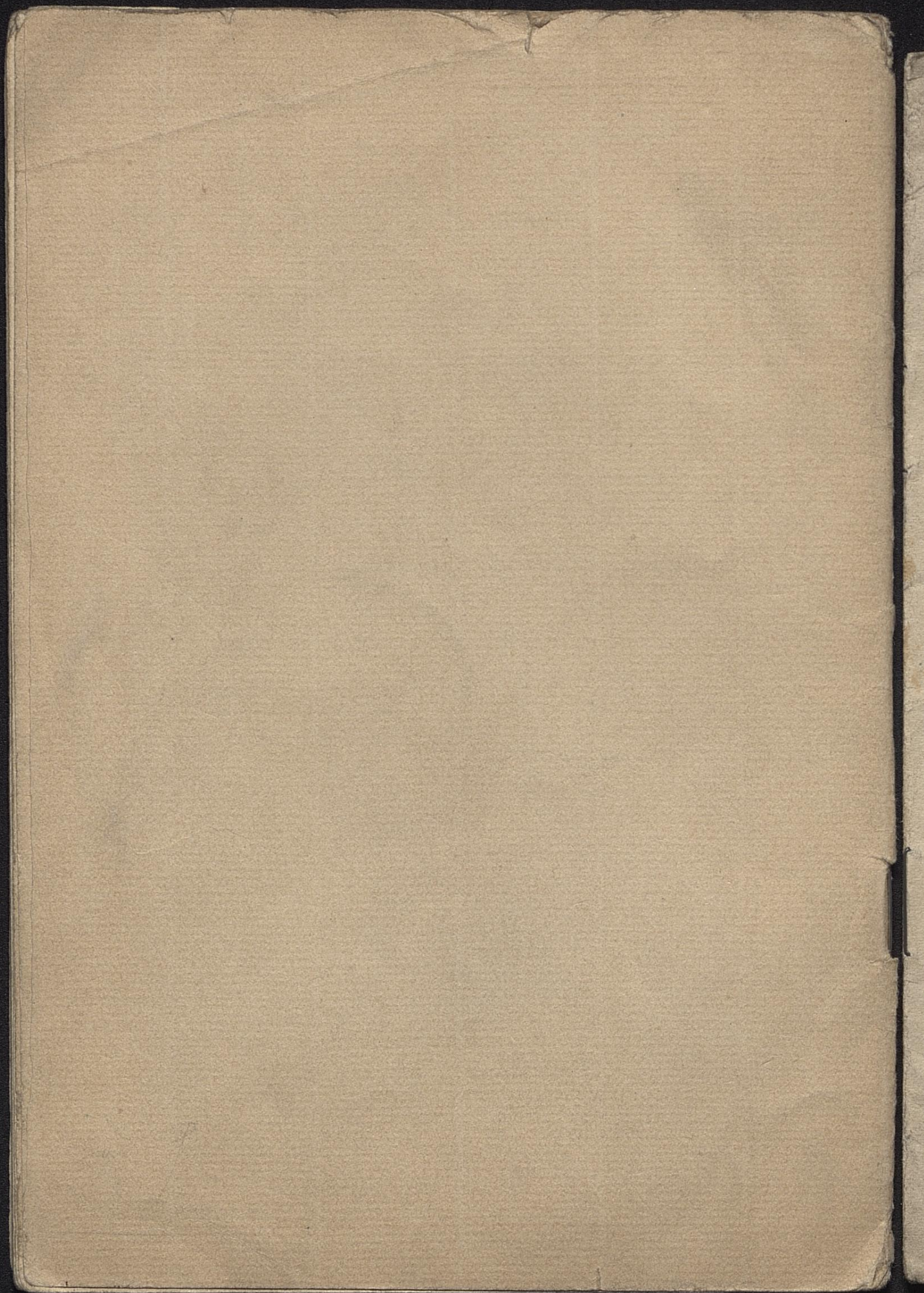
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THE SPREAD OF
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BY

IMOGEN B OAKLEY



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THE SPREAD OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM PRINCIPLES THROUGH THE AGENCY OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

MRS. IMOGEN B. OAKLEY

A PAPER READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE
REFORM LEAGUE, DECEMBER 12, 1902

IN the New York public schools it is the custom to test the ability of the primary classes in English composition by writing the part of a story upon the blackboard, and then requiring the class to complete it in their own language and according to their own individual ideas. Recently a teacher in one of the East Side schools wrote upon the board this little narrative:

"A poor little girl was once selling apples at a railway station. A train came in and several of the passengers bought fruit from her, and then went back to their seats. Just before the train started another man came to the steps and asked her how much she charged for her apples. 'Three for ten cents, sir,' she answered. 'Then give me three,' he said, and took the apples, but before he had paid for them, the train pulled out. The man thought he would save the ten cents by not paying for the apples so he went back into the car, leaving the little girl crying on the platform. But the mayor of the town was sitting in the next seat, and had watched the whole incident."

"Now," said the teacher, "what did the mayor do?"

One little girl who had grown up on the East Side and had unconsciously marked the ways of some city officials,—and had she lived in Philadelphia her

experience would have been the same,—continued the story thus:

"Then the mayor was glad because he had seen it all, and could make the man give him half the ten cents. So he went up and told the man that he had seen what had been done. And of course the man gave him five cents right away."

An acquaintance of my own in a city of Eastern Pennsylvania consented to serve as a candidate for a school director in her ward. It was considered advisable that she should be on the ticket of each party so she and a committee of her supporters waited upon the ward leader and asked that her name be placed upon the regular party ticket. "If it were any other office," said the boss, "I might consider it, but a man is needed as a school director. Why, school directors do all my dirty political work."

Before the last February election in this city, a candidate on the machine ticket made a stout defence of the right of the machine to assess public school teachers, although but 220 of the 3640 teachers are men and entitled to vote. "School teachers are at the public crib the same as policemen and firemen," argued the man to a Ledger reporter, "and should be assessed just the same."

It is facts like these that are awakening the women of the country to a realising sense of the inherent immorality of the Spoils System. If the public schools are to be managed by men who will accept orders from political leaders, if blackmail, extortion and bribery are to distinguish our educational system; if the children are to be initiated at an early age into the world of "graft," then indeed it is time for the mothers to rouse themselves, even though the fathers remain indifferent.

Into minds thus prepared, the Women's Auxiliary to the New York Civil Service Reform Association has continued to sow the seed of "divine discontent" with existing conditions, and to foster the growth of every budding desire for better government.

Wisely availing itself of organizations already in existence, it has continued its endeavors to influence public opinion through the agency of the Women's clubs. The workers have every reason to feel encouraged. The number of Federation and Club centres taking up the study of the civil service increase steadily, and unprejudicial study invariably makes converts. Many of the State Federations have added to their present committees a committee on Civil Service Reform, whose duty it is to distribute literature, to influence legislation by attending public meetings and legislative sessions, and to spread abroad by every possible means correct information on this vital principle of good government.

Through the efforts of Miss Perkins of Concord, one whole hour at the biennial meeting of the General Federation which was held at Los Angeles last spring was devoted to Civil Service Reform. The subject was considered in its relation to our public schools; to our institutions of charities and corrections; and in its effect upon law and order in our cities and towns. So much interest was aroused that it was moved and carried unanimously that "the delegates to the Sixth Biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs here assembled, recommend to the incoming Board of Directors that a Committee on Civil Service Reform be added to the standing committees of the Federation."

A strong committee is to be the result of this resolution. The workers fully realize that little can be accomplished by individual women, but they believe that public opinion can be moulded by organizations acting together; and they believe further, that by uniting the needs of the public charitable institutions and the condition of women and children in the industrial world with a reform of the civil service they are placing this reform upon the ethical basis where it properly belongs.

It is quite true that women in general do not come into personal contact with political corruption, and

hence do not appreciate its demoralizing influence, but each year sees more women serving upon the governing boards of public institutions; more women studying the condition of the public schools from the vantage ground of a school director; more women as factory inspectors coming to the rescue of the child slave, that victim of the combined cupidity of the manufacturer and its own parents; and it is from this ever increasing number of women officials that women in general are learning the necessity of a more honest and efficient administration.

What the Merit System means in the management of public institutions is more and more clearly understood, and work towards the end of placing such institutions under a good civil service law has been started in several of these states in which such a law is lacking. The principal need of the Auxiliary in presenting this work is a supply of appropriate literature, and interesting and capable speakers. There will be an endeavor to present the cause of Civil Service Reform at the Charities and Corrections Conference to be held at Atlanta, May, 1903.

After two years untiring effort, the Auxiliary has been fortunate in securing the active co-operation of college women. During the last twelve months the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, a body of 4000 college-bred women, has been a very efficient ally of the Auxiliary, and with good reason, for to our educated young women the Merit System ensures greater opportunity to compete for positions of trust and responsibility. The branches in Chicago, Detroit, Ann Arbor and New York have given especial indication of their zeal in the cause of good government, and the friendly animus of the whole Association was manifested at their Annual Conference held quite recently in Washington, when Civil Service Reform was given a prominent place on the program, and the members listened with interest to an address by Hon. William Dudley Foulke.

Through the Secretary of the National League of Women Workers, and through the head workers

in social settlements, the Auxiliary has been enabled to reach the large class of women who are wage workers. Many thousand pamphlets written by Miss Leonora O'Reilly, herself a wage worker, and explaining wherein working women will profit by an improvement in the civil service law, has been circulated among these women. The response so far has been meagre. Their training has made them, perhaps, receptive, rather than responsive, but when they begin to understand the meaning of better factory laws and more efficient inspection and to realize how much their comfort and well being depend upon honest officials, we can be certain that the influence of their organizations will be cast in favor of the Merit System.

In addition to this active propaganda, the Auxiliary has successfully conducted its second and third prize competitions. The essays submitted for the second record competition dealt with the history and condition of the civil service in some town personally known to the competitor, and was open to club women throughout the country. The third competition was open to the High School pupils of New York and Brooklyn, the subject of the essays being "The rise and fall of the Spoils System in New York."

The Auxiliary thus looks back upon a year of great activity along all lines. It has extended its influence in every state, and has reached all classes of women; and such a response has been evoked that there would seem to be a foundation for the enthusiastic prediction that by another year every hamlet in every state and territory will know the meaning of Civil Service Reform.

The Women's Auxiliary to the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association has continued its educational work with notable success. The pamphlet written by Mr. Edward Cary, setting forth the respective claims of the Merit System and the Spoils System in a style adapted to the average High School pupil, and intended for collateral use

in the study of United States history has met with much commendation from teachers of history. So great was the approval expressed by the High School teachers of Massachusetts, that the Auxiliary offered to give the pamphlet to all public schools whose teachers would agree to make use of it in their history classes. As a result of this offer over 9000 copies have already been distributed, a great proportion going to Roman Catholic Parochial schools. In addition to 40 High Schools in Massachusetts, they have supplied 120 schools in 24 states. All the High Schools in Milwaukee are using the pamphlet. The St. Louis School Board has voted to introduce it into all the High Schools in that city; the Baltimore School Board is considering like action, and the Auxiliary has received practical assurance that the pamphlet shall be used in every high and grammar school in San Francisco. Through the co-operation of Mr. Booker T. Washington it has been placed in Tuskegee and five other colored schools in the South.

Letters have been received from school masters expressing not only their belief in the doctrine taught by the Cary pamphlet, but testifying to the interest awakened in their pupils. The effect of this ethical teaching seems to have penetrated even to the primary classes, for it was only the other day that a small boy, who had evidently studied his geography lesson by the light of recent events defined an Island as "a body of land entirely surrounded by politics."

Before another school year opens, the Massachusetts Auxiliary hopes to have ready for school purposes other pamphlets which will show clearly the far reaching effects of the Spoils System in great cities. One such already has been written by Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff; and the Auxiliary is also indebted to Professor Lucy M. Salmon of Vassar College for a Civil Service Reform Syllabus of deep interest and value.

Besides this special educational work the Aux-

iliary has co-operated with the State Federation Civil Service Reform Committee in holding meetings in many towns throughout Massachusetts. All these women's organizations are grateful to the National League for continued counsel and help, and chiefly for the fraternal welcome which has greeted their offer of co-operation.

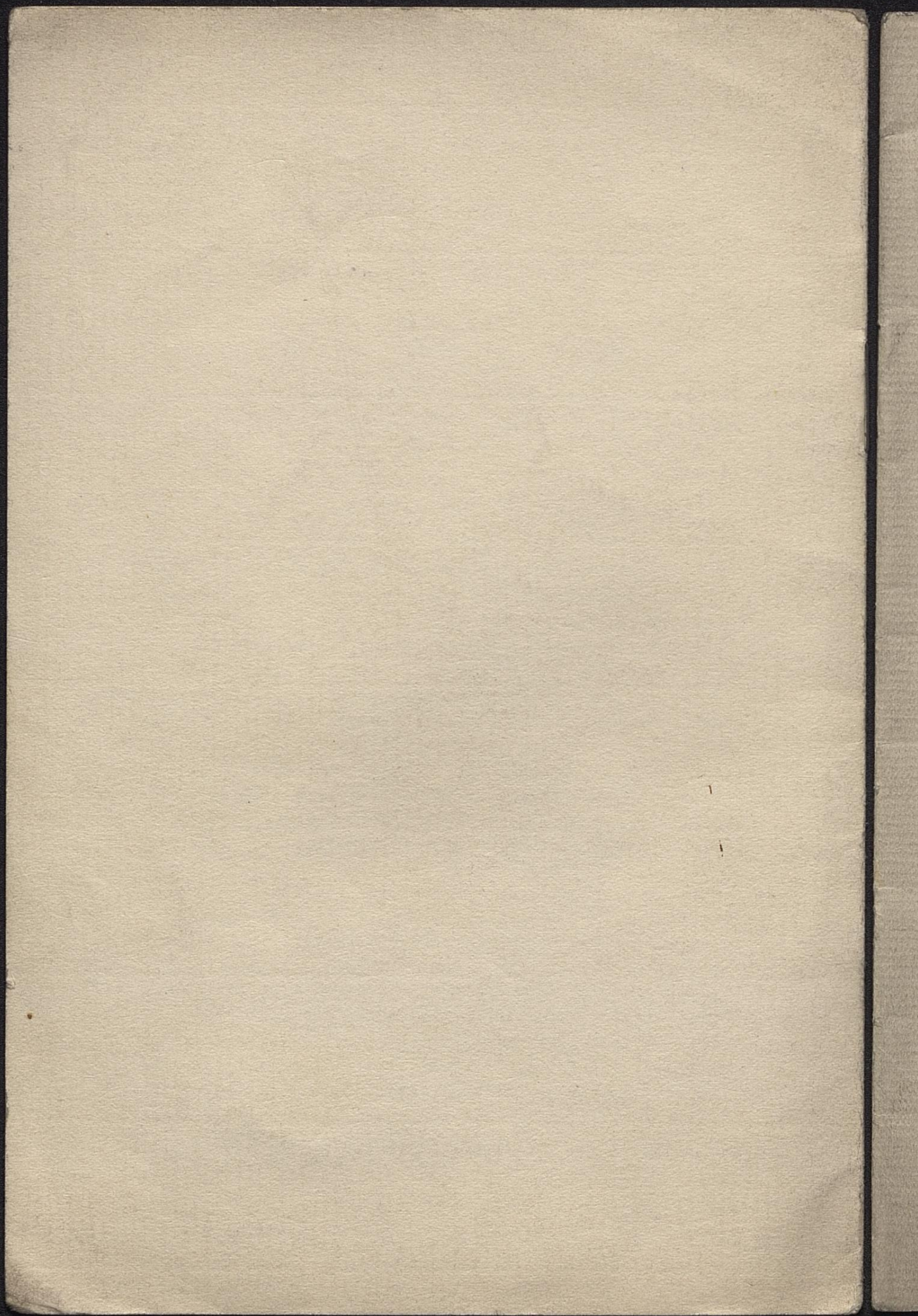
The condition of Civil Service Reform in Pennsylvania suggests the undertaker advertisement in Punch: "Why live and be miserable, when you can be buried decent and comfortable for two pound ten."

There is only one Woman's Club in the State that has a Civil Service Reform Committee—the Civic Club of this City. That Committee is however steadfastly endeavoring to make itself felt throughout the State. It presented the claims of the Merit System before the last two Federation meetings; it was the intermediary in distributing the Massachusetts pamphlet to the Philadelphia High Schools, it has co-operated with the New York Auxiliary in their efforts to interest all women's organizations by bringing Civil Service Reform to the attention of various chapters of the Daughters of the Revolution, and it is prepared to provide a speaker on the subject for any women's club in the State.

The chief need of Pennsylvania at the present moment seems to be the kind of an inventor who shall eclipse Marconi's most marvellous feats and give us wireless politics.

In this brief survey of the work of women's organizations for an improved civil service there is so much that is encouraging that the workers are surely justified in beginning another year with the energy that is born of hope. Considering what has been accomplished and against what odds, I should like to suggest a motto for all Civil Service Reform workers, a motto that breathes defiance to obstacles, and unfolds before us the glorious prospect of a civil service purified and regenerated, the immortal motto of the late illustrious Sam Patch:

"Some things can be done as well as others."



CIVIL SERVICE REFORM AS
DEMANDED BY PRESIDENTS
AND STATESMEN



BOSTON
PUBLISHED FOR
THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION
1904

THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION

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The Women's Auxiliary of the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association was founded in 1901. It now consists of 1,025 members. It has held about forty meetings with addresses on Civil Service Reform, and has published and distributed nearly 100,000 pamphlets.

It is a great satisfaction to announce that the Auxiliary has succeeded in persuading one or more high schools in every single one of the fifty States and territories, including the District of Columbia, to use its pamphlets on Civil Service Reform as the basis of a lesson; nearly 70,000 pamphlets have been sent to about 800 high schools, normal schools, and colleges. Any teacher agreeing to use these publications as the subject of a class recitation may receive them free on application to the Assistant Secretary, Miss MARIAN C. NICHOLS, 55 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM AS DEMANDED BY PRESIDENTS AND STATESMEN¹

UTTERANCES OF THE PRESIDENTS

"In every nomination to office I have endeavored, so far as my own knowledge extended or information could be obtained, to make fitness of character my primary object." — *Washington*.

"When I came into office it was my determination to make as few removals as possible—not one from personal motives, not one from party considerations. This resolution I have invariably observed." — *John Adams*.

"Good men, in whom there is no objection but a difference of political principle, practiced only so far as the right of a private citizen will justify, are not proper subjects of removal." — *Jefferson*.

"* * * the only questions concerning a candidate shall be: Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?" — *Jefferson*.

"* * * the principle * * * that offices were the spoils of victory. * * * I fully agree in all the odium you attach to such a rule. * * * The principle could not fail to degrade any administration." — *Madison*.

¹Compiled and extracted chiefly from Fourteenth Report of United States Civil Service Commission.

"No person at the head of the Government has, in my opinion, any claim to the active partisan exertions of those in office under him." — *Monroe*.

"I have been urged to sweep away my opponents and provide for my friends. I can justify the refusal to adopt this policy only by the steadiness and consistency of my adherence to my own. If I depart from this in one instance, I shall be called upon to do the same in many. An invidious and inquisitorial scrutiny into the personal dispositions of public officers will creep through the whole Union, and the most selfish and sordid passions will be kindled into activity to distort the conduct and misrepresent the feelings of men whose places may become the prize of slander upon them." — *John Quincy Adams*.

"The power of appointing to office is one of a character the most delicate and responsible. The appointing power is evermore exposed to be led into error. With anxious solicitude to select the most trustworthy for official station, I can not be supposed to possess a personal knowledge of the qualifications of every applicant. * * * Unless persons every way trustworthy are employed in the public service corruption and irregularity will inevitably follow. * * * I shall * * * invite the attention of Congress to such measures as in my judgment will be best calculated to regulate and control the Executive power in reference to this vitally important subject." — *Tyler*.

"I feel it my duty to bring under your consideration a practice which has grown up in the administration of the Government, and which, I am deeply convinced, ought to be corrected. I allude to the exercise of the power which usage rather than reason has vested in the Presidents of removing incumbents from office in order

to substitute others more in favor with the dominant party. My own conduct in this respect has been governed by a conscientious purpose to exercise the removing power only in cases of unfaithfulness or inability, or in those in which its exercise appeared necessary in order to discountenance and suppress that spirit of active partisanship on the part of holders of office which not only withdraws them from the steady and impartial discharge of their official duties, but exerts an undue and injurious influence over elections, and degrades the character of the Government itself, inasmuch as it exhibits the Chief Magistrate as being a party through his agents in the secret plots or open workings of political parties.

In respect to the exercise of this power nothing should be left to discretion which may safely be regulated by law, and it is of high importance to restrain as far as possible the stimulus of personal interests in public elections." — *Tyler*.

"The herd of office seekers are the most unprincipled persons in the country. * * * Patronage is injurious to a President." — *Polk*.

"I should not become an inquisitor of the political opinions of the subordinate office-holder." — *Buchanan*.

"I wish I could get time to attend to the Southern question. I think I know what is wanted, and believe I could do something towards quieting the rising discontent, but the office-seekers demand all my time. I am like a man so busy letting rooms in one end of his house that he cannot stop to put out the fire that is burning in the other." — *Lincoln* (*one month after taking office*).

"Always favoring practical reforms, I respectfully call your attention to one abuse of long standing which I

would like to see remedied by this Congress. It is a reform in the civil service of the country. I would have it go beyond the mere fixing of the tenure of office of clerks and employees who do not require 'the advice and consent of the Senate' to make their appointments complete. I would have it govern, not the tenure, but the manner of making all appointments. There is no duty which so much embarrasses the Executive and heads of departments as that of appointments, nor is there any such arduous and thankless labor imposed on Senators and Representatives as that of finding places for constituents. The present system does not secure the best men, and often not even fit men, for public place. The elevation and purification of the civil service of the Government will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States."—*Second annual message of President Grant, December 5, 1870.*

"The utmost fidelity and diligence will be expected of all officers in every branch of the public service. Political assessments, as they are called, have been forbidden within the various departments, and, while the right of all persons in official position to take part in politics is acknowledged, and the elective franchise is recognized as a high trust to be discharged by all entitled to its exercise, whether in the employment of the Government or in private life, honesty and efficiency, not political activity, will determine the tenure of office."—*Executive orders of President Grant, April 16, 1872.*

"I ask the attention of the public to the paramount necessity of reform in our civil service—a reform not merely as to certain abuses and practices of so-called official patronage which have come to have the sanction

of usage in the several departments of our Government, but a change in the system of appointment itself ; a reform that shall be thorough, radical, and complete ; a return to the principles and practices of the founders of the Government. They neither expected nor desired from public officers any partisan service. They meant that public officers should owe their whole service to the Government and to the people. They meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory. They held that appointments to office were not to be made nor expected merely as rewards for partisan services, nor merely on the nomination of Members of Congress, as being entitled in any respect to the control of such appointments."— *Inaugural address of President Hayes, March 5, 1877.*

“EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 26, 1877.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have read the partial report of the commission appointed to examine the New York custom-house. I concur with the commission in their recommendations. It is my wish that the collection of the revenues should be free from partisan control and organized on a strictly business basis, with the same guaranties for efficiency and fidelity in the selection of the chief and subordinate officers that would be required by a prudent merchant. Party leaders should have no more influence in appointments than other equally respectable citizens. No assessments for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed. No useless officer or employee should be retained. No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to

express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties.

Respectfully,

Hon. JOHN SHERMAN,

R. B. HAYES

Secretary of the Treasury."

"The civil service can never be placed on a satisfactory basis until it is regulated by law. For the good of the service itself, for the protection of those who are intrusted with the appointing power against the waste of time and obstruction to the public business caused by the inordinate pressure for places, and for the protection of incumbents against intrigues and wrong, I shall, at the proper time, ask Congress to fix the tenure of the minor offices of the several Executive departments, and to prescribe the grounds upon which removals shall be made during the terms for which incumbents have been appointed." — *Garfield*.

"In the early years of the administration of the Government the personal direction of appointments to the civil service may not have been an irksome task for the Executive; but now that the burden has increased fully a hundredfold, it has become greater than he ought to bear, and it necessarily diverts his time and attention from the proper discharge of other duties no less delicate and responsible, and which, in the very nature of things, can not be delegated to other hands." — *President Arthur's message, December 4, 1882.*

"The continued operation of the law relating to our civil service has added the most convincing proofs of its necessity and usefulness. It is a fact worthy of note that every public officer who has a just idea of his duty to the

people testifies to the value of this reform. Its staunchest friends are found among those who understand it best, and its warmest supporters are those who are restrained and protected by its requirements. * * * If the people of this country ever submit to the banishment of its underlying principle from the operation of their Government they will abandon the surest guarantee of the safety and success of American institutions." — *Cleveland*.

"I believe that the law is being executed with impartiality, and that the system is incomparably better and fairer than that of appointments upon favor." — *Benjamin Harrison*.

"The system has the approval of the people, and it will be my endeavor to uphold and extend it." — *McKinley*.

"The law has immensely benefited every office to which it has been applied. * * * As a matter of practical experience, every Cabinet officer whom I have seen in Washington has, before the end of his term, come to the conclusion that if there was any bureau in which he needed special efficiency he had to put it under the Civil Service Law." — *Roosevelt*.

(*From a letter written to Mr. Grinnell in 1895 in regard to the Civil Service Law.*)

EXTRACTS FROM CONGRESSIONAL DEBATES AND REPORTS ON THE NEED OF REFORM IN THE CIVIL SERVICE

"It was the intention of the founders of our Government that administrative officers should hold office during good behavior. The Constitution fixed the term of no officer in the executive branch of the Government except that of President and Vice-President. Madison, the expounder of the Constitution, said that the wanton removal of a meritorious officer was an impeachable offence. It was the established usage without question or variation during the first forty years of our Government to permit executive officers, except members of the Cabinet, to hold office during good behavior, and this practice was only changed by the four-year tenure act of 1820, which was passed at the instance of an appointing officer for the purpose of using this power to secure his nomination as a Presidential candidate. Shortly after this law was passed Jefferson made the following comment upon it:—

'The late mischievous law, vacating every four years nearly all the executive offices of the Government, saps the Constitution and salutary functions of the President and introduces a principle of intrigue and corruption which will soon leaven the mass, not only of Senators, but of citizens.'" — *From the Thirteenth Report of the United States Civil Service Commission.*

"The tendency has been to revive the dark ages of feudalism and to render an office a feudatory. * * *

It is a detestable system, drawn from the worst periods of the Roman Republic, and if it were to be perpetuated — if the offices, the honest dignities of the people, were to be put up to a scramble, and to be decided by the results of

every Presidential election — our Government and institutions, becoming intolerable, would finally end in a despotism as inexorable as that of Constantinople.” — *Clay*.

“The Presidential election is no longer a struggle for great principles, but only a great struggle as to who shall have the spoils of office.” — *Calhoun, in a speech in the Senate in 1846.*

“I concur with those who think that * * * there should be a check to the progress of official influence and patronage. * * * The theory of our institutions is plain ; it is that Government is an agency created for the good of the people, and that every person in office is the agent and the servant of the people. Offices are created not for the benefit of those who are to fill them, but for the public convenience.” — *Webster*.

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE IN THE SENATE, CONSISTING OF SENATORS CALHOUN, SOUTHARD, BIBB, WEBSTER, BENTON, AND KING OF GEORGIA, FEBRUARY 9, 1835 — 23d CONGRESS.

“But greatly as these causes have added to the force of patronage of late, there are others of a different nature which have contributed to give it a far greater and more dangerous influence. At the head of these should be placed the practice so greatly extended, if not for the first time introduced, of removing from office persons well qualified and who had faithfully performed their duty in order to fill their places with those who are recommended on the ground that they belong to the party in power.”

* * * * *

“So long as offices were considered as public trusts, to be conferred on the honest, the faithful, and capable, for the common good and not for the benefit or gain of the incumbent or his party, and so long as it was the practice

of the Government to continue in office those who faithfully performed their duties, its patronage, in point of fact, was limited to the mere power of nominating to *accidental vacancies* or to newly created offices, and could of course exercise but a moderate influence, either over the body of the community or of the officeholders themselves; but when this practice was reversed—when offices, instead of being considered as public trusts, to be conferred on the deserving, were regarded as the spoils of victory, to be bestowed as rewards for partisan services without respect to merit; when it became to be understood that all who hold office hold by the tenure of partisan zeal and party service—it is easy to see that the certain, direct, and inevitable tendency of such a state of things is to convert the entire body of those in office into corrupt and supple instruments of power, and to raise up a host of hungry, greedy, and subservient partisans, ready for every service, however base and corrupt. Were a premium offered for the best means of extending to the utmost the power of patronage, to destroy the love of country and to substitute a spirit of subserviency and man worship; to encourage vice and discourage virtue; and, in a word, to prepare for the subversion of liberty and the establishment of despotism—no scheme more perfect could be devised; and such must be the tendency of the practice, with whatever intention adopted or to whatever extent pursued.”

* * * * *

“The disease is daily becoming more aggravated and dangerous; and if it be permitted to progress for a few years longer with the rapidity with which it has of late advanced, it will soon pass beyond the reach of remedy. This is no party question. Every lover of his country and of its institutions, be his party what it may, must see

and deplore the rapid growth of patronage, with all its attending evils, and the certain catastrophe which awaits its further progress if not timely arrested. The question now is, not how or where or with whom the danger originated, but how it is to be arrested; not the cause, but the remedy; not how our institutions and liberty have been endangered, but how they are to be rescued."

"It is the degenerate and demoralizing 'spoils principle' which has contributed more than any other cause to defile our whole system, and is precipitating us so rapidly upon premature decay and ruin; and we must expel it if we would save our free and glorious institutions." — *Report of Special Committee, 27th Congress, July 27, 1842.*

"It was never the intention of the framers of the Constitution that those holding political offices, such as Representatives and Senators in Congress, should use minor offices to bribe the people to keep themselves in power, putting unworthy men in place for their own personal gain. Such practices have been denounced by the greatest men of the past — by Clay, by Webster, and Calhoun." — *Representative Herbert, in debate on the civil service bill, in 1844.*

"I want to say that I am for this bill not so much for what it contains as for its *promise of good things in the future*. It is but an *entering wedge*, I hope, to break down the most iniquitous system which has existed in this country for the last forty years, having as its motto 'To the victors belong the spoils.' The public sentiment is now drifting in the right direction, and I am willing to give my support, and that fairly and fully, to this entering wedge to this *beginning of reform throughout the civil service of this country*." — *Representative Buckner, in debate on the civil service bill of 1871.*

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF COMMITTEE
ON RETRENCHMENT, 47th CONGRESS, 1882.

"Political considerations have come to play the most important part in the distribution of the vast patronage. It boots not to consider the origin of the evil or the responsibility of one party more than the other. The fact is confessed by all observers and commended by some, that 'to the victors belong the spoils'; that with each new Administration comes the business of distributing patronage among its friends."

* * * * *

"It has come to be a widespread belief that the public service is a charitable institution, furnishing employment to the needy and a home to those adrift. Employment is sought of the Government because it cannot be found elsewhere and to escape actual want. The number of those who thus crowd all avenues of approach to places in the public service is constantly on the increase and is daily becoming more importunate. The late Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Windom, is reported to have said that five-sixths of the applicants for office, while he administered the Treasury, based their demands not on merit, or fitness, or character, but on their poverty and incapacity otherwise to obtain a livelihood. This class of place seekers follows the public service everywhere, and the public man in every position who has influence to exert or a place to fill."

EXTRACTS FROM THE DEBATES ON THE PAS-
SAGE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW IN 1882-1883.

"We have heard all over the country and we have heard in the Senate *from both sides of the Chamber* that there have been peculating jobs in every department of this Government; peculations in the Indian Bureau,

in the War Department, in the Treasury Department, in the internal revenue, in whisky rings; frauds upon the Pension Bureau, frauds in the Post-Office Department, frauds everywhere. We have heard also in the country and here in the Senate that under the pretext of voluntary donations for political purposes assessments have been made and enforced from the hard earnings of the more humble employees of the Government, men and women, and that these contributions have been wrung from them. We have heard that these offices, instead of being filled by competent men by reason of their qualifications, by reason of their fitness for the positions to which they are appointed, have been appointed by men in high political positions, exercising and demanding influence over the appointing power, who have come to be known as boss rulers. All this we have heard; and we have heard in the strong language of the Senator from Ohio (Senator Pendleton) that this demoralization has permeated every office in the country, permeated all over the country, demoralizing all the civil service, and unless this demoralization is killed it will kill the Republic. I agree with him." — *Senator Maxey.*

"No man obtained an office except he was a violent partisan, and the office was given to him as a reward for party services; and so things went on until the offices generally were filled under that system, which was false and dangerous in the extreme—a system which, as my friend from Ohio said, is absolutely fatal to the integrity of republican institutions, I care not what party or under what name it may be organized and carried on." — *Senator Bayard.*

"We have in our political system an evil practise which necessarily leads to the abuse and corruption of the civil

service, and which, by a mild euphemism, we call 'patronage.'

Even under this suspicious name it is sometimes openly demanded by legislators as a perquisite of the high offices to which they have been elected. * * *

I am thoroughly convinced that one of the worst and most inveterate enemies to civil service reform to be found in our political system is the influence of patronage. It means only this when a Senator employs it: The power of money is to be used for personal ends in procuring and retaining high offices in the hands of legislators. This evil has invaded every department of the Government, but its worst effects are felt in Congress when the legislator condescends to bargain for personal support and the other party to the agreement demands office as the price of that support. * * *

When a Senator claims that he has the right to bestow, or to demand the bestowal of, an office upon his friend as so much patronage belonging to him, he claims the right to take the money of the people, contributed for the benefit of the country, and devote it to his own personal service. That is, in effect, an unlawful conversion of public money to private use. A Senator has as much right to a percentage of the salary of his appointee as he has to purchase with an appointment the loyalty of the appointee to his personal fortunes in his political enterprises. * * *

There are hundreds of men and women in this town in the different departments who are supernumeraries, and who are retained in their places because the chiefs of divisions and of bureaus do not find themselves at liberty to disappoint their personal friends or their political friends by removing them." — *Senator Morgan.*

"I desire to see a change. I wish here to say that I do not desire to see a Republican spoils system replaced by a Democratic spoils system. Just so far as we can remove the public clerical force from the ebb and flow of shifting and accidental party power, just so far as we may remove them from the fires of party and from the anxiety that must attend our frequent recurring elections, just so far we progress in the right direction.

* * * * *

We are now proposing to substitute what? Public service for party service; the test of individual capacity and fitness and worth for an office instead of violent partisan service, oftentimes of an unscrupulous and unprincipled character." — *Senator Bayard*.

"There is the power to select by favoritism, and that power ought to be checked and guarded.

I therefore will vote for any law which will enable any man, rich or poor, whatever may be his condition, wherever he may live, to go at the proper time before proper officers and be examined. In other words, the English rule, which has been adopted there only within a few years, has worked wonderfully well, so that any person there can go before the proper officers and be examined, and he may be appointed if he proves himself to be more meritorious than any one else. I am in favor of any law that will accomplish that." — *Senator Sherman*.

"The value of this bill to me is this: It recognizes the principle and the fact that the offices of this Government are created and filled for public service and not for the private use of the incumbents. As long as the offices are to be considered merely as emoluments, merely as rewards, the emolument of the incumbent and a reward and benefit to the incumbent, then I say that you have

lost sight of the great idea and purpose for which they were established, which is public benefit, and nothing else." — *Senator Bayard*.

"The past assures us of what would be the future state of things if the principle that an officer is only to be removed for sufficient cause should be again established. Under Washington, Madison, Monroe, and the two Adamses it fully obtained, and there was hardly occasion to exert it once on the average during the year of the Administration of these Presidents; and yet, in those better days of the Republic, the superiority of the officers of the Government over those of this day, in capability, fidelity, and virtue, is most striking. The people were then neither better, nor wiser, nor more patriotic, nor more devoted to business than now, nor was our general condition and circumstances more favorable to the preservation of public and private virtue in Government agents." — *Report of Special Committee, July 27, 1842*.

A fair picture of the ordinary scenes in Washington after a new President had been inaugurated is given in Nicolay and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln: A History."

"The city was full of strangers; the White House full of applicants from the North. At any hour of the day one might see at the outer door and on the staircase one file going, one file coming. In the ante-room and in the broad corridor adjoining the President's office there was a restless and persistent crowd — ten, twenty, sometimes fifty, varying with the day and hour — each one in pursuit of one of the many crumbs of official patronage. They walked the floor; they talked in groups; they scowled at every arrival and blessed every departure; they wrangled with the door-keepers for right of entrance; they intrigued with them for surreptitious chances; they crowded forward to get even an instant's glance through

the half-opened door into the executive chamber ; they besieged the Representatives and Senators who had privilege of precedence ; they glared with envy and growled with jealousy at the cabinet ministers who, by right and usage, pushed through the throng and walked unquestioned through the doors. At that day the arrangement of the rooms compelled the President to pass through this corridor and the midst of this throng when he went to his meals in the other end of the Executive Mansion ; and thus, once or twice a day, the waiting expectants would be rewarded by the chance of speaking a word or handing a paper direct to the President himself — a chance which the more bold and persistent were not slow to improve.

At first Lincoln bore it all with the admirable fortitude acquired in western political campaigns. But two weeks of this experience on the trip from Springfield to Washington and six weeks more of such beleaguering in the executive office, began to tell on his nerves. What with the Sumter discussion, the rebel negotiation, the diplomatic correspondence, he had become worked into a mental strain and irritation that made him feel like a prisoner behind the executive doors, and the audible and unending tramp of the applicants outside impressed him like an army of jailers."

At the present day a large part of the pressure which Lincoln found so overpowering is done away with. A law to regulate the United States Civil Service was passed in 1883. Under the present system over 130,000 offices have come under the United States Civil Service Commission and are chiefly filled by competitive examinations. These examinations are so regulated and conducted that each competitor stands solely on his own merit. Much remains to be done. Many appointments are still made for political reasons, and the welfare of the Republic suffers until all the national business offices are filled by men and women appointed for merit and fitness alone.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS CIVIL SERVICE REFORM
ASSOCIATION

No.

1. "CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. ATTACK AND DEFENCE IN MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE," by Hon. R. H. Dana.
 2. "EVERY MAN ON HIS OWN MERITS," by William W. Vaughan.
 3. "THE CIVIL SERVICE. THE MERIT SYSTEM — THE SPOILS SYSTEM," by Edward Cary.
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Some Phases of the Practical Workings of the Competitive Examination System

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF

THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE

AT BALIMORE, MD.,

DECEMBER 10, 1903,

BY

HON. HOMER FOLKS

PUBLISHED FOR THE
NEW YORK WOMEN'S AUXILIARY

1904

Some Phases of the Practical Workings of the Competitive Examination System.

BY HON. HOMER FOLKS, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC CHARITIES
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

WILL a personal word at the outset be pardoned as to the point of view from which the subject is approached in this paper? For ten years before my appointment as Commissioner of Public Charities it had been my duty to visit public charitable institutions, and to study the administration of public relief. My natural inclinations in favor of the merit system were tremendously strengthened by what I saw during this period of the mischievous results of the spoils system upon the administration of public charities. The maxim "to the victors belong the spoils" became to me a hateful saying; the spoils system spelled neglect, suffering and death to hundreds and thousands of the recipients of public aid throughout the United States. It was wasteful; it was cruel; it meant harmful injustice to the patients and inmates of public institutions, and also to the employees, and to their families. As a citizen, and as one specially concerned in the well-being of public charitable institutions, I was strenuously in favor of the extension of the merit system to public charitable institutions to the greatest practicable extent.

During the past two years I have been charged with the responsibility of administering a department of public charities, caring for an average of some seven thousand persons in a score of different institutions, scattered through all the boroughs of Greater New York, with a current expenditure of about two millions annually, and an expenditure for new buildings of about half a million

annually. The average number of employees of the Department varies, according to season, from some fifteen hundred to nearly eighteen hundred. The number of positions in the exempt class is but seventeen, of whom seven are chaplains. All the others are either in the competitive class, the labor class, or the non-competitive class in which non-competitive examinations are held by a special board nominated by the Commissioner and confirmed by the Municipal Civil Service Commission.

Appointments, promotions and dismissals throughout the great bulk of the service are, therefore, subject to the provisions of the civil service rules of the City of New York, and the provisions of the State civil service law, known as the White Law. The primary duty of the Commissioner of Public Charities is, of course, to take good care of the poor. The civil service statute and rules are intended, I take it, to assist him in that direction, or at least to interpose only such obstacles as are necessary in order to prevent the use of the positions for unworthy purposes, were the Commissioner so disposed.

Were I to try to express in one sentence the extent to which my views have been modified by these two years of experience, it would be as follows: The price we must pay for restraining public officials who would use their positions for partisan purposes, is some measure of limitation upon the usefulness of those who would not abuse their trust; but the system at the present time, through lack of its full development, imposes additional limitations which are not necessary to its usefulness.

Some of the respects in which the system, as at present administered, seems to me to impose unnecessary and harmful limitations upon the work of the head of a department are as follows:

1. The character of the eligible lists provided for many classes of positions seems to me to be needlessly poor. In the clerical service, and in some other lines in which there are large numbers of applicants having substantially the same training, which require little in the way of individual temperament or initiative, and in which actual tests are easily applied, no serious fault is to be found. In the

main, the best qualified persons are apt to be rated toward the head of the list for clerical positions. In regard to other positions in such a department as that of Public Charities, positions involving particular duties connected with hospital work, such as stewards, purchasing agents, superintendents, assistant superintendents, etc., etc., I must confess that it seems to me that the lists have been of indifferent quality at the best, and sometimes hopelessly bad. Those standing highest seem, in many cases, either to have no practical knowledge of the duties to be performed, or, having practical knowledge, to have some temperamental or moral defect, which would make their appointment certain to lead to bad results. Even when competent and experienced persons have been induced to take the examinations, it has by no means followed that they have secured favorable positions on the eligible list, or even that they have secured any place on the list. The net result of placing such lists before the head of a department is to throw the balance in favor of the retention of semi-competent, mediocre incumbents. We are told that the appointment should be made and the incumbents dismissed if found unsatisfactory. This may be done in the clerical service, but if the position involves the health, security, perhaps life or death of fellow human beings, a Commissioner hesitates to take such chances. Some of the facts which seem to lead to the establishment of eligible lists of poor quality are these:

a. The examinations being held at intervals of several years, being advertised only a comparatively short period of time, and as a rule only in official channels, the number of competent people taking the examination is small. Naturally, only those who are at the time out of employment, or have been unsuccessful in securing remunerative employment, are apt to take examination. The men who have demonstrated their success and ability in private employ, are not apt to take an examination because of the possibility of desiring to enter the public service at a later date. It may easily happen that very shortly after an examination is held, much more desirable material becomes available, but the eligible list being already estab-

lished there is no opportunity for securing a position thereon. The list can rise no higher than its source. Improvement may be sought in advertising more widely the examinations among the classes of people who are likely to be best fitted for the positions in question—thus, for examinations for the Department of Public Charities, special notices might well be sent to institutions or societies employing people in similar capacities. The weekly magazine "Charities," published in New York City, has recently announced both State and municipal civil service examinations, and, I believe, with excellent results. The question of securing publicity among qualified applicants, and, if need be, of actually inducing them to enter the examination as a public duty, might well be taken up, it seems to me, by civil service reform associations. It might perhaps be held to belong more properly to their duties than to those of public officials. Certainly the failure to secure people to enter the examinations threatens the permanence of the system these bodies have labored so faithfully to establish.

b. The examinations should be held more frequently, in order that new material becoming available may secure its rightful recognition and opportunity. I should think that it might be possible to devise a system by which an examination should be held every six months, or every year, for certain positions, and in which the new material should find its place on the appropriate eligible list according to its rating, not displacing those already on the list except as higher ratings are secured.

c. One of the most serious weaknesses of the examination system, as applied to charitable institutions, has seemed to me to be the preparation of questions and the marking of papers by men who were not themselves experts in the subjects covered by the examinations. The heads of departments are sometimes consulted in a general way as to the duties to be performed. It is not always the case, but even when they are consulted, the actual framing of the questions and the rating of the answers cannot be satisfactorily performed except by those who have first-hand knowledge and experience in the particular line of

work to be covered by the examination. I judge that the employment of experts is more common in the State service than in the city service, and this probably accounts for the fact that in New York the system seems to work much more satisfactorily in connection with the State charitable institutions than with those of the municipality. Unless those rating the answers are thoroughly familiar with the duties of the position to be performed, they are apt to rate unduly high those papers that are written in a plausible and ready manner, and to give less credit than is deserved to papers which are written with less ease but which, to a practical expert, show much greater command of the subject.

d. Closely related to the failure to employ experts is the failure to secure practical working tests of the ability of the applicants to perform the duties of the positions in question. In some cases it is doubtful whether a written examination can ever supply an adequate test; in other cases it has seemed to me that very much better tests could be made—even of the written examination character—than are made. Any of you who have looked over civil service papers, and the rating of such papers, must have been impressed by the fact that even in the case of a written examination wide discretion must be exercised by the examiners, and that frequently two examiners rate the answers to a given question very differently. The range of discretion would not be increased beyond reason, it seems to me, if actual concrete working tests, in the nature of the performance of the duties of the position, were in some cases substituted for written examination. For example, in an examination for the position of hospital electrician it would seem to me much more satisfactory to require each applicant to make an X-ray picture of some subject, rather than to simply test his knowledge of the subject by a written examination. In regard to duties involving the handling of supplies, the management of a hospital, etc., etc., I should think that similar practical tests could, in many cases, be devised. As I remarked recently in another connection, if there is to be an examination for the position of baker, the applicants

must be given the yeast, flour and other ingredients, and must actually bake bread, and the examiners must judge of the bread by their own taste. Such tests are open to the objection, of course, that the identity of the applicants become known to the examiners. This, however, is true to a certain extent in written examinations. The handwriting of the applicants may easily become known to the examiners, and in other ways it is not only possible, but comparatively easy, for an applicant to place some fact in the hands of the examiners by which his paper can be identified.

e. The fact which affects most unfavorably the quality of the eligible list is the deferential right given to veterans. This, in connection with other provision of the law, making it extremely difficult to dismiss a veteran, except after trial, with counsel on each side, and with all the formalities of a court, have, on more than one occasion, constrained the appointing power to make no new appointment, but to struggle along with incompetent or semi-untrustworthy incumbents.

2. The poor quality of some of the eligible lists provided is not the only feature of the actual operation of the competitive system which seems to me to place an unnecessary restraint upon the appointing power. Under the rules, as in force in New York City, all changes of titles, all promotions, and thus practically all re-organization of offices and bureaus, must be passed upon and approved by the Municipal Commission. In departments whose work is substantially continuous from year to year this may involve little hardship; in departments whose year work varies widely with different seasons and with different years, which are dropping obsolete methods and plans and taking up new ones, which are trying to keep pace with the development of charitable activities in the city generally, it is important that the heads of departments should have a considerable measure of freedom in managing the affairs and the officials of their departments, so long as they do not violate the spirit and intent of the merit system. In large departments the head can only become fully acquainted and deal adequately with

the different bureaus and features of the work of his department at intervals. He must also take up and organize one branch and then another, and it is important that he should finish the work as he goes along, for he will not be able to pass that way again in the immediate future. There is only one day in which the new work can be done, and that is to-day. Only actual experience could enable the members of this body to fully appreciate the delay involved in submitting each change of title, each promotion, etc., to a body which meets weekly, and which may very likely lay the matter over for one or more weeks for further information or more mature consideration. I am strongly of the opinion that a municipal civil service commission should be a very small body, substantially always in session, ready to make authoritative decisions without delay.

3. The third feature worthy of consideration is the amount of time and energy required of the head of a large department in merely presenting all these details to a civil service commission, collecting all the data, putting it into proper shape, and getting it favorably acted upon. The toll taken of his time and energy for these purposes is very great. It is a fair question whether it is worth while. It is certainly desirable that it should be reduced to the minimum consistent with an honest enforcement of the merit system.

It has been said by critics of the merit system that it is a brake on the wheel, but that it operates on the up grade as well as on the down grade. The criticism is perfectly true, and probably we are all ready to admit that it must operate as something of a limitation on the usefulness of commissioners who fully believe in the system, and who presumably would make equally good appointments if freed from these restrictions. It should certainly be our study, however, to reduce the application of the brake on the up grade as much as possible without injuring the brake, to see that no unnecessary force is applied, and to bear constantly in mind that the system, is not an end in itself, but is merely a means to an end—namely, honest and efficient administration.

The substantial success of the civil service system on the negative side of diminishing the evils of partisanship is undoubted. This result is of enormous value. Is not the system, however, capable of being also a positive agent in securing the selection of the best men for the public service; cannot tests be devised, examinations arranged, applicants secured, questions prepared and answers rated, so that those who are best fitted for the public service will enter it, so that not only will partisanship be restrained, but efficiency promoted, not only in the clerical service, but in other lines of public administration? I firmly believe such to be the case, and if I might venture a word or suggestion to this body of citizens devoted to the establishment and maintenance of the merit system, it would be that it should address itself to the improvement of the actual workings of the examination system; that, without relaxing its opposition to improper exemptions from competition and its criticism of evasions of the law, it should also and in sufficient measure address itself to the important problems involved in the improvement of the examination system as related to other lines than the clerical service. In a department such as I have the honor to represent the clerical service represents the merest fraction of its work. The same is true of many other municipal departments.

What I have said is not to be regarded as in any sense a criticism of those engaged in the administration of the civil service system of the City of New York, but simply of certain features of the system itself, as now established, which seem to me to permit of great improvement. At the close of my term of office I still give my unqualified adherence to the merit system, and desire its full application to those positions to which it can be successfully and practically applied. It is because I am jealous of the safeguards which it now provides, and which in my opinion are being endangered by some of the less fortunate features of its operation, that I anxiously desire that these matters receive such consideration and study as will obviate any just cause of criticism, and make the merit system a more effective agency in the promotion of efficiency in the municipal service.

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The Future Work of Civil Service Reform

AN ADDRESS

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AT BALTIMORE, MD.,

DECEMBER 10, 1903,

BY

HON. ALFORD WARRINER COOLEY

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The Future Work of Civil Service Reform.

HON. ALFORD WARRINER COOLEY, UNITED STATES CIVIL
SERVICE COMMISSIONER.

I CONSIDER it a very great privilege to be invited to follow one of the pioneers of the civil service reform movement at this afternoon's meeting. Whatever progress has been made in the cause we all have at heart is due in large part to the courage of Curtis and Eaton and Schurz, and to their unselfish devotion to high ideals in the administration of public affairs, and surely we have no reason to feel discouraged over our past or to look forward to the future except with high hopes of still better things to come.

Civil service reform is now an established fact. By that I do not wish to be understood as saying that there is not much still to be done, but even among those most opposed to the merit system there is a general acquiescence in the idea that the civil service law and rules are now a part of our political system, and that practical men of affairs should prepare to adjust themselves to existing conditions; and so, in spite of the many obstacles that still confront us, we can feel that this annual meeting may well be a period of congratulation for the splendid progress made towards those ideals which the League has striven so earnestly to attain.

I want to address myself this afternoon particularly to the college men, because on your shoulders and mine, my friends of the University, will rest the burden of carrying forward to complete fulfillment the aims and the ambitions and the dreams of the early advocates of the cause. What is there still for us to do? First and foremost, and certainly most important of all, we should bend our energies toward a rigid and impartial enforcement of the spirit of the law. It is not necessary to be unduly technical or captious, but we can reasonably ask that politics be entirely eliminated from the business affairs of the gov-

ernment, and that every employee whose work is purely administrative in character be selected without regard to political considerations of any kind. We should endeavor to take a sensible and practical view of public affairs and to make the conditions of public employment conform as nearly as possible to the conditions existing in private business. It is the earnest desire of the Commission that every Federal officer who is honestly trying to administer his trust without fear and without favor, honestly and impartially, should feel that his best friends and most steadfast allies are the members of the Civil Service Commission, and that the civil service system is for the purpose of relieving him of embarrassment and enabling him to carry on the work of his office in the interests of the whole people. He should be made to feel—and in most cases, I think, under existing conditions he understands that if he is sincerely desirous of securing the best possible service the Commission will meet him more than half way and will do everything in its power to assist him; but on the other hand, if he attempts to drag politics into the conduct of an office, where politics have no place and where any yielding to political pressure involves a violation of his oath of office he must be made to understand that towards him the Commission can not and will not show any toleration.

The civil service law and rules provide a simple and easy method of securing suitable employees for the government service. There have been instances where the competitive examination has not resulted in securing the very best eligibles, but such cases are so rare that they merely go to prove the general excellence of our registers. It can, I think, be established beyond any shadow of reasonable doubt that no single force has been so potent in bringing American people nearer the goal of honest and efficient administration than the gradual growth of the merit system during the past twenty years. It is frequently argued that the civil service law creates life tenure of office and that under it removals are well-nigh impossible. Nothing could be further from the truth. I ask you to notice that there is nothing in the law or rules

in any way preventing an official from removing a subordinate from the public service for any reason affecting his efficiency. The only possible restriction is that contained in Rule XII, which provides that no person shall be removed from the competitive classified service except for such reasons as shall affect the efficiency of that service, and then only after the person sought to be removed has been furnished with a copy of the charges and given a reasonable opportunity to make reply. Nothing in the rule provides for a hearing of any kind or gives the employee any right except to explain away, if possible, the charges against him. If the explanation is not satisfactory to the head of the office the matter is closed and the person under charges may be instantly removed from the service, without any power on the part of the Commission to interfere. I feel that the theory of the rule is a sound one, and that the power of removal should not be further restricted. The last thing the Commission should attempt is to interfere with the discipline of any public office, and to unduly limit the power of removal would necessarily have that effect. And let me, in this connection, state one fault I find with our present civil service system. My brief experience in the Commission leads me to believe that it has centered too much around the idea that it was designed to protect the rights of the individual employee and too little around the fact that it was adopted to improve conditions of administration. In saying this I do not desire to be understood as in any way criticising the phraseology of either the law or the rules. After a system of political proscription it was inevitable that this theory should prevail, when, as is still the case, the rights of the individual employee were protected to some extent and the right of indiscriminate removal and indiscriminate appointment for reasons having nothing to do with the good of the service was put an end to.

In the immediate future I believe that the most pressing need of the Commission is a more efficient organization of its work. When the law was passed in 1883 the number of places in the classified service was comparatively small. The office force of the Commission consisted

of but a few clerks on detail from the different departments. We now carry on our rolls about 120 clerks, in addition to a few on detail from the departments. There were originally 13,900 places in the classified service. There are now over 130,000. All officers and employees except those whose nominations are subject to confirmation by the Senate, fourth-class postmasters, and laborers are now in the competitive class, with a few scattering exceptions. When the law first went into effect the work of the Commission throughout the country was conducted by employees in other branches of the service who, under the law, were required to give a limited portion of their time to the work of the Commission, when detailed to do so by the official under whom they were serving. Originally the time taken for our work was but a small proportion of the time given by such employee to the work of the Government. With the growth of the service, however, either all or a very large portion of his or her time must be given to civil service matters. We find that there is a very general complaint throughout the country that clerks carried on the rolls of the departments are being called upon to give too much attention to civil service matters. We feel that this criticism is entirely justified, and we also believe that the scope of our duties is so great that we should have our own force in the field, responsible to us alone, and, what is far more important, that we should have an intelligent system of supervision over our boards, which now number 1,225. Accordingly, we are planning to establish civil service districts which shall cover a considerable area of territory, and shall be managed by secretaries at various central points. For example, all Federal offices in New England with the exception of five counties are to be placed under the general jurisdiction of a secretary in Boston, who is to keep the records in his office in that city and whose duty it shall be, as far as possible, to be present at examinations and to make all certifications for appointment to the offices in his bailiwick. Another district will take in two counties in Connecticut, some eight or ten counties in New York in and around the greater city, and about half a dozen

counties in northern New Jersey. A third district will comprise the remainder of New Jersey, Delaware, and a large part of Pennsylvania. The Commission intends to have responsible men in charge of the work at these points who shall maintain most of the records and whose duty it will be to keep the office in Washington informed of what is going on in the field. The danger in our work is that we may get out of touch with actual conditions of administration and in a self-satisfied manner travel down the broad way to the destruction which is sure to overtake unpractical government bureaus. I am in hopes that in time Congress will give us a sufficiently generous appropriation, not only to permit the establishment of these districts all over the country, but to carry all employees of the Commission at the various central points on our own rolls. If this is done we may in time be able to occasionally transfer one of the clerks from our own office to one of our field offices, and to bring someone from the field force to Washington. In that way each branch of the work will be kept in touch with the other.

The laws and rules may be regarded as complete only to a very limited extent. All the intermediate places in the government service have, bit by bit, been brought into the competitive class, and now the Commission finds itself confronted with certain serious conditions. Under the law laborers cannot be in any way classified. A system of registration can, however, be established by the President, and this has been done, although the terms of Mr. Roosevelt's order have not yet been fully complied with. Under the law, also, officers whose appointments are subject to confirmation by the Senate are entirely outside our jurisdiction. The head of every large Federal office in the country is now a man appointed largely for political reasons. Run over in your mind the list of postmasters at the great cities of the country and think what an insignificant number have had any experience in actual post office work before being placed at the head of what is really a large business establishment. A man may begin at the bottom of the service in a given post-office, may gradually work his way up until he is perhaps a superin-

tendent of division, and then, just at the time when he becomes particularly valuable to the department, the road to promotion is blocked. Why is it not perfectly feasible and eminently sensible to ask that the department make a regulation to the effect that no man shall be eligible for appointment to a post-office employing, let us say, more than a certain number of clerks and carriers, or the revenues of which are more than a given amount annually, who has not had so many years' experience in the service? Possibly for the very large cities the regulation might also provide that no man should be appointed who has not had a certain amount of experience as postmaster in a somewhat smaller city, or as assistant postmaster at his own office. I do not believe that it is reasonable or possible to expect men appointed largely for political reasons to administer their offices on purely business lines, and in so saying I do not wish to reflect on the postmasters in the large cities, most of whom I believe to be doing the best work possible under existing conditions. But I do most distinctly and emphatically maintain—and I speak from some political experience—that it is quite impossible for a man who owes his appointment to political influences to entirely free himself from those influences on assuming the management of a great office controlling a large amount of patronage. There is nothing revolutionary or impracticable in this suggestion. It is only in accordance with the plan for appointment of collectors suggested by Mr. Fairchild when Secretary of the Treasury and with the recommendation of Postmaster-General Wilson that the First Assistant Postmaster-General should be a permanent official in the competitive classified service.

I was recently told of a postmaster at one of our large cities who, on a trip abroad, took occasion to drop in at the post-office at Birmingham, England. He was cordially greeted by the official in charge, who remarked to him that in view of the fact that the office over which the American presided was so large and important, he must have been engaged for many years in the postal service, and when told that he had been appointed from private life the previous year, the Englishman could not

understand how such a thing was possible. The post-office or the custom house at a city like New York or Philadelphia or Baltimore is a business institution, pure and simple. The postmaster or the collector need be in no way concerned with party politics, and surely he would be freer to exercise his own discretion as to what was best for the service if he was under no political obligations and felt that his tenure of office depended on his efficiency.

I have endeavored very briefly and very superficially to outline the task to which, in my judgment, our energies should be bent, and I trust that I have not appalled you with its magnitude. To me the future seems bright with the promises of splendid victories to come. The present Chief Executive was formerly a member of the Commission, and there laid the foundation of his great reputation. He has in no way changed his views or his attitude towards the law during the past eight years. Thanks to him the position of the Commission is stronger to-day than ever in its history. Never before has the law been so thoroughly and so vigorously enforced. Never before has there been so earnest a spirit of co-operation on the part of all the great bureaus of the Federal government. In the future much will depend on an enlightened public sentiment, and it is to the universities of the country, to the educated men and women, and to an intelligent press that we must appeal to assist in bringing our work to a triumphant consummation.

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A Sketch of the
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in England, India, and the
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BY
IMOGEN B. OAKLEY

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Macaulay—"Essays on Lord Clive and Warren Hastings."

Reports of the United States Civil Service Commission.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN ENGLAND.

"There is one better thing than good government," says Edwin Burritt Smith, "and that is self-government."

Self-government does not of necessity imply good government. Life and property have often been more secure under a despotism than under a democracy, nevertheless, self-government with all its faults is the ideal toward which the peoples are constantly reaching.

The history of the Anglo-Saxon race is the record of a continuous struggle on the part of the people for the right of making and administering their own laws. In the early days of the monarchy the sole right of administration was vested in the king. His appointing power was absolute and unquestioned. All public offices were held subject to his will and pleasure. He could give or sell charters, grants and monopolies without fear of protest. His venal favorites presided in the courts of justice, and interpreted the law of the land in the interest of the highest bidder. The common people were in a condition little better than slavery, and too ignorant to know the cause of their own misery. These were the palmy days of the spoils system.

The first protest against the absolute appointing power of the king came from the great nobles in 1214. They forced King John to sign the Magna Charta, whose clause restricting the appointment of "justices, constables, sheriffs and bailiffs, to such as know the law of the land and mean truly to observe it," is the first civil service rule in English history.

The fourteenth century saw the birth of Wickliffe, and great ideas began to stir the heart of England. The people were learning to think, and with thinking came an insight into the cause of their grievances. They grew restive under the increasing taxation, the sale of offices, the gross injustice of the courts, the domineering insolence of the high officials. Freedom of speech did not exist for them; the right of petition was denied.

The inevitable outbreak came early in the reign of Richard II. Kings then ruled by divine right, and rebellion was not only treason to the state, but sacrilege against the Lord's Anointed; nevertheless, the royal advisers found themselves

forced to listen to the people and pay heed to their complaints.

A parliament was called in 1377 and an examination of public accounts granted. This was the first inquiry into the abuses of administration ever undertaken in England, and the first recognition by the official class that the king's service was also in a small degree the people's service.

Armed rebellion being quelled, the fair promises of king and council were soon forgotten, but this great public upheaval did not subside without leaving behind it a remarkable statute that provided that no justice of the peace, sheriff, or other officer of the king should be appointed "for any gift or brokerage, favor or affection, but all such must be of the best and most lawful men."

This statute is the second step in the reform of the civil service, and affirms the fundamental principle that the appointing power is not a mere perquisite of the ruler to be exercised according to his own good pleasure, but a public trust, requiring that all appointments be dependent upon personal merit and a regard for the public welfare.

As might have been expected, a statute so far in advance of the age had small heed from the haughty Plantagenet kings and their subservient parliaments.

The spoils system continued only slightly curtailed and still leading to outrageous corruption and oppression.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the crushing taxation and the royal interference with elections led to another popular outbreak. An armed multitude marched up to London and demanded a change of ministry, a more careful expenditure of revenue, and the restoration of the freedom of elections.

Although under the leadership of men who were far from ideal reformers, these two great uprisings, a century apart, were the first distinct endeavors to bring about civil service reform in England. The people then for the first time made the civil administration a political issue, and demanded certain specific reforms. The second rebellion, like the first, arrested for a time the grosser abuses, but the sources and methods of the spoils system were but slightly disturbed. Public opinion, however, acquired greater power; officials were taught a wholesome lesson of caution, and the lower grades of society were raised in the same degree that feudalism and despotism lost their strength and their terrors.

It is worthy of note that these two rebellions were the only instances of the people taking up arms in their own

behalf during the whole period from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles I.

The cause of justice and equal rights languished under the rule of the Tudors and the Stuarts. The long practice of making merchandise of public authority had vitiated and benumbed the moral sense of the English nation. Constant wars diverted popular attention from the aggressions of the kings and their ministers, and the spoils system became the rule in church as well as state. Not only were all political offices for sale, even the royal pardon becoming a marketable commodity, but in the days of the Stuarts, bishoprics and other benefices were openly disposed of to the highest bidder. The patron of a benefice made no distinction between clergymen and laymen. The cathedrals and churches of London became the chosen scenes of riot and profanity. Bribery of the king and his favorites was the only road to political and ecclesiastical preferment.

The Stuarts acted upon the simple principle that if an office was theirs to give it must also be theirs to sell, and the man who contended otherwise was a traitor and forfeited his head.

Cromwell carried a new idea into the government. He was the first Englishman in supreme authority to hold himself responsible to the people and to govern in their name, although to him the people meant only his own adherents in church and state. He anticipated the next generation in introducing the partisan spoils system, or the subservience of the state to the party, as opposed to the despotic spoils system, or the subservience of the state to the king. He believed with the politician of to-day that "to the victor belong the spoils," and he did not scruple to use official patronage as a means of strengthening his party and perpetuating his power. The utter failure of his well-laid plans is simply another proof that official patronage never awakens gratitude nor genuine loyalty. Its recipients are well aware that their plans are due to favor; hence, their natural impulse is to follow him who has the most favors to bestow.

The mighty personality of Cromwell being removed, those anxious to retain their places hastened to proclaim their adherence to the new dispenser of patronage. The accession of Charles II ushered in a saturnalia of official corruption. The royalists, denied all recognition during Cromwell's administration, were frantic for place and power, and Charles rewarded them according to the measure of their sycophancy. He bestowed judgeships upon briefless favorites, and peer-

ages upon boon companions. Titles, places, commissions and pardons were to be bought from the great dignitaries of the realm. Charles was the first English king to meet hostile legislation with bribes. In the true spirit of the spoils system he hushed the occasional protests of Parliament with promises of profit and place, and himself openly accepted bribes from the East India Company. His brother James went a step farther by selling his influence in his own court to the king of France. Under this last Stuart the spoils system attained its rankest growth. Judges levied blackmail, and royal favorites looted the public treasury. Honors and titles, contracts and pardons, were sold at Whitehall scarcely less openly than vegetables at Covent Garden. Every possible exercise of official authority by every grade of official from the lowest to the highest was in the market as merchandise. Elections became farces. Returns were manipulated as skillfully as they now are in the most closely contested wards in New York or Philadelphia.

But the leaven of the love of good government, which has never been wholly inert in the Anglo-Saxon race, was slowly fermenting under all this corruption of placemen and sinecurists, and in 1688 a great popular revolution cast James out of England and freed the country forever of the Stuarts and their spoilsmen.

Through all these changes and revolutions the people were slowly learning the important lesson that wise administration depends as much upon methods as upon men, and remembering the price they had paid for their trust in Charles II, they imposed certain conditions upon William of Orange before calling him to the throne. By the Bill of Rights of 1688 they declared that "elections of members of Parliament ought to be free," that "no person holding office under the king shall serve as a member of the House of Commons," and somewhat later it was enacted that "judges shall hold office during good behavior." These enactments form the third series of civil service rules, and secure independence in the discharge of duty; the first two bearing only upon qualifications for appointment.

William accepted the conditions in good faith, and in the midst of the seething corruption of English politics, became himself a practical reformer. Finding no continued support for his plans and policy amid the contending factions in Parliament, he proposed as a measure of harmony that a Cabinet Council be formed from among the members in majority, under whose advice he would carry on the government. The

adoption of this measure in 1693 marks the beginning of our modern system of party government. With the Cabinet as a foothold, Parliament was not slow in seizing executive power and patronage. Corruption follows fast in the wake of patronage, and as the appointing power fell more and more into the hands of the members of Parliament, parliamentary elections became more and more mere records of barter and sale. Already in 1701, Defoe tells us, there was a regular set of stock-jobbers, who made a business of buying and selling seats in Parliament, the market price in his time being 1000 guineas.

Those aspiring to Cabinet seats were constantly creating new offices at high salaries. Every new Cabinet minister turned out all his subordinates to make room for his own supporters. Contested elections were invariably decided in favor of the party in power. Local appointments were dictated from London. The press was censored. Private letters of the party in opposition were opened in the post office. Places were bestowed on condition that a large percentage of the perquisites be paid over to some third party, a method closely allied with the vicious American system of levying party assessments upon office holders. Conditions grew steadily worse under Anne and her immediate successors, and every grade of society reflected in some degree the official demoralization.

George III pushed the spoils system to an extent only exceeded in the time of the last Stuart. Bribery was employed on a scale never known before in England. An office was actually opened in the treasury for the bribery of members of Parliament. Boroughs were publicly advertised for sale, and elections were venal beyond all example in history. Incompetent men, boys, and even idiots, were appointed to places of trust. The king himself offered bribes and shared in the official corruption. He made his infant son a bishop and endowed other fortunate babes with lucrative colonial appointments. The mutterings of the people, interpreted in Parliament by Pitt, Burke and Sheridan, and the successful revolt of the American colonies, finally forced George and his successors to yield to the demand for administrative reform. Loss of empire was a potent argument in the hands of the reformers, and from 1780 to 1853 a series of acts forbidding the sale and brokerage of offices, and prescribing heavy penalties for bribery in all its forms, was passed by reluctant Parliaments in obedience to popular behest.

The members of Parliament, however, still retained their right of appointment. They might not barter or sell the of-

fices under their control, but they were free to give them to their followers without reference to knowledge or fitness. They refused to consider any bill that provided for tests of character or capacity in candidates for office, and the civil service continued to be the refuge of broken down party workers and incapable members of great families.

But revolution was in the air, and the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 was the concession of Parliament to a popular agitation that menaced the existence of the peerage and put the throne itself into danger. The great extension of suffrage, and the restriction of caste privileges secured by this bill, were followed in rapid succession by a series of reforms which revolutionized the whole system of government, and yet the public opinion that could compel such radical changes was not strong enough to get a place in public service for a young man of merit, without the endorsement of a member of Parliament or some leading official.

During the Melbourne administration, between 1834 and 1841, the higher officials joined with the people in demanding some test of efficiency in candidates for office, declaring that they could not do the public work with such an array of incapables as the partisan system supplied. The ministry yielded to the extent of requiring candidates to answer a certain number of test questions, but these "pass examinations," as they were called, while ridding the government offices of actual idiots, and the obviously incapable, were but a poor substitute for competitive examination, and resulted in but a slight improvement in the public service.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN INDIA.

Meanwhile the conscience of the nation had been stirred over the reports of the oppression and extortion practiced in India under the authority of the East India Company. Organized in 1600 as a company of traders, under a charter granted by Elizabeth, the East India Company had, in two hundred years, advanced to the dignity of territorial sovereigns. Their original charter was almost identical with the one granted by Charles I to the Massachusetts Bay Company, the difference in their operation being due to the difference in the countries exploited. The western traders found primeval forests, savage tribes and scattered colonists; those in the East rejoiced in rich cities to loot and in dense population to lay tribute upon. The state of perpetual warfare among the Indian princes proved the opportunity of the East India Company. Giving aid now to one side and

now to another, and taking their reward in territory, they soon became rulers over an extensive empire. Their charter was renewed from time to time by Elizabeth's successors, with more and more power to the company, their prestige in India growing in the same proportion. The close of the eighteenth century found them performing the contradictory functions of English traders, agents of the native princes, and sovereigns over a wide-spreading territory.

As sovereigns, they maintained their own army and their own civil service. The London directors of the Company reserved the right of patronage and filled all places with their own favorites, with the natural consequence that all the familiar abuses of the spoils system prevailed in their most flagrant forms throughout the Company's dominions.

Oppression and pillage were the system of government. The civil and military employees of the Company were paid the most meagre salaries, but no objection was made should they choose to add to their incomes by extorting presents and tribute from the unfortunate natives. Young clerks went out to India on salaries of five pounds a year and returned nabobs. The enormous fortunes thus suddenly amassed, and the recriminations among members of the service over their share of the spoils, finally attracted public attention, and led, in 1773, to a parliamentary investigation.

It is difficult to exaggerate the abuses of patronage brought to light by this investigation, and the extraordinary powers of the Company, combined with their political immorality, had, in addition, cast an appearance of bad faith over all the dealings of the English with the native princes. The utmost that could be claimed for the Company was that the corruption and extortion of their agents were, perhaps, a shade less flagrant than the people were accustomed to from their native rulers. Reform was demanded not by the people of India, long inured to oppression and pillage; nor by the Indian princes, who, overawed by the military genius and audacity of Clive and his successors, dreamed of revenge rather than of justice; but by the awakened conscience of England. Civil service reform did not, as many believe, enter England via Calcutta, but reached India from England, under the inspiration of that same sturdy middle class that would have also preserved the loyalty of the American colonies had their will been heeded by king and Parliament. The first step toward administrative reform in India was an act of Parliament curtailing the power of the East India Company, and forbidding its high officials from accepting

presents from the Indian princes, or their representatives, under penalty of forfeiting twice the amount received.

The trial of Warren Hastings, Governor-general of India for thirteen years, with the fresh recital of the corruption and political immorality among the servants of the East India Company, still further aroused public indignation and compelled the passage, in 1784, of Pitt's India Bill.

This bill provided for a Board of Control, which should exercise a supervision over all the acts of the East India Company, and provided, further, that every officer of the Indian service should, on returning to England, give a complete inventory of all his property and how acquired, as well as what property he had disposed of or transferred, and if at any time within three years this inventory could be proved false, the officer should forfeit his entire fortune.

In 1788, Lord Cornwallis, then Governor-general of India, took a long stride toward reform by abolishing the perquisites of the employees of the Company and substituting a very liberal system of salaries. The employees upon their appointment entered into a covenant with the Company whereby they agreed not to engage in any private trade nor speculation, and those signing this agreement constituted what was known as the covenanted service.

But it was speedily discovered that all these changes and stringent laws could bring about no permanent improvement so long as the London directors retained the right of patronage, and continued to send out to India their indigent friends and relatives, regardless of education or ability. Reform was needed at the fountain-head, and in 1808 the Board of Control established at Haileybury, in England, a school for the training of candidates for the Indian service. The substitution of young men specially instructed in the laws, languages, and customs of India, for the needy retainers of the directors, made a noticeable improvement in the character of the service, and many of the Haileybury men left their impress upon Indian colonial history. The directors, however, still retained the right of patronage. No one could enter the school at Haileybury without their nomination.

Another parliamentary investigation in 1853 showed that in consequence of this favoritism, the standard of the school was low and getting lower, and that the Indian service, notwithstanding its general improvement, was still marked by corruption, inefficiency, a humiliating failure to command the respect of the best people, and a still more alarming failure to control the unruly classes.

The Board of Control, therefore, in answer to the demand of public opinion, abolished all rights of patronage in the Indian service, and opened every position to free competitive examination. Every young man in England, and every native of India able to go to England for examination, was free to enter himself as a candidate for the Indian service. This sweeping reform was the forerunner of the passing of the East India Company. The great mutiny was the last chapter in the long story of its misrule, and in 1858 all its powers were transferred to the Crown.

By the law of 1853 the merit system, based upon open competitive examination, was, for the first time in history, put into actual practice on a large scale. The results were so encouraging that the English ministry, in obedience to popular demand, decided to introduce the same reform into the home government. Parliament was still the obstacle. It refused to give up its patronage or to consider any bill that favored appointment by merit. The ministry was, therefore, obliged to disregard the legislative body, and, in 1855, with the royal approval, took the bold step of appointing a civil service commission and ordering competitive examinations among all candidates for office under the civil service, with the proviso, dictated by the national reluctance to overturn long established customs, that Parliament retain the sole right of nominating the candidates.

Popular approval of this action of the ministry was so emphatic that Parliament dared not long delay its endorsement. Moreover, the right of nomination became of little value when official recommendation no longer gave an office, but merely the chance to compete for one; and two years later its members fell into line with the majority and resolved, by a vote of nearly two to one, that they were in favor of the system of competitive examinations and the abolition of all official patronage, and made known to the ministry and the people that they were ready to provide for any expense which an extension of the system might entail.

After long and thorough investigation into the working of the competitive system so far as it then existed, the ministry, on the 4th of July, 1870, through an executive order in council, abolished official patronage and favoritism, and decreed that the civil service examinations be henceforth open to all persons "of requisite age and health who may be desirous of attending the same."

That clause of the law of 1853 which required natives of India to go to England to be examined was repealed, and

boards of examination were established in various places in India, before which any native, be he Hindoo, Mohammedan or Parsee, was given the right to appear as a candidate for "any office, place or employment" in the Indian service.

In order to secure a still higher guarantee of capacity through the service, no actual appointment was to be made until after a six months' trial of official work.

The change made no break in governmental routine. The holders of positions under the civil service were simply required to take the scheduled examinations; those who were successful retained their places; those who failed were gradually superseded as new candidates fulfilled their terms of probation. Absolute fairness in the examination has been maintained from the beginning, by the rule which requires that the papers of every candidate be kept filed for public inspection. A place won by merit is logically retained during good behavior, so with the exception of the heads of the great political departments, all the civil offices are held permanently. A change in the English ministry means as radical a change in policy as a change of administration in the United States, yet of all the thousands of offices connected with the civil service, never more than fifty change hands. So far from destroying party spirit, the merit system seems rather to have intensified it, since it has given the officeholder a freedom of opinion and action he never before possessed.

The chief argument of the privileged classes against the merit system, was that it was a measure in the interests of the lower orders of society, whose hands would soon grasp all appointments. In the United States, on the contrary, its opponents affect to think it undemocratic and tending to produce an aristocracy of office-holders. In both countries the system has proved itself democratic in the best sense of the word. The common schools have supplied 90 per cent. of the successful candidates, and the universities but 10 per cent. In England, moreover, the adoption of the merit system marks a wonderful advance in popular education, for with the privilege of aspiring to a place in the public service has come the necessity of fitting one's self for that privilege. Public intelligence has risen to meet the demands of an intelligent system. Thirty years' experience has only strengthened its hold upon popular favor, and there is probably no public man in England who would advocate a return to the days of official patronage.

With a few variations in administration adapted to the

diverse local conditions of a wide-spreading empire, the competitive system has assured the loyalty of the colonies and has made the English civil service respected throughout the world. The English people themselves have made it so essentially a feature of their government that a reported violation of its rules nearly caused the downfall of the most popular prime minister of the nineteenth century. Lord Beaconsfield, at the height of his power, was once accused of appointing one of his adherents to a minor clerkship without requiring him to submit to competitive examination. Such a popular storm was raised by this reported violation of justice and equal rights, that Lord Beaconsfield was forced to make a categorical denial of the charge from his place in the House of Lords.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN THE UNITED STATES.

"No nation," according to Lecky, "ever started on its career with a larger proportion of strong character, or a higher sense of moral conviction, than the English colonies in America. They almost entirely escaped the corruption that so deeply tainted the government at home."

Their experience with the corrupt and incapable civil agents sent out from England led our early statesmen to insist strongly upon character and efficiency as the sole requisites for office holding. Washington, Jefferson, and Adams have left on record strong expressions of their abhorrence of that political system which degrades the public service into a mere reward for partisan activity. They held that public office is a solemn trust. For thirty-nine years the government was administered on these high principles. In all that time there were but seventy-three removals from office. Public employees were encouraged to work with an eye single to the good of the service by the full assurance that their terms of office depended solely upon their own honesty and efficiency.

In 1820 an act of Congress limiting to four years the terms of office of collectors of customs, navy agents, army paymasters, and similar responsible offices, became the opportunity of the spoilsmen. It was engineered through Congress by an adroit politician with the ostensible purpose of providing for a periodical examination into the accounts of these officers, and the popular understanding was that all who stood the test were to be immediately reappointed. Monroe and John Quincy Adams, by their unpartisan interpretation of the act, frustrated the spoilsmen for nine years, but with

the inauguration of General Jackson in 1829 began the prostitution of the public service to intrigue and partisanship. He began what he was pleased to call "his task of reform," by making more removals in one month than six presidents had made in thirty-nine years, and his first year in office marked the dismissal of two thousand meritorious public servants, whose only offense lay in their political opinions. He filled their places with his own partisans, paying small heed either to their integrity or ability. Consternation reigned throughout the country. The surviving statesmen of the Revolutionary period denounced in unmistakable terms this subversion of the principles of good government.

Jackson's apologists have since claimed that it was really Martin Van Buren, Jackson's Secretary of State, who thus handed over the government as a prey to the spoilsmen. Van Buren had been a disciple of Aaron Burr when that astute politician laid the foundation of party patronage in New York, and devised a regular political machine, which later developed into Tammany Hall. But whether upon Van Buren or Jackson must rest the ignominy of having introduced the spoils system into national politics, no one can explain away Jackson's responsibility during his own administration, and he and Van Buren are the only presidents in our history who failed to express their detestation of a system which reduces the public service to spoils of war.

By 1835 the demoralization of the service had become such a scandal that a committee was appointed by the Senate to enquire into the extent of executive patronage and the practicability of its reduction. Their report showed an enormous increase in the expenses of government under the new system, and the committee held that the inevitable tendency of patronage was "to convert the entire body of office-holders into corrupt and supple instruments of power, and to raise up a host of greedy subservient partisans ready for any services, however base."

Successive committees appointed by successive congresses reported in practically the same terms, and every president after Van Buren urged a return to the methods of Washington and Adams, but the spoilsmen, in and out of Congress, succeeded in defeating every measure looking toward reform. In 1853 Congress met the growing complaints against the incompetency of government employees by passing an act requiring pass examinations in certain departments, but although these so-called examinations may have had some effect in excluding the most ignorant and illiterate of

the candidates, they proved, on the whole, quite as ineffectual as they had done in England as a means of raising the general standard.

The Civil War, with its inevitable corruption and jobbery, increased immeasurably the demoralization of the public service. Lincoln complained that the desire for place and the pressure of the party leaders for patronage, bore more heavily upon him than all the burdens of the war. The place hunters that thronged Washington during the reconstruction period, and the ceaseless demands they made upon the executive, led President Grant to appeal to Congress for relief. He asked for reform in the manner of making appointments, claiming that the spoils system did not "secure the best men, and often not even fit men, for the public service." Mr. Jenckes, a member of the House from Rhode Island, had, in 1866, striven unsuccessfully to obtain a hearing for a civil service reform bill, but now, upon the urgent appeal from the executive, Congress passed, on March 3, 1871, an act empowering the President "to prescribe such rules and regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service of the United States as will best promote the efficiency thereof."

Under this act, President Grant appointed a commission that formulated a complete system of competitive examinations. The President in transmitting their report to Congress, promised himself to observe all the rules, but called attention to the fact that without further legislation they would not be binding upon his successors. So far from responding to the President's advice, the House, in 1874, voted to repeal the civil service law, and although the Senate showed itself more friendly, the whole subject was dropped, leaving the law upon the statute book with no appropriation for carrying it out.

The Republican platform for 1876 declared strongly for reform in the civil service, and President Hayes in his inaugural address spoke of the paramount necessity of the reform and urged a return to the principles and practices of the founders of the government. In his successive messages to Congress he pointed out the failure of pass examinations to exclude favoritism and partisan influence, and showed that the abuses of the civil service grew with the growth of the population, and were becoming too serious to be tolerated. In deed as well as in word, Mr. Hayes showed himself a supporter of wiser administrative methods, and during his term of office radical reforms were made in the Post Office, the Department of the Interior, and the New York Custom

House. Mr. Garfield urged the abandonment of the system to which he, a little later, himself fell a victim, and his successor, Mr. Arthur, in his first message to Congress, asked that appointments be based upon ascertained fitness, and that the tenure of office be stable.

A Congressional committee, appointed in 1882 to investigate into the state of the civil service, reported that it was "inefficient, extravagant and, in many instances, corrupt, and that a change was imperatively demanded." In accordance with this recommendation, Congress passed a bill which received the President's approval and became a law January 16, 1883. This bill is based upon the preceding one of 1871, and embodies also the chief features of the English civil service system. It authorizes the President to appoint a commission who shall devise suitable rules and regulations for securing open competitive examinations; emphasizes the necessity of a term of probation for successful candidates; forbids party assessments of office-holders, and expressly stipulates that no recommendation from a Senator or member of the House shall be received or considered by any board of examiners. All offices are to be classified according to the amount of salary attached before being placed under the competitive rules. Those carrying medium salaries were classified first, and the President was given authority to extend the classification as occasion should serve. Mr. Arthur gave the law his earnest support and extended the number of classified places. Mr. Harrison declared the system "incomparably better and fairer than that of appointment by favor," and added still further to the classified service. Mr. Cleveland believed that the abandonment of the merit system would mean the loss of "the surest guarantee of the safety and success of American institutions," and gave it support, though handicapped by an overwhelming pressure for place. Mr. McKinley, who had been known in Congress as a supporter of the civil service bill, said, upon assuming the office of President:

"The system has the approval of the people, and it will be my endeavor to uphold and extend it." His executive order of July, 1897, forbade removals from any office in the classified service "except for just cause and for reasons given in writing."

The exigencies of the war with Spain provided opportunity for a renewed attack upon the merit system. When the Urgency-Deficiency Bill of 1898 was passed by Congress, the enemies of the reform succeeded in inserting a clause per-

mitting the employment of certain clerks in the war and treasury departments without examination, on the ground that the Civil Service Commission could not provide as many as were immediately required. The commission showed that it had 6,000 certified persons ready for service, but the bill passed notwithstanding, and received the President's signature. On May 29, 1899, Mr. McKinley issued an executive order which had the effect of removing, directly and indirectly, over 10,000 places from the classified service. It was doubtless owing to this order and the backward tendency it represented, that all mention of civil service reform was omitted in 1900 from the platforms of the two great political parties, for the first time in twenty-five years.

Mr. Roosevelt's accession to the Presidency put new energy into the cause of civil service reform. In his first message to Congress he said:

"The merit system of making appointments is in its essence as democratic and American as the common school system itself. It simply means * * * that when the duties are entirely non-political all applicants should have a fair field and no favor, each standing on his own merit as he is able to show them by practical test. Written competitive examinations offer the only available means in many cases for applying this system. * * * Wherever the conditions have permitted the application of the merit system in its fullest and widest sense, the gain to the government has been immense. * * * The merit system is simply one method of securing honest and efficient administration of the government, and, in the long run, the sole justification of any type of government lies in its proving itself both honest and efficient."

One of Mr. Roosevelt's first steps was to appoint a strong civil service commission, through whose efforts, reinforced by his own authority, the civil service rules have been revised and extended. Persistent endeavors have been made to break up the practice of transferring favored individuals from the unclassified to the classified service without competitive examination. An order has been issued providing for boards of labor employment in cities where laborers may be registered for positions in the unclassified service. Congress has been reminded that the best interests of our foreign trade demand that the consular service be included under the civil service rules. The merit system has been established in every department of the civil service of the Philippines. Mr. Roosevelt has been especially emphatic in

his refusal to allow labor unions to interfere with the decisions of the civil service commissioners, and he has lent his personal influence and authority to the investigation of the Post Office scandals.

He has also, it must be admitted, stained this brilliant record by yielding to political pressure in several conspicuous instances, notably in the boss-ridden states of Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Some method, whether act of Congress or constitutional amendment, should be devised whereby all political patronage could be taken from the senators and representatives, and the President freed from the intolerable pressure of the party leaders. But as Parliament was for years the great obstacle to the reform of the civil service in England, so Congress, greedy of power and patronage, blocks the path of good government in the United States. Nothing but an educated public opinion will compel Congress, as it did Parliament, to consent to purer and better methods of administration.

If civil service reform has not, as yet, in this country the popular approval it commands in England, it is owing to a systematic evasion of its rules by some high officials, and a half-hearted support by others.

Our presidents, since the passage of the law of 1883, have all been supporters of the merit system, and each one has extended the classified service. They all erred, however, in failing to observe the wholesome English precedent of "no removals" before placing a department under civil service rules, and this error in judgment, or, more accurately, this submission to party dictatorship, has caused a certain misapprehension as to the purposes and advantages of the merit system. Moreover, the persistent evasion of its responsibilities by Congress and its cowardly committal of the burden of reform to the shoulders of the executive, gives the opportunity for one President, under great political pressure, to undo much that has been accomplished by his predecessors.

But in the face of all these drawbacks, there exists ample evidence of the economy and efficiency of the merit system wherever it has been honestly applied. The national civil service is on a higher plane than at any time since Jackson's administration. Out of 271,188 Federal offices, 134,548 are subject to competitive examination, and the list is constantly growing. The increasing popularity of the merit system compelled all parties in their platforms of 1904 to endorse the reform of the civil service and demand an extension of its

rules. The power of graft in the various state legislatures has made the progress of the reform slow in state affairs. New York and Massachusetts stand alone in having effective civil service rules based upon the national law.

The new charters demanded from time to time by our growing cities reflect in their provisions for appointment to office the increasing desire for a government based upon sound business principles, rather than upon a system of pulls, deals and political favoritism.

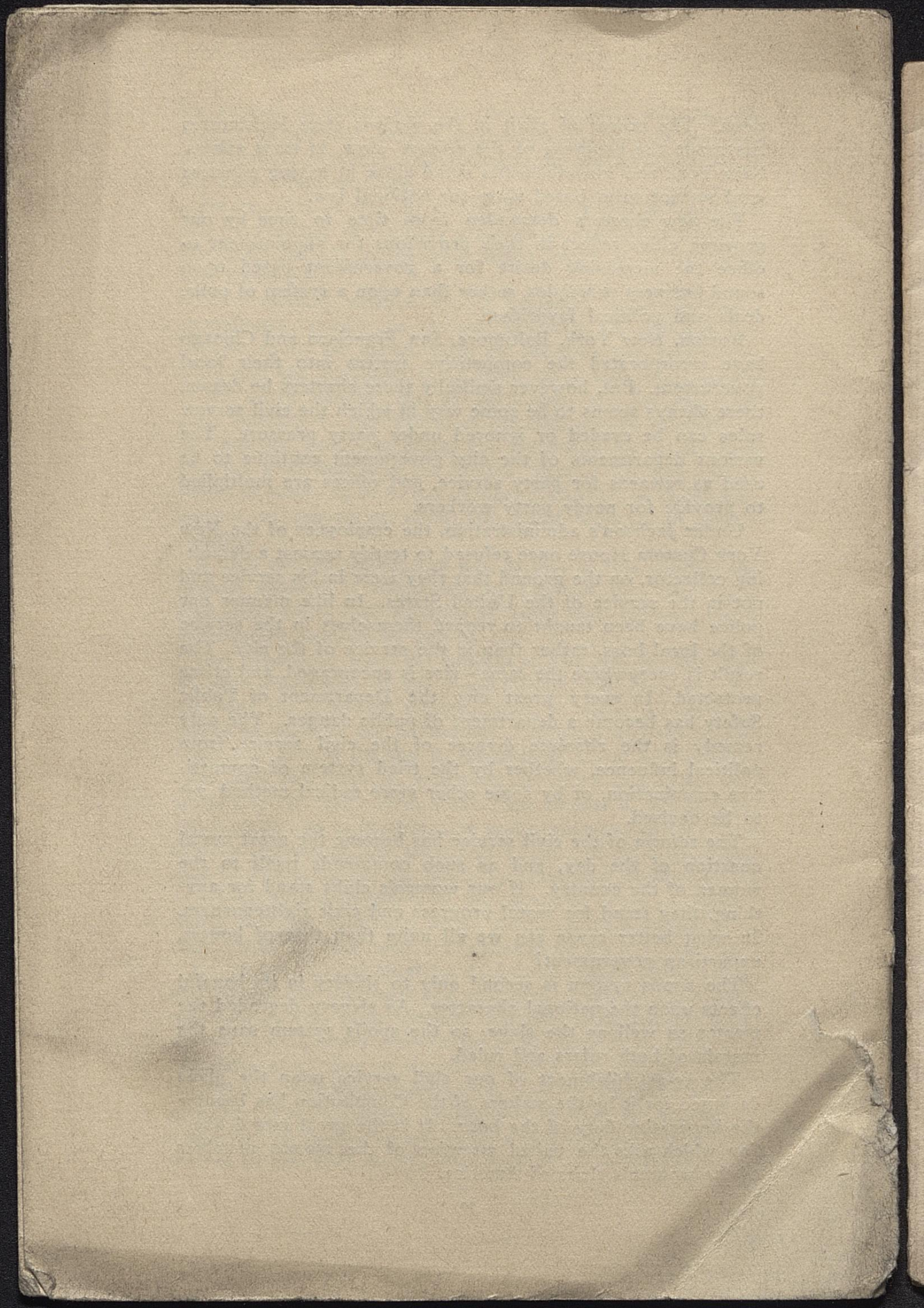
Boston, New York, Baltimore, San Francisco and Chicago have incorporated the competitive system into their local government. But, however skillfully these charters be drawn, there always seems to be some way in which the civil service rules can be evaded or ignored under party pressure. The various departments of the city government continue to be used as rewards for party service, and offices are multiplied to provide for needy party workers.

Under Jackson's administration, the employees of the New York Custom House once refused to testify against a defaulting collector, on the ground that they were in his service and not in the service of the United States. In like manner our police have been taught to regard themselves in the service of the local boss, rather than in the service of the city. The result is everywhere the same—vice is encouraged, and crime protected. In every great city the Department of Public Safety has become a department of public danger. The only remedy is the absolute divorce of the civil service from political influence, whether by the tried system of competitive examination, or by some other more radical method yet to be devised.

The reform of the civil service has become the great moral question of the day, and as such commends itself to the women of the country. If our women's clubs stand for anything, they stand for moral progress and civic righteousness. In what better cause can we all unite than that of honest, unpartisan government?

The spoils system is second only to slavery in its baneful effects upon the national character. As slavery degraded the master as well as the slave, so the spoils system saps the morals of both rulers and ruled.

The re-establishment of our civil service upon the plane designed for it by the makers of the Constitution has become the imperative duty of the hour. It is the great moral question which asks the united attention of the 250,000 members of the women's clubs of America.



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CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

ATTACK AND DEFENSE IN MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

BY

HON R H DANA

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WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS CIVIL SERVICE REFORM
ASSOCIATION

1905

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

I have been asked to give in detail the work still to be done for Civil Service Reform and suggest how women can aid in its accomplishment. The work consists chiefly in repelling attacks on reform and in perfecting and extending it.

In Massachusetts, the attacks of late years have been in the form of bills brought before the Legislature; first, for the repeal of the law either wholly or as applied to the city of Boston; second, to substitute pass-examinations for open, competitive examinations; third, to extend to the ex-soldiers of the Spanish War the exemptions and preferences now granted to the veterans of the Civil War only; fourth, to whittle down the system little by little, as for example, exempting call firemen in one city or another; fifth, to impede the removing power by requiring public hearings with appeals to courts or the Civil Service Commission; and, in general, to ridicule the system and discourage persons from entering the examinations.

The attack in the way of *repeals* is direct and plain, the others are indirect and not so self-evident.

A *pass*-examination is a mere counterfeit of the reform. The reform is aimed chiefly at the political "boss." It seeks to deprive him of his patronage by limiting the appointments in the Civil Service to those who stand highest as the result of competitive tests of fitness open to all persons of good character. The pass-system allows *any* one to be appointed who can pass the examination required for the position sought, thus giving back to the "boss" his control over the offices, with the very slight limitation that he cannot appoint persons absolutely incompetent. The system

of pass-examination was tried in the fifties in this country. It satisfied neither the reformers nor the bosses. It was not worth the candle and was abandoned.

The *privileges* accorded to veterans of the Civil War are of two kinds; the *first* exempts those veterans altogether from the Civil Service Law and allows their appointment without any examination whatever. This puts the veterans into politics for any and all offices which they get as a matter of favor or party reward, and this gives just so much patronage and political power into the hands of any would-be "boss." The *second* provides that all veterans who may pass any of the examinations "*shall be preferred*" in appointment before all others who have passed similar examinations, no matter how much more competent these others may have shown themselves.

The Civil War veteran exemptions and excessive preferences should be repealed and reduced to a "preference, other things being equal," and to a few other minor privileges helpful to the veterans but harmless to the reform.

At present these exemptions and preferences form the chief obstacle to the successful operation of the law and discourage its extension. The exemption measure received the veto of Governor Robinson, and the preference plan that of Governor Greenhalge. One argument for granting these privileges to the veterans of the Civil War, some twenty-five and thirty years after that war was ended, was that these veterans "were not long to be with us." If, however, such special privileges are extended to young soldiers of the recent and short *Spanish War*, and become precedents to be applied to all men enlisted in the times of the Philippine, Indian, or other wars, the evils will be perpetuated.

This *repeal* of the Civil War preferences can be accomplished, if at all, only through the veterans them-

selves. Some of their leaders are already with us. The men are patriotic, and, if appealed to by some of their own members, on the ground of helping to put down the rule of the party "boss" and of purifying the politics of the country they fought to save, they might pass a favorable resolution which would at once assure the object we have in mind and add new honor to the veterans themselves. The proposed *extension* to the Spanish War veterans was vetoed in 1899 by Governor Wolcott, and has been defeated in the State Senate or House every year since.

We should not needlessly hamper the removal power, or else we interfere with discipline and efficiency. By taking away the power to fill vacancies through favor, we remove the motive to make them unnecessarily. Experience has proved that this is the case. Reformers have agreed to go at least no farther in restricting removals than the federal rule, which requires reasons to be given and a chance to reply before action and the causes of removal to be put on record. We opposed the recent law in Massachusetts giving a public hearing with counsel, and we are unanimously against all greater restrictions.

Politicians, especially in the cities, seek to discourage people from entering the examinations by saying that none can be appointed without a political "pull." The more they succeed in keeping others away, the more they can confine the eligible lists to their followers, and thus make true what otherwise would be false.

In Massachusetts we wish to extend the civil service reform law to the numerous county offices which it does not include. Its need, both in the county departments and in county politics, is very greatly felt. The law should also be extended to heads of departments, to the legislative officials, to truant officers, treasury employees, and many other positions now exempted. Legislation is needed for all of the above extensions. In the Federal Service, the seventy thou-

sand postmasters should be taken out of politics by putting them under some regulated system of appointment and promotion. In the country at large the reform methods should also be applied to the civil service of every city, county and state of the Union. Outside the Federal Service, the system applies to the employees in only two states, New York and Massachusetts, and in a few cities outside these states.

How can the Women's Auxiliary give practical assistance in this work? First: Let me say by giving their appreciation and sympathy to those who have so long worked in this cause. We have had to bear both ridicule and indifference in the past. I, for one, and I believe all the rest of us, love appreciation,—and the sympathy of our women friends is a great incentive, alone worth the effort of your organization. You can give an outward visible manifestation of your sympathy by having some of your number present at the more important committee hearings at the State House, as has already been done with such good results.

Besides bestowing appreciation and sympathy, you can collectively create additional public opinion by holding meetings for addresses and discussion, and also individually, by word, by social and family influence, you can spread the good gospel, not forgetting to sow the seed at your summer homes, where you will have chances to reach many unplanted fields. Your organization should be extended, whether through the women's clubs with which you are affiliated, or by the enlargement of your own membership, so as to include women in every considerable town and city in the state. Petitions you can sign and circulate for others to sign. You can find and send to our Secretary the names of influential men friendly to the cause, and you can write or see your member of Congress or state legislator, which methods will be all the more effective as your organization, in some form or other,

is spread more largely over the state; and *don't forget* to thank your representatives for any good work done. The late Sherman Hoar, not long before his death, said to a large body of distinguished men, that for all the hard work he had done in Congress for good causes popular with our best citizens, he had received only two letters of thanks. "You don't know," he added, "how it helps one, to receive such letters." You women can influence not only the grown men, whether politicians, or in the Grand Army of the Republic, or simply as voters, but you can predispose the *young* men to take interest in this cause.

To do all this with good results you must be able to answer the popular plausible fallacies urged against the reform. One of these is that the head of an office could, if left to himself, make better appointments than he gets through the Civil Service Commission. Even if left to himself, I doubt if this is true in the large offices with thousands of employees. The railroads of the country are adopting civil service reform methods for selecting many of their employees, as a pure business proposition. A recent number of Harper's Weekly gives a full account of the tests, both educational and physical, employed by the Interborough Railway Company of New York for the appointment of its motormen. The Boston Elevated Railway has adopted a system very much of the same sort.

Even for a small office a well advertised open competition discloses capable persons not before known to the appointing officer. Two illustrations of this have occurred very recently in Washington. In each case a head of a scientific bureau thought he knew the only one or two persons in the country capable of performing the work, but others appeared and passed such good examinations that the appointing officer was satisfied that they were better suited than the persons he had had in mind before. Apart from this

discovery of unknown material, as a rule, I will admit that for certain kinds of employment, in a small bureau, an honest and efficient official could often get as good and better service, *if* left to make the selection himself, but in the absence of civil service reform regulations he is *not* left to make the selection himself. He has to take those sent him by the political powers that be. Witness the report published early in March, 1901, by the special committee of Congress on the demoralized condition of the House and Senate employees. These are not under civil service rules. The head officials, who are supposed to appoint and be responsible for those under them, openly declared, what every one knows to be the truth, that they were not free to select, but had to obey the dictation of the members of Congress, and could not even maintain discipline on account of this constant interference in appointments, removals, and office regulations. As practical people we must deal, not with an imaginary condition that has no objective reality, but with the actual alternatives that exist.

Another fallacy is the pass-examination substitute for the open competitive system which I have already explained.

Again, there is the objection that the reform keeps inefficient men in the offices. The system we favor does not do this. Removals are practically unhampered, while on the other hand, under the spoils system, incompetent, insubordinate, and even drunken employees frequently could not be dismissed on account of powerful political backing, so that, in reality, it is usually easier to make removals for good cause in that part of the Civil Service where the employees stand on their own merits than in that part remaining under the old system of political "pull."

Complaint is sometimes made that the examinations are not of a practical nature, and are calculated to keep out competent applicants. Let me strongly advise

following up every such complaint. Get the name of the candidate, find out what examination he took, ascertain the duties of the position sought, go to the Civil Service Commission, who are obliged by law to preserve all the questions and answers, and inspect those in the case complained of. I have done this several times, and always with the most satisfactory results, and on each occasion increasing my confidence in the reform methods. In the British Parliament some years ago a member loudly complained in debate that his son had failed in history in his civil service examination for one of the higher positions where a knowledge of history was required. He said he could assure the members that his son was an able historical scholar, and that there must have been unfairness in the examination. At a subsequent session the ministry produced the papers and read one question and answer that ended the complaint. The question was, "Who is Oliver Cromwell?" The reply was: "The man who said, 'Had I served my God as I have served my King, he would not in my age have left me desolate.'"

Many office seekers have such exalted ideas of their own ability that they lay the blame of any failure on the examinations. One man some years ago asked me to recommend him for public office. I enquired of him for what employment he thought he was specially fitted. "Oh," he replied, "there is no trouble about that, write me a recommendation as fitted to do the duties of any office that may happen to be vacant."

The questions of the height of the Alps, the mouths of the Ganges, or the distance of the moon from the earth are not asked in the examination for letter carriers or clerks. And there are as many different kinds of examinations as there are kinds of work to be done. There are 600 different kinds in the National Service, from the tests for skilled laborers to the examination for the calculator of the nautical almanac at the National Observatory.

Even the possession of executive ability has been successfully tested under the Merit System. Heads of newly formed bureaus; positions with salaries from \$3,500 to \$4,500 requiring organizing ability of a high order as well as special knowledge, have been filled through Civil Service examinations in Washington. The tests consisted of three parts: first, as to the required knowledge, second, as to the past experience of the candidates in doing executive work with success, and third, by an essay on the best ways of organizing the bureaus with reference to efficiency and economy. The bureaus established by these Civil Service appointees are acknowledged to be the best of their kind in the country. Sometimes also executive positions can be filled by promotion from among those employees who have shown such ability in lower places.

Once established that executive ability can be secured, we see our way to extending the Merit System to all heads of departments, except such as are purely political, like cabinet positions.

It is objected that though the examinations may test knowledge and even executive ability, they do not test character. While the examinations themselves do not, yet certificates of character are required and kept on record, the lists of eligibles who pass are printed and any objection to their character is heard by the Commission, and when first selected, they are only taken *on trial* and do not receive *appointment* till after six months' probationary service.

Under the old system the recommendations were secret, there was no open investigation as to character and there was no probationary appointment, and as a fact many of the worst characters were appointed, sometimes as rewards for political crimes. After twenty-two years of the Merit System only a small portion of one per cent are removed on grounds affecting character, while in the recent post-office investigations, not one of those indicted entered under the competitive system.

We may take courage from the fact that since the original edition of this address in 1902, several suggestions then made have been carried out.

In both the Federal and Massachusetts systems the Commissions have been given authority to stop the pay of persons improperly appointed. In the former by an executive order of President Roosevelt, and in the latter by the passage of the law proposed, while in the Federal Service the "back door entrances" have been effectively closed, the law has been strictly enforced, most of the places exempted have been restored, and large extensions have been made.

Lastly, let me ask you to put some enthusiasm into your work for this cause, for this cause is not on the surface of things; it is not a mere question of a more efficient and economical Civil Service. It is an attack on the underlying causes of bossism and all its attendant evils in our political and municipal life. It goes to the very foundations of representative government. Being convinced of this, you cannot choose but be yourselves convincing. Ten persons with a conviction are worth a thousand with an opinion. If, then, women would join with us in this great work, I see the chance of recovering all the ground lost, and of acquiring new fields, until the whole land is ours; and thus we shall put American politics not, to be sure, where it will run itself without attention, but where honest, high-minded, intellectual and educated citizens can, by reasonable effort, have their due weight in the destinies of the country, and no longer stay helplessly on the short arm of the lever of the political machine.

R. H. DANA.

DOCUMENT No 3

THE CIVIL SERVICE

THE MERIT SYSTEM

THE SPOILS SYSTEM

BY

EDWARD CARY

Very good.



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THE CIVIL SERVICE

THE MERIT SYSTEM — THE SPOILS SYSTEM

In the year 1835 a debate took place in the Senate of the United States on the condition of the civil service, and especially on the abuse of the power of appointment and removal to serve party ends instead of public ends. Among the Senators who took part in the debate were the three whom history has judged the strongest in that famous body, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. Differing widely in their views of party policy and rivals in ambition, they were of one mind as to the true nature of the public service, and as to the errors and evils that had crept into it. Mr. Webster, then in the prime of his young manhood, had already won the title of the "Great Expounder of the Constitution." He thus stated the idea in which the others heartily joined: "The theory of our institutions is plain; it is that Government is an agency created for the good of the people, and that every person in office is the agent and servant of the people. Offices are created, not for the benefit of those who are to fill them, but for the public convenience."

There is no doubt that this is indeed the true theory of our institutions. It is to be found in all the early writings of the men who formed the Government. It is the basis of the Declaration of Independence, that "governments are instituted among men" to secure the

rights of "the governed" from whose consent "they derive their just powers." When our national government was founded it was the only one in which offices were not a privilege, but a trust, imposed by the choice of the people and for their sole interest. Neither birth nor rank, nor wealth gave any title to them. Each of the men who held them was intended to be, in the words of Webster, "the agent and the servant of the people."

This theory had grown out of the needs of the American people, and fitted them closely. As colonists they had had to work and fight hard for the right to live and the means to live as free men in a wild land, far from the homes of their fathers, amid many perils and hardships. There was no ruling class amongst them. To attend to the common business of each little settlement, they were led to choose among their own number the agents best fitted for the task. These in the early days were, as in the towns of New England they still are, "select-men," "trustees." The name shows what was expected of them, and what was their title to employment. As the towns were grouped in counties and the counties in States, the public business grew, became more complex, and required a larger number of agents with different duties and powers, but the idea held. They were still agents, selected men, trustees. From the most modest unpaid village or town officer to the President of the United States, the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the nation and its representative in the eyes of the world, no man in the public service in this country is anything but the agent, the trustee of the people.

One result of the growth of the public business has been that only a small part of the agents for doing this business are chosen directly by the people. Those thus chosen are entrusted with the employment or appointment of a very large number of others. The chief difference between the two classes is that those elected are expected to carry on the public business in a way that the majority of the voters are in general

agreed upon. They are the choice of the majority party and, so far as the rights of all permit, they are the agents of that party. When the views and wishes of the majority change, these agents are usually changed also. But the far greater number of agents for doing the public business are appointed or employed. The duties of nearly all these are the same no matter what may be the policy of the majority party. In the national government, for instance, the main work for those in office, except the highest, is the collection and expenditure of the taxes. The taxes are collected on goods brought into this country for sale or on goods made here for sale, in other words, customs, duties and internal revenue taxes. Parties differ widely as to which class of taxes should be the higher, and as to how high the custom duties should be. But all parties agree that the taxes of all sorts should be collected according to law, honestly and fairly, that the money should be carefully accounted for, and none of it stolen or wasted. Agents for this purpose need to be good business men of character and ability; they do not need to be of one party or another. Again, the Post Office Department does a great part of the business of the Government. It collects mail matter of all kinds, transports it, delivers it at home or abroad, makes large payments on money orders, and sells the stamps by which the cost of its work is paid. As to this work, there is no difference at all between parties, and there has never been. The agents engaged in it need only to be honest and efficient. They do not need to be of one party or another. In all offices where the duties are of this sort, it is plain that those engaged in them should be selected for merit only, promoted as the service requires, and removed only for failure or incapacity to do their work in the best manner.

Such a policy would answer to Webster's statement of the theory of our institutions, and to the practice of the early Presidents. Washington declared: "In every nomination to office I have endeavored, so far as my

own knowledge extended or information could be obtained, to make fitness of character my primary object." In the first thirty-nine years of the history of the Government the six Presidents made only 112 removals. A few years later, when Webster had to define anew the true theory of the public service, a very different practice had grown up. It was frankly described in that same debate by Mr. Marcy, a Senator from New York. He said: "The politicians of the United States are not so fastidious as some gentlemen are as to disclosing the principles on which they act. They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belongs the spoils of the enemy." This theory is plainly the opposite of the true one. Under it elections do not merely settle the policy of the country, as to which parties may unselfishly differ. They become contests for spoils as well, and tend to become more and more contests for spoils and less disputes as to principle. The spoils are the offices, the places of trust, and these tend to be given not to those best fitted to perform their duties, but to those who have claims on the party. The service is hurt by putting out tried men and putting in untried men, and since the untried men are chosen for other reasons than fitness, they are apt to be poorer officers. Since they owe their employment to party favor, and do not get it on their merits, they are likely to be less faithful and less honest. They are liable to be turned out at the next election, and they are tempted to make all they can from their places. The offices tend to be regarded as created not "for the public convenience" but "for the benefit of those who fill them." The service tends to become poorer, less honest, more costly. Any large private business conducted in this way would surely come to disaster. So would the business of the Government if it had not the pockets of the taxpayers to draw on.

The spoils system prevailed in the service of the United States Government for about a half-century after 1830. It also prevailed in greater or less degree

in the service of the several States and of the larger cities. It was not confined to any one party. All were more or less corrupted by it. The effect on the politics of the country was very bad. The pressure for public employment, always strong, became extreme. Probably the election of 1860 was as largely decided by moral conviction as any in the history of the country. Yet, one month after he took office, President Lincoln groaned under the burden of this pressure. "I wish," he wrote, in his simple phrase, "I could get time to attend to the Southern question. I think I know what is wanted, and believe I could do something towards quieting the rising discontent, but the office-seekers demand all my time. I am like a man so busy letting rooms in one end of his house that he cannot stop to put out the fire that is burning in the other." In the crisis of the war for the Union he was visited by a committee of New York politicians, intent on patronage. The chairman opened his address with a reference to the "awful burden of the nation's fate weighing on the President." "Gentlemen," interrupted Mr. Lincoln, "it is not the fate of the nation that worries me most just now; it is your pesky post office." These incidents throw a strong light on the waste of time, of money and of strength imposed by the spoils system. The degradation and pollution of politics were even worse effects. The office-holders, living on the spoils of the place, and greedy for more, seized the organization of their party, whichever it happened to be, and made the free exercise of honest preference among the voters difficult and often impossible. The scramble between factions in the party in possession became as intense as between opposing parties. In the Custom House in New York, five Collectors of the same party made 1878 removals in a period of 1565 business days, and the service grew steadily worse. In 1881, Guiteau, an office-seeker from New York, where a bitter factional fight had long been raging, half-crazed with disappointed greed, assassinated President Garfield, to whom he charged his failure.

This proved the turning point. At the next session of Congress bills were introduced for the establishment of the merit system, and a law was passed in January, 1883. It was entitled "An Act to Regulate and Improve the Civil Service of the United States." The object of the law was to secure appointment and promotion in the service for fitness. For this purpose appointments were to be made from those graded highest as the results of open competitive examinations, the appointments being made final only after a period of probation or trial. This system was to be extended throughout the service as fast and as far as the President should direct. When any part of the service was to be brought under the system, it was to be arranged in classes by order of the President; hence the term "classified service" means, under the law, the part of the service in which the merit system is applied. Within the classified service, the examinations for appointment and for promotion are chiefly competitive; that is to say a list, called an "eligible list," is made of all applicants passing a fixed grade, in the order of their standing, and a selection is made by the appointing officer from the three highest on this list. This selection is for the period of probation or trial, six months, at the end of which term, if his conduct and capacity are satisfactory, the probationer is absolutely appointed; if not, he is discharged. Non-competitive examinations are held according to the rules laid down by the President. In these all applicants passing a fixed grade are eligible to appointment without regard to their relative standing. The rule as to probation is the same as in the other cases. The law requires that all "examinations shall be practical in their character, and as far as may be shall relate to those matters which will fairly test the relative capacity and fitness of the persons examined to discharge the duties of the service into which they seek to be appointed." Close attention is paid to this requirement. In the first place, weight is given to the experience of the candidates in the kind of work they

seek, when such experience can definitely be known. Then each class is tested as to the knowledge and skill particularly needed. For clerks and accountants, weight is given to accuracy and quickness in figures, to clearness and rapidity in writing, and to familiarity with the principles and methods of bookkeeping. Examinations are generally for entrance to the lower grades of the service, and actual excellence in the performance of work counts in promotion. For places requiring special knowledge, trained examiners are employed. For instance, the examiners who set the questions and rated the answers in the case of the Supervising Architect were prominent architects from various parts of the country. They were able, from the records of the candidates, to test not only professional knowledge, but business capacity. In all cases the examiners are selected from those who are well informed as to the work to be done. The application of this law is to be carried out and watched by a Commission known as The United States Civil Service Commission, made up of three members, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. This Commission aids the President in the formation of the rules under the law, and, with the aid of examiners, sets and conducts the examinations. All appointing officers are required to report to it all changes in the classified service, of which the Commission keeps a full record, as well as of its own examinations and other proceedings. All officers of the service are required to aid in the performance of the duties of the Commission.

One of the worst evils of the spoils system was the fact that public employees were made to pay a large fraction of their salaries to party funds, and another was that these employees were forced to work for the party in power in order to keep their places. Both these practices are now forbidden by law in the service of the United States. No one in the service is allowed to use his official authority or influence to coerce the political action of others. All persons in the service

are forbidden to ask or receive political contributions from others in the service. Such contributions cannot be solicited in any place or building used by the Government. By the rules, which have the force of law, no question can be asked of candidates for appointment as to their political or religious opinions; no disclosures of such opinions can be considered; no change of rank or pay can be made because of such opinions. Under the spoils system, the officeholder got his place from his party and was taxed heavily by his party managers. The law intends to put a stop to that; it holds the officer bound only to earn his pay by honest work, and free to spend it as he chooses. The law further holds him without fear of harm or hope of aid from outside, to do his duty to his employers, the whole people of the United States. It aims to put the people and those who work for them on the same footing that is maintained in honorable private business between employers and employed.

The merit system has been greatly extended since the passage of the law. Under President Arthur, who signed the law in 1883, some 16,000 places were brought within its provisions. The number is now over 150,000. This is more than one-half of all the places in the executive service, while the salaries paid in these places are three-fourths of all paid in the service. While this advance has been made there have been more frequent changes of party in the government of the country than in any like period in our history. In the six elections since 1883, four have resulted in a change of party. Each succeeding President, with one exception, has, in the discretion which the law confides to the President only, added to the number of places removed from the spoils system. President McKinley, however, withdrew a considerable number of places from the merit system for reasons urged upon him by the heads of some departments. The effect was unfortunate. On the other hand, the merit system was under him extended to the service in the Philippine Islands in a way that has

resulted in making the work of governing there clean, efficient and fair to a degree that could hardly have been looked for. In this region the bond of trusteeship rests upon our government with a peculiar and solemn obligation. The United States have taken control of the affairs of the people of these islands as a result of a war with Spain, without the assent of the people in the first instance, and against resistance by a portion of them which was overcome by arms. It would be a sore disgrace, if their affairs were not managed honestly and purely and for the interest of the governed. The merit system on the lines of the Civil Service Law has been established there, under the general guidance of an experienced and skilled examiner from Washington. As many natives as practicable are being employed. It is still too early to judge of the final outcome, but the beginning is promising.

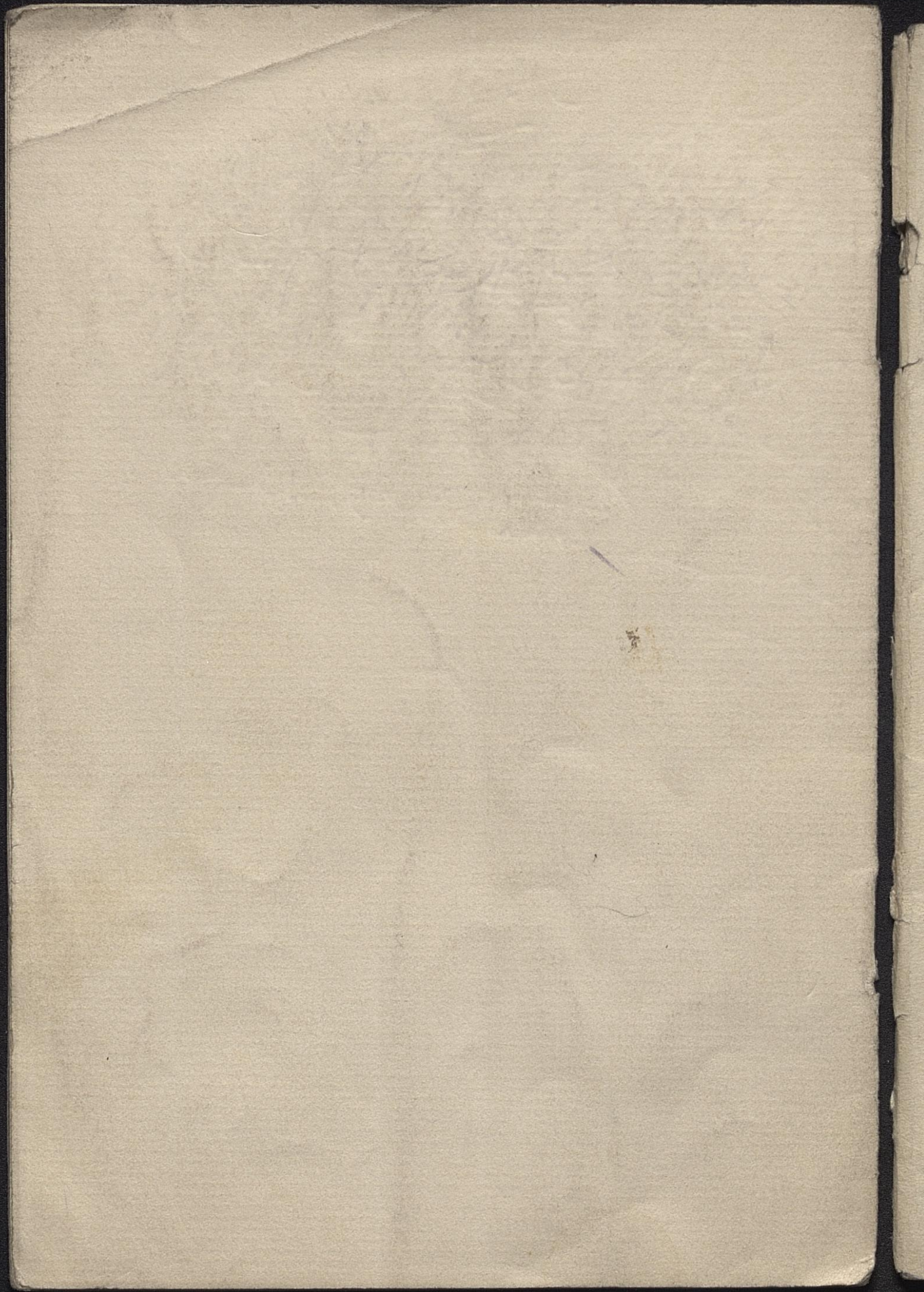
The chief aim of the merit system is, on the one hand, to get the best service for the Government—that is, for the people—and, on the other hand, to remove from the party contests of the country the corrupting influence of the vast number of business places offered as spoils to the victors. The methods of competition and probation are not perfect, and, like all other human methods, are liable to mismanagement. But they are the best that have ever been tried, and they are very effective. The test of competitive examination is shown to be thorough and practical by the fact that only a very small number of those who pass that test are dropped after probation or trial. Another proof is the much larger amount of work done by persons so selected. During ten years before the adoption of the merit system in the Departments at Washington the number of clerks increased from 3,300 to 5,523, or more than two-thirds. In the thirteen years after the system was adopted the number actually fell off 211, or three per cent., while the work of the departments had largely increased. Another proof of the efficiency of the system is the small num-

ber of changes that take place in it compared with those that take place in the branches of the service where the system is not yet applied.

Two facts are noteworthy with regard to the effect of the use of the merit system on partisan contests in politics. The total cost of the executive service is over \$175,000,000. Of this about three-fourths is now paid to those employees who are under the merit system. This very large sum is no longer held out as prizes for partisan activity, or treated as the "spoils of the enemy." The other fact is that the feeling of the people that the government is theirs, and does not belong to the party in power for the time being, is greatly strengthened. The entrance examinations are held in all parts of the land, and men and women are selected for the departments at Washington with no regard whatever for their party views or the influence of politicians. This has been of great effect in laying to rest the passions bred by the civil war, and giving to the dwellers in the South a sense of their common rights and duties as citizens of the nation. It is a great and lasting gain.

In 1884, laws for the introduction of the merit system were enacted in New York and Massachusetts, and later laws authorize the system in the service of cities in Wisconsin and Illinois. In Massachusetts and in New York, the system has made much progress and the results have been good in proportion as the system has been extended and honestly and faithfully applied. But the evils of the spoils system still prevail almost without check in the service of the cities and the States throughout the country. The enormous number of places involved are still almost wholly the prizes of party contests. The place-holders, many times more numerous than the present army of the United States, are in greater part enlisted for party rather than for public service. Efficiency, industry and economy in the public work are very hard to secure. The suppression of vice and the decent administration of the affairs of cities and States are made more difficult.

Clearly it is best that the merit system should be applied to all that portion of the civil service in which the duties are of a business nature and in which the office-holders are not called on to fix the policy of the government. There is no Democratic or Republican or Populist way of being honest and industrious and intelligent which all Americans may not use. To these qualities in their service the people have a right, and no party can claim a monopoly of them. Much remains to be done to complete the work so well begun. The men in all parties who look on public employment, not as a trust, but as the spoils of party victory resist all advance and seek to undo what has been done. They cannot succeed if the true nature of the merit system is understood, its honesty and fairness, its high utility, and its fidelity to the fundamental principle of the free institutions of the American Republic.



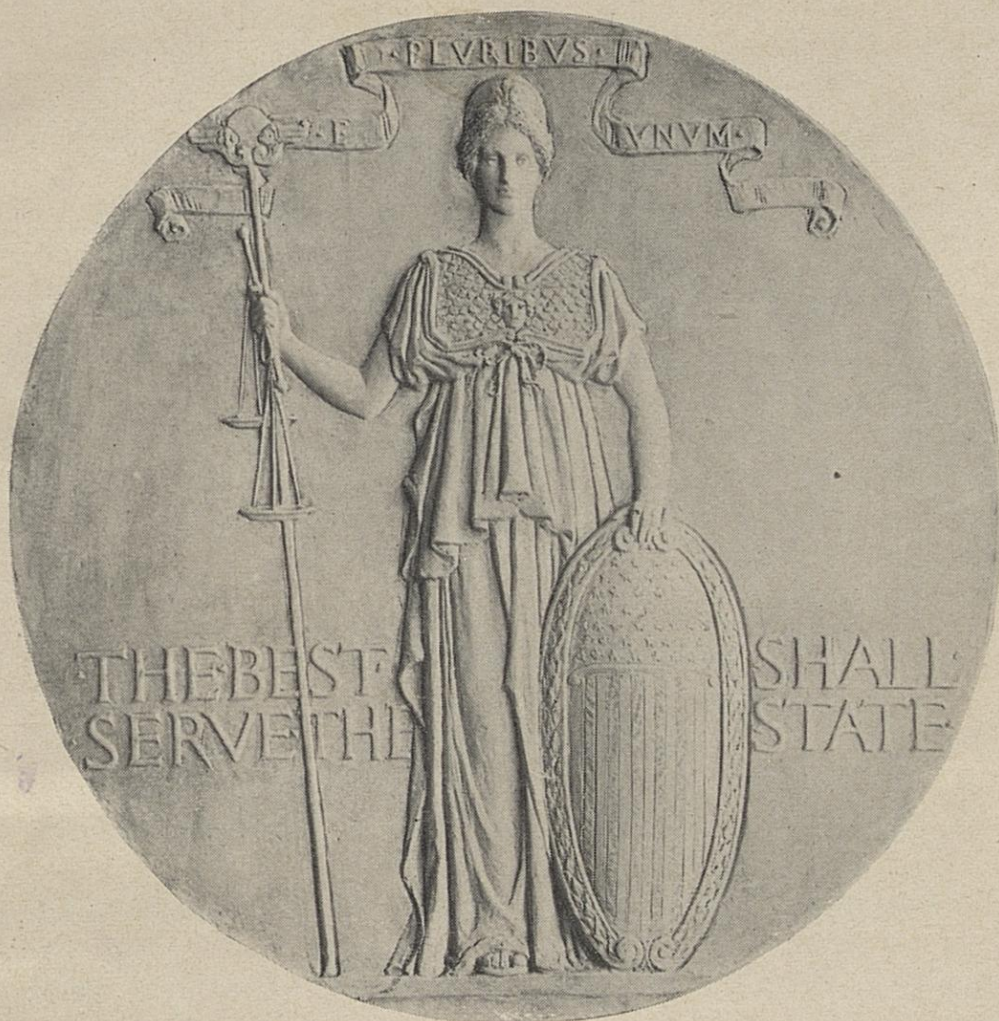
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THE FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CIVIL
SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION

1906



SCHOOL MEDAL
DESIGNED BY
FRANCES GRIMES
WITH THE CRITICISM OF
AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS



OFFICERS OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS AUXILIARY

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MISS ELIZABETH FOSTER, *1st Vice-President*

MRS. HENRY M. WHITNEY, *2d Vice-President*

MRS. MARY MORTON KEHEW, *Treasurer*

317 Beacon Street, Boston

MISS MABEL LYMAN, *Secretary*

39 Beacon Street, Boston

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MRS. SPENCER BORDEN	Fall River
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MRS. WALTER C. CABOT	Brookline
MRS. JAMES M. CODMAN	Brookline
MISS KATHERINE CONWAY	Boston
MRS. ZENAS CRANE	Dalton
MISS FLORENCE M. CUSHING	Boston
MRS. CHARLES W. ELIOT	Cambridge
MRS. FREDERIC T. GREENHALGE	Lowell
MRS. CHARLES S. HAMLIN	Boston
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MRS. JACOB H. HECHT	Boston
MRS. HENRY L. HIGGINSON	Boston
MRS. ROCKWOOD HOAR	Worcester
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MRS. THEODORE LYMAN	Brookline
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MISS O. M. E. ROWE	Boston
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MRS. ALEXANDER SEDGWICK	Stockbridge
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MRS. QUINCY A. SHAW	Jamaica Plain
MRS. MOORFIELD STOREY	Boston
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MRS. PAUL THORNDIKE	Boston
MRS. MAY ALDEN WARD	Boston

SECRETARY'S REPORT

Five years ago this January a small meeting was held at which it was decided to form a Women's Auxiliary to the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association. This Auxiliary has now one thousand and eighty members and works through nine organized Branches. It has published and distributed over one hundred and fifty thousand pamphlets which have found their way into every State. We must see to it that the work of the next five years is worthy of such a successful beginning.

Though no definite statistics can be obtained from our Massachusetts census, yet the experience of those interested in the subject would surely justify us in saying that general enlightenment on the meaning of Civil Service Reform among our Massachusetts women is a hundred times greater than it was five years ago.

Our Branches continue to be a great source of strength and satisfaction. A most welcome gain is a ninth Branch, recently formed in Springfield, which will give us a hold in the western part of the State. Three or four times in the year delegates are brought into close relation with one another and our State Executive Committee at the meeting of the State Council, and in spite of occasional discouraging reports, the delegates leave with added enthusiasm and a desire to adopt the successful schemes of other Branches.

In the following reports the Branches speak for themselves.

The *Boston Branch* held a meeting last spring at which Mrs. Oakley made a very interesting address. The new Chairman, Mrs. Barlow, hopes soon to obtain permission from the School Board to introduce our new Primer into the Boston grammar schools, and is also to place them in the Public Library and its Branches.

The *Brookline Branch* has held a meeting at which Mr.

Sinclair Kennedy spoke on the "County Ring." Members of the Branch judged the competitive essays on Civil Service topics written by the eighth-grade pupils in five grammar schools. These essays showed comprehension of the subject. Each of the seven successful competitors is to receive one of the new medals. The Branch is again starting several study classes among its members. The membership of the Branch has increased.

The *Cambridge Branch* has held several meetings during the past year. At an open meeting last winter Mrs. G. H. Parker, the Cambridge delegate to the Annual Meeting of the National League, gave an excellent report of the proceedings at Washington. The Branch arranged for an address by Rev. S. M. Crothers, D. D., on Abraham Lincoln, before the pupils of the High and Latin Schools and members of the Branch. At another meeting Mr. Morse, Principal of the Manual Training School, gave an instructive talk on the condition of the Civil Service in Cambridge. This autumn Dr. Henry Van Dyke addressed a large and appreciative audience. The Branch offered two prizes for the best essays on Civil Service Reform; one of ten dollars was awarded to a member of the Young Women's Christian Association, the other of twenty-five dollars was awarded to a member of the Prospect Union. There has been a gain in the membership of the Branch.

The *Lowell Branch* has this year succeeded in introducing the pamphlets into the Lowell High School. It is interesting to note in connection with the efforts previously made by the Lowell Branch to bring the school janitors of the city under Civil Service rules that the Civil Service Commission has now extended the rules to cover all janitor service in cities.

The *Lynn Branch* held a meeting, jointly with the Outlook Club, at which Mr. George McAneny, of New York, and Miss O. M. E. Rowe spoke and the Mayor of Lynn presided. The annual meeting was addressed by Mr. A. H.

Brooks. The Branch has pursued the course of study laid out in Mrs. Rice's "Outline," and has appointed committees to visit the Lynn City Home, the Police Station, and the Salem Jail.

The *Salem Branch* carried on a course of four talks on Current Events, conducted by Mrs. May Alden Ward. Civil Service Reform was the principal topic at one of the talks and was touched upon in the others, and its wide-reaching influence was pointed out. Members of the Branch were invited but outsiders paid for admission. The talks were well attended and followed with interest. Though the Branch was again refused permission to introduce the pamphlets into the schools, it was allowed to give copies for their home use to the teachers, who expressed much interest in the pamphlets.

The *Waltham Branch* reports an increase of twenty members since the spring. The Branch plans to hold monthly meetings, and to study during the winter the Civil Service Law, beginning with the conditions which made it necessary.

The *Worcester Branch* offered the new medal to the High School student who should write the best essay on "A Comparison of the Merit System with the Spoils System in regard to the appointment of City, State, and National Officials." Two meetings, one addressed by Mr. A. H. Brooks, the other by Mr. Charles Warren, were first held for the boys and girls of the three High Schools, and later, at the time of the presentation of the prize for a remarkably good essay, an address was made by Congressman Gillett, the champion of Civil Service Reform. In addition the Branch has held two other general meetings, at one of which, arranged jointly with the Woman's Club, Mr. Dana was the speaker. The Executive Committee meets monthly. Four of its members have prepared an advanced outline course of study to follow the one arranged by Mrs. Rice. It is called "Municipal Government and its relation to Civil

Service Reform " and consists of twelve lessons, a development of the topics studied by the class in Municipal Government held by the Branch last winter. This admirable new Outline has since been published and is ready for distribution.

Our only new publication this year has been the long-desired Grammar School pamphlet, which we issued jointly with the New York Auxiliary through the courtesy of the latter. This "Primer of the Civil Service and the Merit System," by Miss Elisabeth Luther Cary, has completely satisfied our hope of a really effective explanation for children, and we are very grateful to the author, for we realize the difficulty of the achievement. We began the circulation of this Primer chiefly in Massachusetts, and have already distributed sixty-seven thousand copies to two hundred and fifty Grammar Schools. The demand would have been greater, had we not felt obliged to restrict our offer of pamphlets, free of charge, to twenty-five copies to each school. A superintendent in one town asked for copies for forty-two teachers, and a request for six hundred Primers came from Omaha, Nebraska. We are now beginning extensive work outside the State. There has been a steady demand for our High School pamphlets written by Mr. Edward Cary and Mr. Woodruff. A special effort in Pennsylvania has resulted in the application from fifty-seven schools for over six thousand pamphlets. During the past year requests have come from three hundred and twenty High and Normal Schools and Colleges, and the number of pamphlets used in our school work reaches a total of thirty thousand.

Moreover, fifteen thousand additional pamphlets have been distributed to clubs, libraries, and individuals. Large numbers have been supplied for meetings of the State Federation of Women's Clubs in Delaware, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

A beautiful medal has been designed for the New York

Auxiliary and ourselves by Miss Frances Grimes, who has given lavishly of time, strength, and talent. Our grateful acknowledgment is also due to Mr. Saint-Gaudens for the generous contribution of his invaluable criticism and inspiration to this medal, an additional example of the public-spiritedness of the great sculptor, who is constantly giving his services to further the civic and artistic development of the country. Bronze replicas of this medal may be ordered by our members and by Clubs in Massachusetts to offer as the reward for school prize essays on Civil Service Reform. The medal will be far more valuable than any money prize in teaching the meaning both of the subject and the reward. The figure of a woman typifying the State with the impartial scales in one hand is specially timely in this autumn of civic victories, and the words "The best shall serve the State" were written for the medal by her whose life has fulfilled them, whose death now illumines them with rays of light, — Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell.

The re-appearance in the Legislature of the Spanish War Veterans' Preference Bill called again for our active opposition. The signatures presented by us in protest to this bill represented seventy-five cities and towns, and amounted to five thousand one hundred and eighty, a striking advance upon the one thousand seven hundred and seventy collected by us the previous year. Later the total signatures received rose to five thousand eight hundred and forty-four, of which three thousand four hundred and eighty-four were sent in by one hundred and seven Clubs as a result of the devoted and systematic work of the Federation Civil Service Reform Committee. Mr. R. D. Weston Smith very kindly gave us his services as counsel at the hearing. Nearly one hundred men and women were present to oppose the bill and had a chance to rise when a standing vote was taken at the end, while only three favored it. The bill was promptly referred to the next General Court.¹

¹ This bill has not been brought up in the Legislature of 1906.

When the Massachusetts Civil Service Law was passed in 1884, it was made to apply to the Commonwealth and the several cities thereof. Certain provisions have also been made for towns. But the County service remains entirely unprotected by the law. Last year the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association brought in a bill providing for the inclusion of the County service under the Civil Service law, but, like similar earlier attempts, it was at once defeated.

As investigation is always a first step, the Auxiliary undertook a year and a half ago to investigate the twenty-one County Jails. Since the last Annual Meeting fifteen of the jails have been visited, which, with the six then reported, completes the number. The gratitude of the Auxiliary is due to all who have given to the cause the generous and personal help which such work means. The list of jails with their investigators will be found appended to our Annual Report, together with the questions asked, several of which were suggested by Mr. J. G. Thorp, President of the Massachusetts Prison Association. The reports themselves, when tabulated, will be handed over to the Massachusetts Association.

The "Federation Bulletin" continues to be a most useful organ for the spread of short articles on Civil Service Reform, which are supplied both by ourselves and others. As the "Bulletin," published originally for the Massachusetts Federation alone, has now become also the official journal of the General Federation of Women's Clubs as well as of the Federations of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York, its helpfulness to our cause is constantly increasing.

The interest in the Merit System shown by Mrs. Decker, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, has had its influence in Massachusetts as elsewhere, and last year many Clubs responded to her suggestion of devoting a meeting in January to the subject. It is difficult indeed to make the supply of speakers meet the demand, and it is

only possible through the sacrifice of personal and professional interest by Messrs. Dana, Vaughan, Brooks, and Kennedy of the Massachusetts Association, and through the indefatigable zeal of Miss Bacon, Mrs. Oakley, Miss Whittier, and our President, Mrs. Cabot. Our Assistant Secretary alone has spoken at eighteen meetings during the past year.

Last February a very large and enthusiastic Civil Service Reform Meeting, with distinguished speakers from different parts of the country, was held at Cooper Union Hall, New York, by the New York Auxiliary. As this meeting was a result of a suggestion from the Massachusetts Auxiliary, we undertook last spring, at the Wells Memorial Institute, to hold a similar public meeting for working men and women. Mr. Robert Treat Paine, Jr., presided and the speakers were Mr. Sinclair Kennedy, Mr. Robert A. Woods, and the Hon. Louis A. Frothingham.

This last autumn the Auxiliary sent out letters to the five hundred candidates to the State Legislature asking their stand on Civil Service Reform. This letter was sent in behalf and in the name of the Massachusetts Association. Favorable replies were received from seventy-six candidates, thirty-eight of whom have since been elected. The Association feels that the information gained will be of great practical value in its efforts to improve and defend the Massachusetts Civil Service Law. Defence is necessary, for each year it is assailed by those who would weaken or destroy it.

Since, then, we have this noble law of our own State to preserve, and to extend; since the vast majority of our sister States need a similar law; and since the Federal Service is not yet wholly free from the evils of patronage, let us give unstintedly of time, thought, and means till the reform of our whole civil service is an accomplished fact.

MABEL LYMAN,
Secretary.

January 3, 1906.

COUNTY JAIL REPORTS

County Penal Institutions	Names of Visitors
1. Barnstable County Jail and House of Correction <i>Barnstable</i>	Miss Louisa F. Cobb
2. Berkshire County Jail and House of Correction <i>Pittsfield</i>	Mrs. Francis C. Barlow
3. Bristol County Jail and House of Correction <i>New Bedford</i>	Mrs. William N. Swift
4. Bristol County Jail <i>Taunton</i>	Rev. J. H. Metcalf
5. Dukes County Jail <i>Edgartown</i>	Rev. Frederick Morse Cutler
6. Essex County House of Correction <i>Ipswich</i>	Rev. T. Frank Waters
7. Essex County Jail and House of Correction <i>Lawrence</i>	Rev. Samuel C. Beane, D. D.
8. Essex County Jail <i>Newburyport</i>	Mrs. C. F. Perry
9. Essex County Jail and House of Correction <i>Salem</i>	Mrs. Arthur W. West for the Salem Branch
10. Franklin County Jail and House of Correction <i>Greenfield</i>	Mrs. Fayette Smith Miss M. C. Nichols
11. Hampden County Jail and House of Correction <i>Springfield</i>	Mrs. W. N. Caldwell for Cosmopolitan Club
12. Hampshire County Jail and House of Correction <i>Northampton</i>	Rev. Frederic H. Kent
13. Middlesex County Jail and House of Correction <i>Cambridge</i>	Mrs. G. H. Parker for Cambridge Branch

14. Middlesex County Jail <i>Lowell</i>	Mrs. L. S. Fox, Mrs. E. A. Rose for the Lowell Branch
15. Nantucket County Jail and House of Correction <i>Nantucket</i>	Rev. Edward Day
16. Norfolk County Jail and House of Correction <i>Dedham</i>	Mrs. Winslow Warren
17. Plymouth County Jail and House of Correction <i>Plymouth</i>	Miss Rosamond Allen
18. Suffolk County Jail <i>Boston</i>	Miss Caroline F. Brown
19. Suffolk County House of Correction <i>Boston, Deer Island</i>	Miss Caroline F. Brown
20. Worcester County Jail and House of Correction <i>Fitchburg</i>	Mrs. C. P. Dickinson
21. Worcester County Jail and House of Correction <i>Worcester</i>	Mrs. L. N. Kinnicutt for the Worcester Branch

LIST OF QUESTIONS ASKED

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. General condition of institution. | 5. Number of employees. |
| 2. Number of prisoners. | 6. Work of employees. |
| 3. Character of food. | 7. Source of appointments. |
| 4. Employment of prisoners. | 8. Length of tenure of office. |
| 9. Character of Jailer. | |

TREASURER'S REPORT

BOSTON, January 3, 1906.

Women's Auxiliary of the Massachusetts Civil
Service Reform Association,

In Account with Mary Morton Kehew, Treasurer.

RECEIPTS

To Balance on hand, January 2, 1905	.	.	\$112.30	
Life Memberships	.	.	150.00	
Sustaining Memberships	.	.	770.00	
Annual and Group Memberships	.	.	865.25	
Donations	.	.	459.00	
Sale of Pamphlets	.	.	2.47	
Interest on Deposits, July 1	.	\$7.67		
" " Dec. 30	.	<u>3.56</u>	<u>11.23</u>	\$2,370.25

EXPENDITURES

By Salary of Assistant Secretary	.	.	\$500.00	
Current Expenses of Assistant Secretary	.	305.99		
Printing and Mimeographing	.	831.74		
Donation to National C. S. R. League	.	100.00		
Mr. Alfred Hodder, for Essay	.	50.00		
Miss Frances Grimes, for School Medal	.	100.00		
Dues to Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs, 1904	.	\$43.75		
Dues to Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs, 1905	.	<u>47.50</u>	91.25	
Subscription to Federation Bulletin	.	25.00		
Annual Meeting, Rent of Room	.	\$55.00		
" " Traveling Expenses of Speaker	.	<u>45.00</u>	100.00	
Half-dues of Boston Branch	.	\$40.00		
" " Brookline	.	66.00		
" " Cambridge	.	59.50		
" " Lynn	.	14.50		
" " Salem	.	37.00		
" " Worcester	.	<u>45.00</u>	<u>262.00</u>	\$2,365.98
Balance on hand, January 3, 1906	.	.	4.27	
				<u>\$2,370.25</u>

MEMBERSHIP ROLL

March 1, 1906.

AMHERST

Mrs. GEORGE HARRIS, Amherst A

AUBURNDALE

Mrs. LIVINGSTON CUSHING, Auburndale G¹ and *A

BELMONT

Mrs. LYMAN UNDERWOOD, Belmont A

BOSTON BRANCH

Mrs. CHARLES H. ADAMS, 541 Centre St., Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. EDWARD L. ADAMS, The Ludlow	A
Miss DOROTHY ALLEN, 20 Fairfield St.	G ¹
Mrs. FRANCIS R. ALLEN, 20 Fairfield St.	A
Mrs. ROGER N. ALLEN, 163 Beacon St.	A
Miss ROSAMOND ALLEN, 163 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES G. AMES, 12 Chestnut St.	A
Miss M. S. AMES, 306 Dartmouth St.	*A
Mrs. C. W. AMORY, 278 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM AMORY, 407 Commonwealth Ave.	S
Miss EDITH ANDREW, 32 Hereford St.	*A
Miss SUSAN ATKINSON, 70 Chestnut St.	A
Miss EMILY G. BALCH, Prince St., Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. FRANCIS C. BARLOW, 75 Marlborough St.	L
Miss MARY P. BARNES, 111 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. DANA P. BARTLETT, 486 Columbus Ave.	*A
Miss FANNIE BARTLETT, 227 Commonwealth Ave.	*A
Mrs. J. W. BARTOL, 1 Chestnut St.	A

L, Life Member. Life Membership, \$50.00.
 S, Sustaining Member. Sustaining Membership, \$10.00 yearly.
 A, Annual Member. Annual Membership, \$1.00 yearly.
 G, Group Member. Group Membership, \$1.00 yearly for each group of four.
 * Gave special contribution in 1905.

G¹, Abigail Adams Chapter.

BOSTON BRANCH

Mrs. WALTER C. BAYLIES, 5 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Mrs. JAMES H. BEAL, 104 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. E. F. BENNETT, 566 Blue Hill Ave., New Dorchester	A
Miss A. A. BIGELOW, 9 Fairfield St.	A
Miss ANNE DEHON BLAKE, 265 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. JOHN BAPST BLAKE, 302 Beacon St.	A
Miss M. L. BLAKE, 39 Brimmer St.	*A
Mrs. S. PARKMAN BLAKE, 39 Brimmer St.	A
Mrs. MEYER BLOMFIELD, 112 Salem St.	A
Mrs. ALFRED BOWDITCH, 75 Bay State Road	A
Miss LUCY F. BOWEN, 876 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. T. JAMES BOWLKER, 282 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE G. BRADFORD, 20 Bird St., Dorchester	A
Mrs. RICHARDS M. BRADLEY, 60 State St.	A
Mrs. JOHN L. BREMER, 416 Beacon St.	*S
Mrs. L. VERNON BRIGGS, 74 Mount Vernon St.	A
Mrs. MARTIN BRIMMER, 47 Beacon St.	S
Miss ABBY C. BROWN, 116 Beacon St.	A
Miss CAROLINE F. BROWN, 87 Poplar St.	A
Miss REBECCA W. BROWN, 116 Beacon St.	A
Miss S. ALICE BROWN, 66 Marlborough St.	A
Miss KATHERINE ELIOT BULLARD, 3 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss H. C. BURNHAM, 57 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Mrs. JOHN A. BURNHAM, 57 Commonwealth Ave.	S
Miss MARY C. BURNHAM, 57 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss AMY W. CABOT, 74 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. ARTHUR T. CABOT, 3 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES M. CABOT, 297 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. RICHARD C. CABOT, 190 Marlborough St.	L
Mrs. SAMUEL CABOT, 109 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss ANITA M. CALEF, 381 Marlborough St.	G ¹
Miss MARY W. CAPEN, 38 Greenough Ave., Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. S. B. CAPEN, 38 Greenough Ave., Jamaica Plain	A
Miss LOUISE W. CASE, 468 Beacon St.	A
Miss MARIAN CASE, 468 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. F. W. CHANDLER, 195 Marlborough St.	A
Miss EVA CHANNING, Exeter Chambers, Exeter St.	A
Mrs. PERCY CHASE, The Ludlow	A
Miss CAROLINE CHICKERING, Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. ALEXANDER COCHRANE, 257 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss HELEN COLLAMORE, 317 Commonwealth Ave.	S

BOSTON BRANCH

Miss KATHARINE CONWAY, Atherton Pl., Eggleston Sq.	A
Miss E. W. COOLIDGE, 81 Marlborough St.	A
Miss ALICE COTTING, 249 Commonwealth Ave.	G ¹
Mrs. W. T. COUNCILMAN, 78 Bay State Road	A
Miss ABBIE W. COVEL, 617 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss ELIZABETH S. CRAFTS, 59 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. JAMES M. CRAFTS, 59 Marlborough St.	S
Mrs. RALPH ADAMS CRAM, 52 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. DAVID CROCKER, 182 Beacon St.	G ¹ and A
Mrs. S. V. R. CROSBY, 304 Berkeley St.	A
Dr. EMMA B. CULBERTSON, 33 Newbury St.	*A
Mrs. CHARLES A. CUMMINGS, 230 Clarendon St.	*A
Mrs. CHARLES K. CUMMINGS, 9 Louisburg Sq.	A
Miss FRANCES G. CURTIS, 28 Mount Vernon St.	A
Mrs. G. S. CURTIS, 28 Mount Vernon St.	A
Miss FLORENCE M. CUSHING, 8 Walnut St.	*A
Mrs. CHARLES H. DALTON, 33 Commonwealth Ave.	S
Mrs. B. C. DAVIS, 149 Newbury St.	A
Mrs. JOHN E. DEVLIN, 61 Bay State Road	S
Mrs. DAVIS R. DEWEY, 52 Eliot St., Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. FREDERIC DEXTER, 406 Marlborough St.	*A
Mrs. DOHERTY, 20 Dartmouth St.	G ²
Mrs. DRISCOLL, 136 Tyler St.	G ²
Miss GEORGINA G. EATON, 62 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss HANNAH M. EDWARDS, 55 Bellevue St.	*G ¹
Mrs. SAMUEL ELIOT, 44 Brimmer St.	*A
Miss ELIZABETH B. ELY, 297 Beacon St.	A
Miss CLARA T. ENDICOTT, 32 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM ENDICOTT, Jr., 165 Beacon St.	G ¹ and L
Mrs. HAROLD C. ERNST, Greenough Ave., Jamaica Plain	*A
Mrs. GLENDOWER EVANS, 12 Otis Place	S
Mrs. R. D. EVANS, The Empire	A
Mrs. FALVEY, 147 Tyler St.	G ²
Miss ALICE FARNSWORTH, Hotel Vendome	*A
Mrs. JAMES T. FIELDS, 148 Charles St.	A
Mrs. EMILY A. FIFIELD, 4 Ashland St., Dorchester	A
Miss ANNIE E. FISHER, 5 Joy St.	A
Miss LAURA FISHER, 68 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES H. FISKE, Jr., 39 Bay State Road	A
Mrs. C. F. FOLSOM, 15 Marlborough St.	A

G², Denison House Woman's Club.

BOSTON BRANCH

Miss FRANCES E. FOOTE, 37 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. HENRY D. FORBES, 96 Elm Hill Ave., Roxbury	A
Mrs. EUGENE N. FOSS, 8 Everett St., Jamaica Plain	*A
Miss ELIZABETH FOSTER, 44 Fairfield St.	S
Mrs. J. G. FREEMAN, 470 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. JOSEPH K. FREITAG, 602 Centre St., Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. JONAS H. FRENCH, 22 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. PAUL R. FROTHINGHAM, 294 Beacon St.	*A
Mrs. G. P. GARDNER, 186 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. E. S. GILES, Jamaica Plain	A
Miss ETTA H. GLIDDEN, 22 Cordis St., Charlestown	A
Mrs. B. F. GOODRICH, Hotel Somerset	A
Miss FRANCES GOODWIN, 920 Centre St., Jamaica Plain	A
Miss GERTRUDE M. GRAVES, 8 Chestnut St.	A
Miss LOUISE B. GRAVES, 8 Chestnut St.	A
Miss ISA E. GRAY, 5 Chestnut St.	*A
Mrs. JOHN C. GRAY, 176 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. E. F. GREENE, 308 Commonwealth Ave	G ¹
Mrs. F. B. GREENE, 182 Beacon St.	S
Mrs. J. S. C. GREENE, 354 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. EDWARD S. GREW, 185 Marlborough St.	S
Mrs. EDWARD W. GREW, 238 Marlborough St.	*A
Mrs. HENRY S. GREW, 89 Beacon St.	*A
Mrs. CHARLES E. GRINNELL, 15 Millmont St., Roxbury	A
Mrs. CURTIS GUILD, Jr., 124 Marlborough St.	G ¹
Miss C. H. GUILD, 251 Beacon St.	A
Miss S. LOUISE GUILD, 26 Mount Vernon St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES S. HAMLIN, 2 Raleigh St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE HAMLIN, 402 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. HERBERT L. HARDING, Pond St., Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. A. H. HARDY, 445 Beacon St.	A
Miss MARY E. HASKELL, 314 Marlborough St.	*A
Miss FRANCES HAYWARD, 46 Hereford St.	A
Mrs. CAROLINE P. HEATH, 348 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. JACOB H. HECHT, Hotel Victoria	S
Mrs. AUGUSTUS HEMENWAY, 273 Clarendon St.	L
Mrs. CHARLES P. HEMENWAY, 242 Beacon St.	*A
Mrs. HENRY L. HIGGINSON, 191 Commonwealth Ave.	S
Mrs. H. A. HILL, 37 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. JOHN HOMANS, 164 Beacon St.	A
Miss MARY F. HOOPER, 56 Chestnut St.	*G ¹

BOSTON BRANCH

Mrs. R. C. HOOPER, 448 Beacon St.	L
Miss ELIZABETH G. HOUGHTON, 191 Commonwealth Ave.	S
Mrs. GEORGE D. HOWE, 179 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss MARIE V. IASIGI, 349 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES E. INCHES, 386 Beacon St.	G ¹
Mrs. C. C. JACKSON, 301 Marlborough St.	S
Miss MARIAN C. JACKSON, 88 Marlborough St.	*A
Mrs. J. A. JEFFRIES, 3 Exeter St.	A
Mrs. ARTHUR S. JOHNSON, 258 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss MARY F. JOHNSON, 123 Marlborough St.	G ¹ and A
Mrs. WOLCOTT H. JOHNSON, 7 Commonwealth Ave.	G ¹
Mrs. HENRY CHAMPION JONES, 6 Acorn St.	*A
Mrs. MELLEEN JOSE, 13 Eden St., Charlestown	A
Mrs. ELLIOT P. JOSLIN, 421 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. MARY MORTON KEHEW, 317 Beacon St.	S
Mrs. HENRY P. KIDDER, 163 Commonwealth Ave.	S
Mrs. DAVID P. KIMBALL, 48 Commonwealth Ave.	S
Miss HANNAH PARKER KIMBALL, 317 Beacon St.	S
Mrs. M. M. KIMBALL, 343 Beacon St.	S
Miss SUSAN DAY KIMBALL, 317 Beacon St.	S
Mrs. H. P. KING, 205 Commonwealth Ave.	G ¹
Miss M. H. LADD, 407 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. HORACE A. LAMB, 126 Beacon St.	S
Miss ROSE LAMB, 129 Mount Vernon St.	A
Mrs. H. M. LAUGHLIN, 220 Clarendon St.	A
Mrs. JOHN LAVALLE, 123 Marlborough St.	G ¹ and A
Mrs. JAMES S. LEE, 17 Brimmer St.	S
Mrs. JOSEPH LEE, 96 Mount Vernon St.	S
Mrs. R. W. LOVETT, 7 Fairfield St.	A
Mrs. A. L. LOWELL, 171 Marlborough St.	S
Mrs. FRANCIS C. LOWELL, 159 Beacon St.	A
Miss LUCY LOWELL, The Ludlow	S
Mrs. MATTHEW LUCE, 61 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. ARTHUR LYMAN, 57 Marlborough St.	A
Miss JULIA LYMAN, 39 Beacon St.	*S
Miss MABEL LYMAN, 39 Beacon St.	*S
Mrs. E. S. MACK, 269 Commonwealth Ave.	S
Miss A. ADELINE MANNING, The Charlesgate	S
Mrs. E. M. MARSH, Hemenway Chambers	*A
Miss ELLEN F. MASON, 1 Walnut St.	L
Miss IDA M. MASON, 1 Walnut St.	L

BOSTON BRANCH

Miss MARY G. MCMURTRIE, 170 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. LUCIA AMES MEAD, 39 Newbury St.	A
Mrs. JAMES MEANS, 196 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. DANIEL MERRIMAN, 73 Bay State Road	S
Miss SARAH E. MILLER, 23 St. Botolph St.	A
Mrs. J. B. MILLET, 77 Mount Vernon St.	A
Mrs. J. GRAFTON MINOT, 301 Berkeley St.	A
Miss MADELEINE C. MIXTER, 241 Marlborough St.	S
Mrs. GEORGE H. MONKS, 67 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. FRANCIS J. MOORS, 166 Bay State Road	A
Miss ALICE G. MORSE, 60 Burroughs St., Jamaica Plain	A
Miss FRANCES R. MORSE, 12 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. LEWIS KENNEDY MORSE, 225 Newbury St.	A
Miss MARGARET F. MORSE, 60 Burroughs St., Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. ROBERT M. MORSE, 60 Burroughs St., Jamaica Plain	S
Miss A. E. NEWELL, 518 Broadway, South Boston	A
Mrs. ARTHUR H. NICHOLS, 55 Mount Vernon St.	A
Miss MARIAN C. NICHOLS, 55 Mount Vernon St.	A
Mrs. RICHARD OLNEY, 415 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss FANNIE O. OSGOOD, 221 Beacon St.	G ¹
Miss HANNAH D. OSGOOD, 221 Beacon St.	G ¹
Miss ETHEL L. PAINE, 6 Joy St.	*A
Miss MARY R. PARKMAN, 7 Brimmer St.	*A
Mrs. ROBERT S. PEABODY, 22 The Fenway	A
Mrs. S. ENDICOTT PEABODY, 40 The Fenway	S
Mrs. S. B. PEARMAIN, 388 Beacon St.	A
Miss MARION WENTWORTH PEIRCE, The Ludlow	A
Miss E. W. PERKINS, Hotel Hamilton	A
Mrs. CHARLES F. PERRY, 135 Beacon St.	A
Miss ELIZABETH PERRY, 135 Beacon St.	G ¹
Mrs. J. C. PHILLIPS, 299 Berkeley St.	S
Miss KATHARINE C. PIERCE, 474 Beacon St.	A
Dr. C. AUGUSTA POPE, 163 Newbury St.	A
Dr. EMILY F. POPE, 163 Newbury St.	A
Miss EMILY F. PRATT, 319 Beacon St.	G ¹
Mrs. WILLIAM V. PRATT, 178 Marlborough St.	A
Miss E. D. PUTNAM, 355 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. JAMES J. PUTNAM, 106 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM L. PUTNAM, 49 Beacon St.	S
Mrs. JOHN C. RAND, 18 West Cedar St.	A
Mrs. H. E. RAYMOND, 16 Exeter St.	A

BOSTON BRANCH

Mrs. JAMES R. REED, 78 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Mrs. J. P. REYNOLDS, Jr., 279 Marlborough St.	G ¹
Mrs. JAMES FORD RHODES, 392 Beacon St.	*A
Miss A. P. ROGERS, 5 Joy St.	S
Miss FRANCES S. ROGERS, 384 Marlborough St.	A
Miss LAURA D. ROGERS, 384 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. T. M. ROTCH, 197 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss O. M. E. ROWE, City Hospital	A
Miss MARIAN RUSSELL, 1 Louisburg Square	A
Mrs. ROBERT S. RUSSELL, 20 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Mrs. WINTHROP SARGENT, 207 Commonwealth Ave.	S
Miss EDITH H. SEARS, 15 Gloucester St.	G ¹
Miss EVELYN G. SEARS, 85 Mount Vernon St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE G. SEARS, 426 Beacon St.	*A
Mrs. HERBERT M. SEARS, 287 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Mrs. J. MONTGOMERY SEARS, 12 Arlington St.	S
Mrs. PHILIP H. SEARS, 85 Mount Vernon St.	S
Miss EMILY SEVER, 376 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. BENJAMIN S. SHAW, 28 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. G. H. SHAW, 23 Commonwealth Ave.	S
Mrs. GEORGE R. SHAW, 113 Newbury St.	A
Mrs. HENRY L. SHAW, 19 Commonwealth Ave.	*A
Mrs. QUINCY A. SHAW, Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. ROBERT G. SHAW, 111 Commonwealth Ave.	*A
Mrs. THOMAS SHERWIN, 127 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Miss BLANCHE SHIMMIN, 229 Beacon St.	A
Miss MARTHA SILSBEE, 115 Marlborough St.	*A
Miss ALICE WESTON SMITH, 48 Mount Vernon St.	A
Mrs. E. A. SMITH, 4 Maple Place	G ³
Miss PAULINA CONY SMITH, 48 Mount Vernon St.	A
Miss ELIZABETH P. SOHIER, 79 Beacon St.	L
Mrs. H. H. SPRAGUE, 33 Fairfield St.	A
Miss AUDREY W. STANWOOD, 480 Commonwealth Ave.	G ¹
Miss ETHEL F. STONE, 359 Beacon St.	G ¹
Mrs. MOORFIELD STOREY, 24 The Fenway	S
Mrs. J. J. STORROW, 417 Beacon St.	*A
Mrs. T. R. SULLIVAN, 31 Massachusetts Ave.	A
Mrs. JOHN O. SUMNER, 225 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE F. SWAIN, 435 Marlborough St.	*A
Miss ALICE P. TAPLEY, Hotel Vendome	*A
Miss MARY A. TAPPAN, 44 Beacon St.	A

BOSTON BRANCH

Miss ELIZABETH B. THACHER, 69 Alleghany St., Roxbury	*A
Mrs. T. C. THACHER, 288 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. EDWARD PAYSON THAYER, Hotel Westminster	A
Mrs. EZRA R. THAYER, 77 Bay State Road	S
Mrs. J. E. THAYER, 17 Gloucester St.	S
Miss MARJORIE THAYER, 32 Fairfield St.	G ¹
Mrs. NATHANIEL THAYER, 22 Fairfield St.	S
Mrs. PAUL THORNDIKE, 244 Marlborough St.	A
Miss LOUISE TINCKER, 54 Chestnut St.	*A
Miss ALICE SPENCER TINKHAM, 28 St. James Ave.	*A
Miss HELEN W. TINKHAM, 28 St. James Ave.	*A
Miss ISABEL M. TREAT, 80 Lambert Ave., Roxbury	A
Mrs. FREDERIC A. TURNER, 340 Marlborough St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE TYSON, 314 Dartmouth St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE W. VAILLANT, 165 Commonwealth Ave.	G ¹
Mrs. WILLIAM W. VAUGHAN, 354 Beacon St.	*A
Mrs. O. F. WADSWORTH, 526 Beacon St.	*A
Miss CECILIA M. WALKER, 116 West Concord St.	A
Miss ANITA S. WARD, 415 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. MAY ALDEN WARD, 1382 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. ROBERT ALLISON WARE, 31 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. FISKE WARREN, 8 Mount Vernon Place	A
Mrs. A. DAVIS WELD, Forest Hills St., Jamaica Plain	A
Miss HANNAH M. WELD, 21 South St., Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. KATE GANNETT WELLS, 45 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Mrs. THOMAS R. WHEELOCK, 283 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Mrs. ANDREW C. WHEELWRIGHT, 73 Mount Vernon St.	S
Mrs. EDWARD WHEELWRIGHT, 22 Chestnut St.	S
Miss MARY CABOT WHEELWRIGHT, 73 Mount Vernon St.	S
Mrs. CHARLES J. WHITE, Jr., 259 Marlborough St.	G ¹ and A
Miss GERTRUDE R. WHITE, 213 Commonwealth Ave.	*A
Mrs. ALEXANDER WHITESIDE, 6 Newbury St.	A
Mrs. JOHN HEATH WHITNEY, 40 Wales St., Dorchester	A
Miss HELEN A. WHITTIER, 1382 Beacon St.	*A
Miss MARY P. WINSOR, 96 Beacon St.	S
Miss SUSANNA WYMAN, 80 Lambert Ave., Roxbury	S
Mrs. H. E. YERXA, 300 Marlborough St.	A

BROOKLINE BRANCH

Mrs. WILLIAM LOTHROP ALLEN, Chestnut Hill	G ¹
Mrs. MIRIAM S. ALLEY, 1061 Beacon St.	G ¹

BROOKLINE BRANCH

Mrs. THOMAS ASPINWALL, Hawthorn Road	A
Mrs. WILLIAM H. ASPINWALL, Chestnut Hill	A
Miss ELLEN S. BAKER, Runkle School	A
Mrs. THOMAS TILESTON BALDWIN, Chestnut Hill Ave.	A
Miss FLORENCE BARNARD, Runkle School	A
Mrs. JOHN L. BATCHELDER, Jr., Seaver St.	A
Mrs. MARGARET T. BATCHELLER, 4 Wellington Terrace	A
Miss ELIZABETH W. BEAN, Lawrence School, Francis St.	A
Mrs. HENRY H. BEMIS, Old Orchard Road, Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. GEORGE W. BENEDICT, 95 Sutherland Road	A
Mrs. WILLIAM L. BENEDICT, Selkirk Road	A
Miss ELIZABETH D. BENNETT, 305 Walnut St.	*A
Mrs. ALBERT F. BIGELOW, Clyde St.	A
Miss ELEANOR BRAMHALL, Edge Hill Road	G ¹
Miss ELIZABETH S. BRAMHALL, Edge Hill Road	G ¹
Mrs. GEORGE LORING BRIGGS, Walnut Place	A
Mrs. DILLON BRONSON, 25 Park St.	A
Miss MARTHA H. BROOKS, 59 Marion St.	*A
Mrs. JOSEPH T. BROWN, Chiswick Road	A
Mrs. W. S. BRYANT, Powell St., Longwood	A
Miss ALICE BURDITT, 1848 Commonwealth Ave.	A
Mrs. E. J. BURKE, Dunster Road, Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. ALLSTON BURR, Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. HEMAN M. BURR, Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. C. H. BURRAGE, Hammond St., Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. GEORGE D. BURRAGE, Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. E. S. BURTON, 1406 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. EDWARD C. CABOT, 232 High St.	A
Mrs. HENRY B. CABOT, Heath St.	S
Mrs. WALTER C. CABOT, Heath St.	*S
Mrs. JOHN H. CHAPMAN, Upland Road	A
Miss ALICE COBB, Oakland Road	A
Mrs. J. M. CODMAN, 362 Walnut St.	S
Mrs. CHARLES P. COFFIN, Ivy St., Longwood	A
Mrs. J. R. COOLIDGE, Jr., 100 Essex St., Longwood	*A
Miss HARRIET ALMA CUMMINGS, 16 Kennard Road	A
Mrs. FREDERIC CUNNINGHAM, Longwood	S
Mrs. T. DALAND, Fisher Ave.	A
Miss MARY H. DANA, Allerton St.	A
Mrs. ERNEST B. DANE, Chestnut Hill Ave.	A
Mrs. HERBERT H. DARLING, 22 Keiffer St.	A

BROOKLINE BRANCH

Mrs. ARTHUR B. DENNY, Chestnut Hill	A
Miss EMILY G. DENNY, Upland Road	A
Mrs. JAMES R. DUNBAR, Mason Terrace, Corey Hill	A
Mrs. CLARENCE H. ESTY, Addington Road	A
Mrs. GEORGE H. FINN, 31 Clinton Road	A
Mrs. F. P. FISH, Prescott St.	A
Miss ELIZABETH H. FLINT, 132 High St.	A
Mrs. LUCY W. FLINT, 35 Allerton St.	A
Mrs. ZEPH A. FORBES, 44 Brook St.	A
Mrs. H. T. FRAZER, Heath St., Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. A. J. GEORGE, 43 Thorndike St.	A
Mrs. MORRIS GRAY, Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. CHARLES E. GUILD, Edge Hill Road	A
Miss ELEANOR GUILD, Edge Hill Road	A
Miss MARGARET HALE, Chestnut Hill Ave.	A
Miss MINNA HALL, 156 Ivy St., Longwood	A
Mrs. CHARLES STEDMAN HANKS, Circuit Road, Chestnut Hill	A
Miss ELIZABETH F. HEAD, Leicester St.	A
Miss CHARLOTTE A. HEDGE, 440 Boylston St.	*A
Mrs. FREDERIC HIGGINSON, Seaver St.	A
Mrs. J. EMORY HOAR, High St.	A
Miss LOUISA M. HOOPER, Brookline Public Library	A
Mrs. D. K. HORTON, 186 Gardner Road	A
Mrs. CLEMENT S. HOUGHTON, Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. S. A. HOUGHTON, 14 Pleasant St.	A
Mrs. REGINALD H. HOWE, 23 Monmouth St., Longwood	A
Mrs. W. F. HUMPHREY, 165 Aspinwall Ave.	A
Mrs. CLARENCE W. JONES, 932 Beacon St.	A
Miss HELEN F. KIMBALL, 292 Kent St.	*A
Miss H. H. KIMBALL, 292 Kent St.	*A
Miss L. S. KIMBALL, 292 Kent St.	*A
Miss AUGUSTA LAMB, High St.	A
Mrs. AARON H. LATHAM, 44 Allerton St.	A
Mrs. JAMES E. LEACH, 151 Kilsyth Road	A
Mrs. W. H. LINCOLN, Beech Road, Longwood	A
Mrs. ARTHUR LITTLE, Maple St.	A
Miss MARJORIE C. LORING, High St.	A
Mrs. THACHER LORING, High St.	A
Miss AMY LOWELL, Brookline	S
Mrs. J. A. LOWELL, Hammond St., Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. THEODORE LYMAN, Brookline	*S

BROOKLINE BRANCH

Mrs. WILLIAM H. LYON, 353 Walnut St.	A
Miss MARGARET E. MALONE, Pierce School	A
Miss B. C. MARSHALL, 68 Davis Ave.	A
Mrs. FRED SUMNER MEAD, Fisher Ave.	A
Mrs. FRANK H. MONKS, 47 Monmouth St.	A
Miss ALICE INGALLS MONROE, Upland Road	A
Mrs. WILLIAM E. PAGE, 1060 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. ROBERT T. PAINE, 2d, Heath St.	A
Miss EUPHEMIA M. PARKER, 35 Allerton St.	A
Mrs. PHILIP STANLEY PARKER, 175 Mountford St.	A
Mrs. FREDERICK PERCY, Aspinwall Ave.	A
Mrs. CHARLES BRUEN PERKINS, Jamaica Plain	A
Mrs. EDWARD S. PHILBRICK, Walnut St.	A
Miss CAROLINE A. PIERCE, 227 Chestnut Hill Ave.	A
Miss ELIZABETH D. PIERCE, Chestnut Hill Ave.	A
Mrs. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN PITMAN, 121 Carlton St.	*A
Mrs. FRANK J. POST, 68 Monmouth St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM H. POTTER, 19 Braemore Road	A
Mrs. W. G. PRESTON, 1063 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. JOHN RICHARDSON, Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. ROYAL ROBBINS, Carlton St., Longwood	*A
Mrs. ANDREW ROBESON, Walnut St.	A
Mrs. D. W. RUSSELL, 60 Park St.	A
Mrs. G. K. SABINE, 30 Irving St.	A
Mrs. R. M. SALTONSTALL, Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. CHARLES S. SARGENT, Holm Lea	A
Mrs. GEORGE D. SARGENT, Chestnut Hill Ave.	S
Mrs. BARTHOLD SCHLESINGER, Brookline	A
Mrs. WILLIAM T. SEDGWICK, Edge Hill Road	A
Mrs. GEORGE H. L. SHARP, 7 Oakland Road	A
Mrs. BRACKLEY SHAW, 77 Englewood Ave.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM P. SHREVE, 1755 Beacon St.	A
Miss M. J. SITGREAVES, Chestnut Hill	A
Mrs. EDWARD R. SMITH, 1547 Beacon St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES H. STEARNS, 265 Harvard St.	*A
Mrs. D. B. STEDMAN, 1070 Beacon St.	A
Miss MABEL STEDMAN, South St.	G ¹
Miss MARTHA C. STEVENSON, Upland Road	A
Mrs. CHARLES STORROW, High St.	A
Miss MARTHA STORROW, High St.	A
Mrs. MAURICE W. TURNER, 127 Harvard St.	A

BROOKLINE BRANCH

Mrs. WILLIAM TURNER, Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. A. L. K. VOLKMANN, Hawthorn Road	A
Mrs. ARTHUR WALKER, 13 Cypress St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES W. WARD, 67 Colchester St., Longwood	A
Mrs. CHARLES P. WARE, Allerton St.	A
Mrs. A. W. WELD, Suffolk Road, Chestnut Hill	G ¹
Mrs. SHERMAN L. WHIPPLE, Warren St.	S
Miss ELIZA ORNE WHITE, High St.	A
Mrs. C. L. B. WHITNEY, 186 Gardner Road	A
Mrs. HENRY M. WHITNEY, Boylston St.	*S
Miss LAURA WHITNEY, Boylston St.	A
Miss RUTH B. WHITNEY, Boylston St.	A
Dr. AUGUSTA GILBERT WILLIAMS, 278 Walnut St.	A
Miss MARY E. WILLIAMS, Warren St.	A
Miss MARY POWERS WILLIAMS, 68 High St.	A
Mrs. ERNEST WINSOR, Chestnut Hill	A

CAMBRIDGE BRANCH

Mrs. EDWIN H. ABBOT, 1 Follen St.	A
Mrs. LOUIS AGASSIZ, 36 Quincy St.	S
Miss MARY WARE ALLEN, 5 Garden St.	A
Mrs. JOHN D. ALLYN, 11 Berkeley St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES ALMY, 147 Brattle St.	A
Mrs. J. B. AMES, 11 Frisbie Place	A
Mrs. JOSEPH AZARIAN, 3 Craigie St.	A
Mrs. HOLLIS R. BAILEY, 4 Buckingham St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM A. BANCROFT, 12 Ware St.	A
Mrs. J. W. BIGELOW, 53 Garden St.	A
Mrs. FRANCES G. BLACK, 10 Avon St.	A
Miss MARIA BOWEN, 9 Follen St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM F. BRADBURY, 369 Harvard St.	A
Mrs. F. D. BRANNON, 3 Berkeley St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM BREWSTER, 145 Brattle St.	A
Mrs. LE BARON R. BRIGGS, 140 Brattle St.	A
Mrs. ARTHUR BROOKS, 3 Hubbard Park	A
Mrs. JOSEPH O. BULLARD, 19 Ware St.	A
Mrs. W. A. BULLARD, 929 Massachusetts Ave.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM A. BUNTON, 950 Massachusetts Ave.	G ³
Mrs. BYERLY, 39 Hammond St.	A
Mrs. GODFREY L. CABOT, 16 Highland St.	A

G³, Hannah Winthrop Chapter.

CAMBRIDGE BRANCH

Mrs. W. S. CALDWELL, 62 Brattle St.	A
Mrs. W. B. CANNON, 14 Avon Place	A
Mrs. ARTHUR A. CAREY, Hubbard Park	A
Mrs. H. L. CARSTEIN, 45 Cogswell Ave.	A
Mrs. EDGAR R. CHAMPLIN, 8 Dana St.	A
Miss HENRIETTA ELLERY CHILD, 67 Kirkland St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE CLAPP, Cambridge	A
Mrs. EDWARD H. COBB, 7 Avon St.	A
Mrs. JOHN STORER COBB, Mercer Circle	A
Miss MARY COES, Radcliffe College	A
Mrs. B. J. COMSTOCK, 367 Harvard St.	A
Mrs. J. P. COOKE, 108 Brattle St.	A
Miss SARAH M. CRAWFORD, 214 Allston St.	A
Miss G. A. CROSBY, 10 Francis Ave.	A
Mrs. EDWARD CUMMINGS, 104 Irving St.	A
Miss A. L. CUSHMAN, 373 Broadway	A
Mrs. RICHARD H. DANA, Brattle St.	A
Miss ELEANOR W. DAVIS, 10 Appleton St.	A
Mrs. W. M. DAVIS, 17 Francis Ave.	A
Mrs. A. E. DENISON, 13 Arlington St.	A
Miss MARY DEVENS, 155 Brattle St.	A
Miss SARAH A. DREW, 28 Arlington St.	*A
Mrs. WALTER ELA, 13 Ash St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES W. ELIOT, 17 Quincy St.	A
Mrs. EPHRAIM EMERTON, 19 Chauncy St.	A
Mrs. PRESCOTT EVARTS, 19 Follen St.	A
Mrs. WM. G. FARLOW, 24 Quincy St.	A
Mrs. W. W. FENN, 47 Raymond St.	A
Miss BRENDA FENOLLOSA, Riverbank Court	G ¹
Miss M. B. FESSENDEN, 1 Reservoir St.	G ³
Miss A. S. FOLSOM, 4 Riedese Ave.	A
Mrs. J. D. M. FORD, 40 Avon Hill St.	A
Mrs. JABEZ FOX, 99 Irving St.	A
Miss FREUND, 3 Mercer Circle	A
Miss FULLER, Mercer Circle	A
Mrs. ARTHUR GILMAN, 5 Waterhouse St.	A
Miss AMY M. GOODWIN, 10 Follen St.	A
Mrs. HERSEY B. GOODWIN, 7 Follen St.	A
Mrs. SILVIO M. GOZZALDI, 96 Brattle St.	A
Mrs. ASA GRAY, Garden St.	*A
Miss MARION GRAY, 17 Follen St.	A

CAMBRIDGE BRANCH

Mrs. A. C. HALL, 35 Brewster St.	A
Miss ELLEN HAMMOND, 25 Brewster St.	A
Mrs. W. F. HARRIS, 8 Mercer Circle	A
Mrs. CHARLES E. HAWES, 872 Massachusetts Ave.	A
Mrs. E. F. HENDERSON, Mercer Circle	A
Miss MABEL W. HENSHAW, 23 Craigie St.	A
Miss ELIZABETH HEWES, 11 Mason St.	A
Mrs. HERMAN G. HICHBORN, 24 Mount Vernon St.	G ¹
Mrs. FRANK A. HILL, 67 Dana St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE HODGES, 3 Mason St.	A
Mrs. J. P. HOPKINSON, 22 Craigie St.	A
Miss LESLIE HOPKINSON, 22 Craigie St.	A
Miss E. M. HOPPIN, Bertram Hall	A
Miss A. M. HOUGHTON, 58 Garden St.	A
Miss ELIZABETH H. HOUGHTON, 58 Garden St.	A
Mrs. H. O. HOUGHTON, 25 Kirkland St.	A
Mrs. B. S. HURLBUT, 32 Quincy St.	A
Miss AGNES IRWIN, Garden St.	A
Mrs. E. C. JEFFREY, 12 Avon Place	A
Mrs. L. J. JOHNSON, 90 Raymond St.	A
Mrs. F. S. KERSHAW, 6 Bond St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES R. LANMAN, 9 Farrar St.	A
Miss CAROLINE T. LEEDS, 94 Brattle St.	A
Miss MARY E. LITCHFIELD, 18 Trowbridge St.	A
Miss ALICE M. LONGFELLOW, 105 Brattle St.	*S
Miss IDA LOVEJOY, Lexington	A
Mrs. JAMES MELLEN, 33 Washington Ave.	A
Mrs. SAMUEL MERRILL, 45 Bellevue Ave.	A
Mrs. MOODY, 8 Frisbie Place	A
Miss ELIZABETH H. MOORE, 29 Follen St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE F. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave.	A
Miss VELMA M. MORSE, 81 Magazine St.	A
Mrs. N. C. NASH, 1 Reservoir St.	G ¹
Miss MARGARET NORTON, Shady Hill	A
Miss SARA H. PALFREY, Oxford St.	A
Mrs. G. H. PARKER, 6 Avon Place	A
Mrs. MARTHA PARKER, 6 Avon Place	A
Miss CARRIE ELLSWORTH PHILLIPS, Cambridge	A
Miss HELEN LEAH REED, Riverbank Court	A
Mrs. T. W. RICHARDS, 15 Follen St.	A
Mrs. F. N. ROBINSON, Longfellow Park	A

CAMBRIDGE BRANCH

Mrs. F. L. SARGENT, 27 Everett St.	A
Mrs. HENRY H. SAUNDERSON, 26 Lee St.	A
Mrs. H. SAVILLE, 52 Shepard St.	A
Miss THEODORA SEDGWICK, 71 Kirkland St.	A
Mrs. E. S. SHELDON, 11 Francis Ave.	A
Miss ELIZABETH R. SIMMONS, 5 Phillips Place	A
Mrs. SYDNEY B. SNOW, 48 Highland St.	A
Miss S. FRANCES STORER, 63 Garden St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES P. STRONG, 6 Acacia St.	A
Mrs. LOUISE M. SWAN, 19 Everett St.	A
Mrs. W. DANA SWAN, 27 Everett St.	A
Mrs. EZRA F. TAFT, 32 Avon Hill St.	A
Miss EDITH L. THAYER, 67 Sparks St.	A
Mrs. J. H. THAYER, 67 Sparks St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM R. THAYER, 8 Berkeley St.	A
Mrs. J. G. THORP, 115 Brattle St.	A
Mrs. J. H. THURSTON, 18 Trowbridge Place	A
Miss ANNIE E. TILTON, 45 Highland St.	A
Mrs. C. H. TOY, 7 Lowell St.	A
Mrs. SAMUEL USHER, 11 Hillside Ave.	A
Mrs. BENJAMIN VAUGHAN, 57 Garden St.	A
Miss BERTHA H. VAUGHAN, 57 Garden St.	G ¹ and A
Mrs. H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN, 113 Walker St.	A
Mrs. J. B. WARNER, 153 Brattle St.	A
Mrs. H. L. WARREN, Garden Terrace	A
Mrs. AUSTIN C. WELLINGTON, 871 Massachusetts Ave.	A
Mrs. H. C. WELLS, 26 Hurlbut St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM H. WENTWORTH, 121 Raymond St.	A
Miss SELMA WESSELHOEFT, 30 Walker St.	A
Mrs. WALTER WESSELHOEFT, 26 Garden St.	A
Mrs. MOSES P. WHITE, 11 Highland St.	*A
Mrs. CHARLES F. WHITING, 94 Avon Hill St.	A
Miss MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave.	*A
Miss CORNELIA F. WHITTIER, 52 Shepard St.	A
Mrs. J. BERTRAM WILLIAMS, Channing Place	A
Mrs. RUFUS P. WILLIAMS, 86 Washington Ave.	A
Miss WINSLOW, 152 Magazine St.	A
Mrs. J. A. WOOLSON, 32 Quincy St.	A
Miss ELLA L. WRIGHT, 13 Arlington St.	A
Mrs. MARGARET B. WRIGHT, 7 Buckingham St.	A
Miss WYMAN, Craigie St.	A
Miss SARAH YERXA, 37 Lancaster St.	A

CANTON

Mrs. CHARLES FRENCH, Canton	A
Mrs. BRADLEY GILMAN, Canton	A

CLINTON

Mrs. WALTER P. BOWERS, 264 Chestnut St.	A
Miss LUCY A. BUCKINGHAM, 248 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. F. P. BREED, 84 Prescott St.	G ⁴
Miss ANNIE M. COULTER, 6 Cedar St.	G ⁴
Mrs. WILLIAM J. COULTER, 6 Cedar St.	A
Mrs. WALTER R. DAME, 117 Water St.	G ⁴
Mrs. CHARLES L. FRENCH, 271 High St.	G ⁴
Mrs. SARAH E. REEVES, 203 High St.	G ⁴
Miss SARAH L. RUSSELL, 223 Chestnut St.	G ⁴
Miss ELLEN K. STEVENS, 223 Chestnut St.	G ⁴
Mrs. C. C. STONE, 25 Prescott St.	A

CONCORD

Mrs. THEODORE CHAMBERLIN, Concord	A
CONCORD WOMAN'S CLUB, Concord	*A
Mrs. EDWARD W. EMERSON, Concord	A
Miss MARY B. HOAR, Concord	A
Mrs. CHARLES L. HUTCHINS, Concord	A
Miss PERKINS, Concord	A

DALTON

Mrs. ZENAS CRANE, Dalton	L
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DEDHAM

Miss MARGARET WARREN, Dedham	A
Mrs. WINSLOW WARREN, Dedham	A

FALL RIVER

Mrs. SPENCER BORDEN, Fall River	A
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FITCHBURG

Mrs. A. CROCKER, Prospect St.	A
Miss LUCY FAY, Fitchburg	A
Mrs. CHARLES E. WARE, Fitchburg	*A

G⁴, Clinton Women's Club.

FOXBORO

Mrs J. A. LORD, Foxboro	A
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FRAMINGHAM

Mrs. Z. B. ADAMS, Framingham	A
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HINGHAM

Miss ABBY A. BRADLEY, Hingham	S
Mrs. GEORGE W. BURR, Hingham	G ⁵
Miss HARRIET R. CLARK, Bradley Hill	A
Mrs. FRANCIS H. LINCOLN, Hingham	G ⁵
Mrs. HENRY A. MILES, Hingham	A
Mrs. J. H. ROBBINS, Hingham	A
Miss SUSAN B. WILLARD, Hingham	G ⁵

HYDE PARK

Mrs. J. E. GOLDTHWAIT, Hyde Park	A
Mrs. CHARLES E. GUILD, Hyde Park	*G ¹

LANCASTER

Mrs. ANNIE M. L. CLARK, Lancaster	A
Mrs. J. W. HOWE, South Lancaster	G ⁴
Mrs. BAYARD THAYER, Lancaster	S

LEXINGTON

Miss ELLEN M. TOWER, Lexington	*A
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LITTLETON

Mrs. NELLIE F. CONANT, Littleton Common	G ⁶
Mrs. A. M. HENDLEY, Littleton	G ⁶
Mrs. JOSEPHINE H. RICHARDSON, Littleton	G ⁶
Mrs. S. ELIZABETH WHITCOMB, Littleton	G ⁶

LOWELL BRANCH

Miss ANNA F. ANDERSON, 31 Anne St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, 414 Andover St.	A
Mrs. MARTHA M. BARKER, 42 Eleventh St.	A
Mrs. BRADFORD BARTLETT, 18 Willow St.	A
Mrs. HENRY S. BURROWS, 70 Fairmount St.	A

G⁵, Hingham Group.

G⁶, Littleton Woman's Club.

LOWELL BRANCH

Mrs. F. E. DUNBAR, 227 Pawtucket St.	A
Mrs. W. W. DUNCAN, 256 Appleton St.	A
Mrs. WILLIS FARRINGTON, 234 Nesmith St.	A
Mrs. LORENZO S. FOX, 420 East Merrimac St.	A
Mrs. FREDERIC T. GREENHALGE, Lowell	A
Mrs. MARY C. HALL, 48 Wannalancet St.	*A
Miss MABEL HILL, 4 Park St.	A
Miss CHARLOTTE P. KITSON, 841 Merrimac St.	S
Miss MARY NESMITH, Andover St.	A
Mrs. WALTER L. PARKER, 270 Wilder St.	A
Mrs. A. G. POLLARD, 110 Mansur St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE F. RICHARDSON, 172 Nesmith St.	A
Miss N. P. H. ROBBINS, 412 East Merrimac St.	A
Mrs. JACOB ROGERS, Lowell	A
Mrs. FREEMAN B. SHEDD, 396 Andover St.	*A
Mrs. E. P. UNDERHILL, Rogers Hall School	L
Mrs. GEORGE C. WRIGHT, 33 Fairview St.	A

LYNN BRANCH

Miss CLARA B. ADAMS, 114 Green St.	A
Mrs. WALTER B. ALLEN, 2 Walden St.	A
Mrs. JOHN S. BARTLETT, 61 Atlantic St.	A
Miss CAROLINE E. BATCHELDER, 89 North Common St.	A
Miss ANNA M. BREED, 60 South Common St.	A
Mrs. HENRY W. BREED, 48 Nahant St.	A
Miss ISABEL M. BREED, 114 Green St.	A
Miss ALICE P. CHASE, 47 Baltimore St.	A
Mrs. MICAJAH P. CLOUGH, 253 Ocean St.	A
Miss SARAH E. CLOUGH, 253 Ocean St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES A. COLLINS, 57 Nahant St.	A
Miss LOUISE S. EARLE, 110 Henry Ave.	A
Mrs. C. S. GOODRIDGE, 79 Johnson St.	A
Miss SALLIE H. HACKER, 201 Ocean St.	A
Mrs. W. B. KELLEY, 20 Sagamore St.	A
Mrs. LLOYD G. LEWIS, 87 Ocean St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE F. LORD, 18 Ware St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM LUMMUS, 43 Cherry St.	A
Mrs. ELLA MAYNARD, 33 Bond St.	A
Mrs. HOWARD M. NEWHALL, Prescott Place	A
Miss NELLIE O. PEVEAR, 94 Franklin St.	A
Mrs. JOSEPH G. PINKHAM, 64 Nahant St.	A

LYNN BRANCH

Mrs. HARRIET S. PURINGTON, 13 Nahant St.	A
Mrs. C. C. SHELDON, 49 North Common St.	A
Mrs. J. N. SMITH, 232 Ocean St.	A
Mrs. H. B. SPRAGUE, 33 Walker Road, Swampscott.	A
Mrs. ISABELLA B. STIMPSON, 24 Sachem St.	A
Mrs. D. HERBERT SWEETSER, 55 Baltimore St.	A
Miss M. A. SWEETSER, Chatsworth Hall, Ocean St.	A
Mrs. H. P. TAPLEY, 280 Ocean St.	A
Mrs. ELIHU THOMSON, 22 Monument Ave., Swampscott.	A
Miss EDITH M. WHITMORE, 88 Hamilton Ave.	A
Mrs. J. S. WRIGHT, 16 Tudor St.	A

MALDEN

Mrs. T. G. ANDREWS, 162 Beach St.	G ⁷
Mrs. W. M. BROOKS, Springdale St.	G ⁷
Mrs. J. H. BUNCE, 27 Church St.	G ⁷
Mrs. WILLIAM A. DUNBAR, 77 Colombia St.	G ⁷
Mrs. S. D. FALES, 47 Oliver St.	G ⁷
Mrs. W. E. GLAZIER, 72 Fairview St.	G ⁷
Mrs. WILLIAM T. GRANT, 224 Oliver St.	G ⁷
Mrs. A. A. GRAYDON, 128 Oliver St.	G ⁷
Mrs. ANDREW J. HASTINGS, 208 Oliver St.	G ⁷
Mrs. J. R. McDANIEL, 130 Lebanon St.	G ⁷
Miss ABBIE R. POTTER, 545 Salem St.	G ⁷
Mrs. HANNAH C. POTTER, 26 Webster Place	G ⁷
Mrs. EMILY L. RANDALL, 29 Rockwell St.	G ⁷
Mrs. CARRIE A. SAWYER, Malden	G ⁷
Mrs. C. H. SPRAGUE, 1 Sprague St.	A
Mrs. M. M. STEARNS, 10 Rockwell St.	G ⁷
Mrs. W. L. TAYLOR, 479 Salem St.	G ⁷
Mrs. H. SOMNER TORREY, 174 Oliver St.	G ⁷
Mrs. ELIZA A. WESCOTT, 930 Salem St.	G ⁷

MANCHESTER

Mrs. CHARLES HOPKINSON, Manchester	A
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MEDFORD

Mrs. N. P. HALLOWELL, West Medford	A
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G⁷, Maplewood New Century Club.

MELROSE

Mrs. JOHN BAKER, 78 Richardson St., Melrose Highlands	G ¹⁰
Miss MARION E. BRADBURY, 296 Main St.	A
Miss MARY L. CHARLES, 71 Hillside Ave.	A

MILTON

Mrs. E. W. BOWDITCH, Milton	A
Mrs. EDWARD M. CARY, East Milton	*S
Mrs. WILLIAM H. FORBES, Milton	S
Mrs. ALFRED DWIGHT FOSTER, Brush Hill, Hyde Park P. O.	A
Miss HELEN C. GILBERT, Canton Ave.	A
Mrs. R. F. HERRICK, Milton	A
Mrs. ALBERT MEREDITH, Milton	A
Miss KATHARINE F. SHERWOOD, Milton	A

NATICK

Miss CHARLOTTE H. CONANT, Walnut Hill School	A
Mrs. HENRY C. MULLIGAN, 7 Highland St.	A

NEW BEDFORD

Mrs. E. M. ALMY, 93 Spring St.	A
Miss LOUISE S. CUMMINGS, 93 Spring St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM N. SWIFT, 378 County St.	S
Mrs. ADA W. TILLINGHAST, 37 Eighth St.	A

NEWTON

Miss LUCY ELLIS ALLEN, West Newton	A
Miss SARAH L. ARNOLD, 21 Institution Ave., Newton Centre	A
Mrs. WOLCOTT CALKINS, 22 Bellevue St.	A
Mrs. JOHN W. CARTER, 315 Otis St., West Newton	*A
Mrs. W. H. COOLIDGE, Newton Centre	A
Miss ANNIE CLAFLIN ELLIS, Newtonville	A
Mrs. F. H. HOWES, 248 Park St.	*A
Miss ELEANOR H. NICHOLS, Sargent St.	A
Miss GRACE NICHOLS, Sargent St.	G ¹
Mrs. SAMUEL LELAND POWERS, 96 Arlington St.	A
Mrs. LINCOLN R. STONE, 131 Vernon St.	A
Miss NELLIE W. SWAN, 102 Hunnewell Ave.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. WILLIAM D. SWAN, 102 Hunnewell Ave.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. F. H. TUCKER, 206 Church St.	S
Mrs. A. C. WALWORTH, 931 Centre St., Newton Centre	A
Mrs. GEORGE H. WILKINS, 306 Walnut St., Newtonville	A

G¹⁰, Watertown Woman's Club.

NORTHAMPTON

Miss LOUISE S. CHEEVER, Smith College A

NORTHBORO

Miss ABBY M. SMALL, Northboro A

PRIDE'S CROSSING

Miss KATHERINE P. LORING, Pride's Crossing A

SALEM BRANCH

Miss CHATTARINA AGGE, 10 Linden St. A

Miss CAROLINE L. ALLEN, 298 Essex St. A

Miss ELIZABETH C. ALLEN, 31 Chestnut St. A

Mrs. EMMA S. ALMY, 395 Lafayette St. A

Mrs. F. W. BENSON, 46 Washington Sq. A

Mrs. JOHN BERTRAM, 138 Federal St. A

Miss ANNIE B. BROWN, 39 Washington Sq. A

Miss ELLEN A. BROWN, 39 Washington Sq. A

Mrs. FRANK A. BROWN, 96 Washington Sq. A

Mrs. EDWARD C. BROWNE, 40 Summer St. A

Mrs. WALLACE A. CHISHOLM, 111 Federal St. A

Mrs. DAVID COGGIN, 7 Chestnut St. A

Mrs. JOHN DALAND, Jr., 22 Beckford St. A

Mrs. JULIAN D'ESTÉ, 380 Essex St. A

Miss ANNIE C. DRAPER, 51 Washington Sq. A

Miss CAROLINE O. EMMERTON, 328 Essex St. A and L

Mrs. E. A. EMMERTON, Essex House A

Mrs. G. R. EMMERTON, 328 Essex St. A

Mrs. A. J. FABENS, 18 Chestnut St. A

Miss ANNA FESSENDEN, 333 Essex St. A

Miss MARY F. FROST, 195 Lafayette St. A

Mrs. WALTER C. HARRIS, 15 Winter St. A

Miss ELEANOR HASSAM, Essex House A

Mrs. JAMES L. HILL, 225 Lafayette St. A

Miss MARY O. HODGES, 9 Summer St. A

Mrs. CHARLES F. HOLBROOK, 9 Fairfield St. A

Miss ELIZABETH L. HOLBROOK, 9 Fairfield St. A

Mrs. ARTHUR KEMBLE, 85 Federal St. A

Miss SARAH S. KIMBALL, 14 Pickman St. A

Miss ANNIE F. KING, 33 Summer St. A

Miss CAROLINE H. KING, 34 Chestnut St. A

Dr. MARY R. LAKEMAN, 9 Summer St. A

SALEM BRANCH

Miss HELEN D. LANDER, Essex House	A
Mrs. F. H. LEE, 14 Chestnut St.	A
Miss HARRIET R. LEE, 14 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. DAVID M. LITTLE, 27 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. DANIEL LOW, 365 Essex St.	A
Miss ALICE MANSFIELD, 17 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES S. OSGOOD, 6 Monroe St.	A
Mrs. NATHAN C. OSGOOD, 15 Chestnut St.	A
Miss SUSAN W. OSGOOD, 248 Lafayette St.	A
Miss ANNIE S. PEIRCE, 80 Federal St.	A
Mrs. HORATIO P. PEIRSON, 373 Essex St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE H. PERKINS, 18 Brown St.	A
Miss LUCY W. PERRY, 33 Summer St.	A
Miss JANE P. PHILLIPS, 17 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS, 35 Warren St.	A
Mrs. JOHN PICKERING, 18 Broad St.	A
Miss MARY O. PICKERING, 18 Broad St.	A
Miss SARAH W. PICKERING, 18 Broad St.	A
Mrs. F. G. POUSLAND, 18 Summer St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES B. PRICE, 245 Lafayette St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES H. PRICE, 247 Lafayette St.	A
Mrs. FRANK S. PRICE, 2 Holly St.	A
Miss MARY D. PRICE, 22 Chestnut St.	A
Miss EDITH RANTOUL, 17 Winter St.	A
Miss MARGARET RANTOUL, 17 Winter St.	A
Mrs. JOHN M. RAYMOND, 438 Lafayette St.	A
Mrs. JOHN ROBINSON, Essex House	A
Miss ELIZA O. ROPES, 318 Essex St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE F. ROPES, 10 Summer St.	A
Mrs. FRANCIS A. SEAMANS, 1 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE H. SHATTUCK, 37 Chestnut St.	A
Miss E. W. SILSBEE, 35 Washington Sq.	A
Miss MARTHA R. SPALDING, 12½ St. James Ave., Boston	A
Miss M. G. STARR, 31 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. RICHARD STEARNS, Jamaica Plain	A
Miss E. ADELAIDE TOWLE, 85 Federal St.	A
Mrs. D. A. VARNEY, 31 Pleasant St.	A
Miss ANNIE L. WARNER, 20 Lynde St.	A
Mrs. ARTHUR W. WEST, 12 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE WEST, 25 Chestnut St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM C. WEST, 364 Essex St.	A

SALEM BRANCH

Mrs. ANN M. WHEATLAND, 30 Chestnut St.	S
Mrs. RICHARD WHEATLAND, 4 Chestnut St.	A
Miss ALICE WHIPPLE, 2 Andover St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE M. WHIPPLE, 2 Andover St.	A
Mrs. ALDEN P. WHITE, 3 Federal Court	A
Mrs. M. E. WHITE, 13 Washington Sq.	A
Miss ALICE WILLSON, 28 Chestnut St.	A
Miss LUCY B. WILLSON, 28 Chestnut St.	A

SHARON

Mrs. EMMA A. BAKER, Billings St.	G ⁸
Mrs. WILLIAM R. MANN, Sharon	G ⁸
Mrs. MARY A. POTTER, Sharon	G ⁸
Mrs. ELIZA L. WHITE, Chestnut St.	G ⁸

SOMERVILLE

Mrs. W. S. GLIDDEN, Broadway	A
Mrs. CHARLES A. GRIMMONS, 72 Thurston St.	A

SPRINGFIELD BRANCH

Miss AMY B. ALEXANDER, 284 State St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES B. ATWATER, 250 Sumner Ave.	A
Miss ELIZABETH P. BIGELOW, 142 Westminster St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES BLAISDELL, Springfield St., Chicopee	A
Mrs. SAMUEL BOWLES, Crescent Hill	S
Mrs. PLUMB BROWN, 503 State St.	A
Mrs. J. H. CARMICHAEL, 41 Maple St.	A
Mrs. JAMES B. CARROLL, 50 Temple St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE D. CHAMBERLAIN, 146 Mill St.	A
Mrs. H. G. CHAPIN, 353 Maple St.	A
Mrs. T. L. CHAPMAN, 734 State St.	A
Miss A. M. FULLER, 91 Spring St.	A
Mrs. C. E. GALACAR, 100 School St.	A
Mrs. F. E. HOPKINS, 110 Mill St.	A
Mrs. OSCAR B. IRELAND, 291 Maple St.	A
Miss GERTRUDE M. KIMBALL, 127 Mill St.	A
Mrs. HENRY A. KING, 63 Dartmouth Terrace	A
Mrs. E. B. MAYNARD, 986 State St.	A
Miss CELIA C. MERRIAM, 156 Mill St.	A
Miss ELIZABETH H. MILLS, Crescent Hill	A

G⁸, Sharon Fortnightly Club.

SPRINGFIELD BRANCH

Miss EMILY MILLS, Crescent Hill	A
Mrs. ROBERT O. MORRIS, 72 Temple St.	A
Miss ELIZABETH H. MORTON, 123 Mulberry St.	A
Mrs. H. M. PHILLIPS, 284 State St.	A
Mrs. WALTER L. ROBINSON, 149 Mill St.	A
Miss HARRIET S. ROWLEY, Crescent Hill	A
Mrs. CHARLES W. SHAW, 118 Thompson St.	A
Mrs. AUSTIN E. SMITH, 57 Magnolia Terrace	A
Mrs. M. I. SOUTHWORTH, Crescent Hill	A
Mrs. A. C. SQUIER, 33 Warner Place	A
Mrs. A. C. STARR, 130 Mulberry St.	A
Miss EMMA E. THRESHER, 56 Bay St.	A
Mrs. NATHANIEL WALES, 385 Maple St.	A
Mrs. GIDEON WELLS, 52 Avon Place	A
Mrs. FRANK L. WESSON, Englewood Ave., Brookline	*A
Miss MABEL WESSON, Englewood Ave., Brookline	A
Mrs. C. G. WHITING, 284 Pine St.	A
Miss MARY E. WOOLLEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley	A

STOCKBRIDGE

Miss ALICE BYINGTON, Stockbridge	*A
Mrs. OSCAR IASIGI, Stockbridge	A
Mrs. ALEXANDER SEDGWICK, Stockbridge	S

TAUNTON

Miss A. L. PAIGE, Taunton	A
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TEWKSBURY

Mrs. SOLON N. STEVENS, Tewksbury Centre	A
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WALTHAM BRANCH

Miss AMY F. ACTON, 58 Adams St.	A
Miss ANN D. ADAMS, 57 Lyman St.	A
Miss MARY F. ADAMS, 57 Lyman St.	A
Mrs. ESTHER P. ALLEN, 108 Main St.	A
Miss MARGUERITE D. ALLEN, 108 Main St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE J. BARKER, 42 Prospect St.	A
Miss NANNIE S. BOND, 933 Main St.	A
Mrs. LYMAN A. BOWKER, Main St.	A

WALTHAM BRANCH

Mrs. FRANCIS E. BOWKER, Main St.	A
Mrs. W. E. BRIGHT, 332 Main St.	S
Miss JANE M. CAMP, 57 Lyman St.	A
Mrs. THOMAS CURLEY, Lyman St.	A
Mrs. J. W. DALZELL, 478 Main St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES H. DANIELS, Daniels Court	A
Mrs. W. F. EMERSON, 55 Pond St.	A
Mrs. THOMAS F. FALES, Lyman St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES J. FOGG, 94 Summer St.	A
Mrs. HELENA M. FOSTER, 26 Harvard St.	A
Mrs. EMILIE H. HAMLIN, 96 Lexington St.	G ^o
Miss ELIZA HOBBS, 114 Church St.	A
Miss R. H. HOBBS, 114 Church St.	A
Mrs. JAMES D. HOSMER, Main St.	A
Miss LILY HURD, Main St.	A
Dr. CLARIBEL M. HUTCHINSON, 814 Main St.	G ^o
Mrs. ANNIE T. HYDE, 33 Harris St.	A
Mrs. ELLA E. MOORE, 22 Lyman St.	A
Mrs. DANIEL O'HARA, Greenwood Lane	A
Miss ISABEL OVIATT, 1 Harvard Ave.	A
Miss S. LOUISE OVIATT, 1 Harvard Ave.	A
Mrs. CHARLES PLACE, 90 Church St.	A
Miss ANNIE L. SEARS, Beaver St.	A
Miss MARY P. SEARS, Beaver St.	A
Mrs. J. B. SIMONDS, 26 Harvard St.	A
Miss MARY A. SIMONDS, 933 Main St.	A
Miss JENNIE M. SMITH, 78 Lyman St.	A
Mrs. THOMAS PAGE SMITH, 108 Summer St.	A
Mrs. EPHRAIM STEARNS, 15 Vernon St.	A
Mrs. F. A. STEARNS, 36 Harris St.	A
Miss RACHEL L. STEARNS, 15 Vernon St.	A
Mrs. F. M. STONE, 55 Pond St.	A
Mrs. JOHN H. STORER, Waltham	A
Mrs. FREDERICK UPHAM, Lyman St.	A
Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Waltham	*A
Mrs. NATHAN WARREN, 50 Weston St.	A
Mrs. F. E. WEBSTER, Summer St.	A
Mrs. HENRY A. WOOD, 755 Main St.	A
Mrs. ALFRED WORCESTER, Bacon St.	A
Mrs. JOSEPH WORCESTER, Greenwood Lane	A

G^o, Waltham Woman's Club.

WATERTOWN

Mrs. ALICE G. ABBOTT, Watertown	G ¹⁰
Mrs. EDWARD E. ALLEN, 46 Common St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. F. O. BAILEY, 6 Centre St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. CHARLOTTE BARNARD, 10 Patten St.	G ¹⁰
Miss MARIA BRIGHAM, 18 Garfield St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. MABEL BUMSTEAD, 54 Spring St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. L. S. CLEVELAND, 30 Russell Ave.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. ALICE A. COOLIDGE, Watertown	G ¹⁰
Miss FANNIE G. COOLIDGE, 262 Arlington St.	G ¹⁰
Miss H. ADELAIDE COOLIDGE, 262 Arlington St.	A
Mrs. HERBERT COOLIDGE, 17 Garfield St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. BENNETT F. DAVENPORT, Coolidge Hill Road	G ¹⁰
Mrs. H. ADELL ELLIOTT, 24 Maple St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. G. O. FISHER, 68 Spruce St.	G ¹⁰
Miss CHARLOTTE FITCH, Mt. Auburn St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. C. J. FITZ, 6 Common St.	A
Mrs. J. A. FRENCH, 6A Centre St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. MABEL GREENMAN, Watertown	G ¹⁰
Mrs. THOMAS E. HACKETT, 9 Centre St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. R. F. HORNE, 12 Phillips St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. JARVIS B. KEENE, 12 Fayette St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. ANN J. PRIOR, 15 Patten St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. G. F. ROBINSON, 74 Mt. Auburn St.	G ¹⁰
Miss MARY R. SEAVERN, Oak Ave.	A
Miss ALICE M. SILSBEE, 43 Main St.	G ¹⁰
Mrs. MABEL R. TABOR, Summer St.	G ¹⁰

WELLESLEY

Miss CAROLINE HAZARD, Wellesley College	S
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WESTON

Mrs. C. F. RICHARDSON, Weston	A
Mrs. C. F. RUSSELL, Weston	A

WILLIAMSTOWN

Mrs. SAMUEL F. CLARK, Williamstown	A
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WINCHESTER

Mrs. E. D. BANGS, Winchester	A
Mrs. ALFRED W. OTIS, 13 Cabot St.	A

G¹⁰, Watertown Woman's Club.

WINTHROP

Mrs. GREGORY E. STONE, Winthrop A

WORCESTER BRANCH

Mrs. CHARLES PERKINS ADAMS, 35 Cedar St.	A
Mrs. ALFRED L. AIKEN, 11 Linden St.	A
Miss JOSEPHINE ALDRICH, 13 Hackfeld Road	A
Miss GEORGIE A. BACON, 39 Dean St.	A
Mrs. C. C. BALDWIN, 11 Cedar St.	A
Miss MARY F. BARNARD, 95 Lincoln St.	A
Mrs. CHARLES S. BARTON, 857 Main St.	A
Miss LIZZIE M. BASSETT, 656 Main St.	A
Mrs. HOWARD BEAL, 55 Pearl St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE F. BLAKE, Jr., 129 Lincoln St.	A
Miss LOUISA BLAKE, 50 West St.	A
Mrs. LOUISA S. B. BLAKE, 50 West St.	A
Miss HARRIET W. BLISS, 38 Dean St.	A
Mrs. WILLIAM H. BLISS, 100 Main St.	A
Mrs. EDWIN BROWN, 70 Elm St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE L. BROWNELL, 14 John St.	A
Mrs. A. GEORGE BULLOCK, Worcester	A
Mrs. ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, 48 Elm St.	A
Mrs. CHANDLER BULLOCK, 23 Dayton St.	A
Mrs. ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN, 12 Shirley St.	A
Miss HARRIET E. CLARKE, 9 Chestnut St.	*A
Mrs. SAMUEL H. CLARY, 36 Sever St.	A
Mrs. JOHN COES, 1058 Main St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE CROMPTON, Worcester	S
Miss ISABEL M. CROMPTON, Worcester	A
Miss MARY K. CROMPTON, Worcester	A
Mrs. RANDOLPH CROMPTON, 62 William St.	A
Miss STELLA S. CROMPTON, Worcester	A
Miss MARION DAVIES, 13 Ashland St.	A
Mrs. JOHN E. DAY, 179 Pleasant St.	A
Mrs. FRANK H. DEWEY, 124 Main St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE T. DEWEY, 54 West St.	A
Mrs. JOHN C. DEWEY, 13 Linden St.	A
Mrs. ALEXANDER DE WITT, 102 Russell St.	A
Mrs. FRANK F. DRESSER, 49 Elm St.	A
Mrs. D. H. EAMES, 41 Dean St.	A
Mrs. T. K. EARLE, 23 Edward St.	A
Mrs. F. A. EASTON, 36 Elm St.	A

WORCESTER BRANCH

Mrs. EDMUND A. ENGLER, 11 Boynton St.	A
Miss MILLICENT ESTABROOK, 8 Lagrange St.	A
Mrs. ARTHUR EWELL, Park Ave.	A
Mrs. R. B. FOWLER, 3 Tuckerman St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE E. FRANCIS, 79 Elm St.	A
Mrs. HOMER GAGE, 8 Chestnut St.	A
Miss MABEL CARLETON GAGE, 50 Pearl St.	A
Mrs. T. H. GAGE, Jr., 61 William St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE A. GASKIEL, 26 Dayton St.	A
Mrs. WARREN R. GILMAN, 3 Ashland St.	A
Mrs. FRANK P. GOULDING, 44 Harvard St.	A
Mrs. LUCRETIA M. GRATON, 37 Providence St.	*A
Mrs. JAMES GREEN, 61 Elm St.	A
Mrs. FRANK B. HALL, 27 May St.	A
Mrs. JAMES P. HAMILTON, 35 Fruit St.	A
Mrs. GILBERT S. HARRINGTON, 1014 Main St.	A
Miss E. DORSEY HARRISON, 17 Hammond St.	A
Mrs. DAVID HARROWER, Jr., 98 William St.	A
Mrs. A. W. HITCHCOCK, 8 Institute Road	A
Mrs. ROCKWOOD HOAR, 16 Hammond St.	*A
Mrs. THEKLA HODGE, 3 Charlotte St.	A
Mrs. FRANK N. HOUGHTON, Grafton St.	*A
Miss LAVINIA HOUGHTON, Grafton St.	A
Mrs. GEORGE F. HUTCHINS, 10 Ripley St.	A
Mrs. J. P. JONES, 15 Benefit St.	A
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CAMBRIDGE BRANCH	146
LOWELL BRANCH	22
LYNN BRANCH	33
SALEM BRANCH	81
SPRINGFIELD BRANCH	38
WALTHAM BRANCH	48
WORCESTER BRANCH	120

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS

LIFE MEMBERS	11
SUSTAINING MEMBERS	77
ANNUAL MEMBERS	898
GROUP MEMBERS	109
	1,095
Deduction for names coming under two divisions	8
TOTAL	1,087

PUBLICATIONS OF THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS CIVIL SERVICE REFORM
ASSOCIATION

No.

1. "CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. ATTACK AND DEFENCE IN MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE," by R. H. Dana. (Revised.)
2. "EVERY MAN ON HIS OWN MERITS," by William W. Vaughan.
3. "THE CIVIL SERVICE. THE MERIT SYSTEM—THE SPOILS SYSTEM," by Edward Cary.
4. FIRST ANNUAL REPORT, 1902.
5. "UNINTELLIGENT CRITICISM ANSWERED." (Published jointly with the New York Auxiliary.) Out of print.
6. "THE MERIT SYSTEM IN MUNICIPALITIES," by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.
7. SECOND ANNUAL REPORT, 1903.
8. "CIVIL SERVICE REFORM PRINCIPLES IN EDUCATION," by Lucy M. Salmon.
9. "THE SPREAD OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM PRINCIPLES THROUGH THE AGENCY OF WOMEN'S CLUBS," by Imogen B. Oakley.
10. THIRD ANNUAL REPORT, 1904.
11. "THE RELATIONS OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM TO THE APPOINTMENT OF TEACHERS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS," by Beverly W. Bond, Jr. (College prize essay).
12. "CIVIL SERVICE REFORM AS DEMANDED BY PRESIDENTS AND STATESMEN."
13. "A PRIMER OF THE CIVIL SERVICE AND THE MERIT SYSTEM," by Elisabeth Luther Cary. (Published jointly with the New York Auxiliary.)
14. FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1905.

"OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM," by Mrs. B. T. Rice. (Published by the Worcester Branch.)

"OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS RELATIONS TO CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. (Published by the Worcester Branch.)

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DOCUMENT NO 5

CRITICISM OF THE
EXAMINATION SYSTEM
ANSWERED BY ROOSEVELT



BOSTON
PUBLISHED FOR
THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION
1906

CRITICISM OF THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM

ANSWERED BY ROOSEVELT

PREFATORY*

AMONG the competitors in an examination held in 1895, to furnish an eligible register of assistant statisticians for the Department of Agriculture, was Mr. Judson Grenell of Detroit, managing editor of the *Evening News* of that city, who, as his letters show, took the examination not with a view of obtaining an appointment, but merely to see how the operations of the examination, rating, selection, etc., appeared from the inside. Some time after taking the examination, and after the most successful competitor had received an appointment from Secretary Morton, Mr. Grenell wrote to the United States Civil Service Commission asking to be furnished with a statement of the general averages of all the competitors. The Chief Examiner answered his letter, declining the request on the ground that the Commission simply notifies each competitor of his own standing, but not of the standing of others.

This rule did not meet with Mr. Grenell's approval, and a correspondence took place between him and the Commission. The closing letter of this correspondence from Civil Service Commissioner Theodore Roosevelt furnishes a particularly complete reply to much of the criticism still made by those unacquainted with the facts in regard to Civil Service examinations.

* Reprinted by permission from *Good Government* (1895, May 15, 14:11, "Unintelligent Criticism Answered").

I.

MR. GRENELL TO THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE
COMMISSION.

DETROIT, April 12, 1895.

GENTLEMEN :— The declination of one of your subordinates to give me the averages of those who took the Civil Service examination for assistant statistician, Agricultural Department, is not satisfactory. The reason given for not giving it is, in my opinion, not sufficient, either. I have not asked who took the examination; in fact, I have not the remotest idea who they were. I simply ask for the averages of those who took the examination, without the slightest clue as to whom these averages belong. So far as I now know, the rules laid down by the Commission for the compiling of averages were exactly complied with. I only know that a technical knowledge that is of little account in certain contingencies was made more of than any practical knowledge a person may possess. And further, that this technical knowledge can be acquired by any person of average intelligence in six weeks, while knowledge coming from experience, and which is far the most valuable, cannot be acquired without years of observation.

What I want is the averages on each paper of those who took the Civil Service examination for assistant statistician, Agricultural Department. I do not want names. I do not want anything by which I can by any means find out to whom the averages belong. I just want the averages, that is all. I do not believe the Commission will deny me this, if they understand just what I want. I am not finding any fault with the averages given me. I have no desire to take a similar examination. *My object in taking that one has been accomplished.* I just want to know the

averages of others taking the same examination. Can I have these figures? Very truly yours,

JUDSON GRENELL.

II.

MR. JOHN R. PROCTOR, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
TO MR. GRENELL.

WASHINGTON, April 16, 1895.

SIR:—In reply to your letter of the 12th instant, requesting that you be furnished with the general average of each competitor in the assistant statistician examination for the Department of Agriculture, without the names of the competitors, you are informed that this request cannot be complied with. It is contrary to the practice of the Commission to furnish any competitor with the average of any other person than himself, and the Commission sees no reason for departing from its practice in this case, even to the extent of furnishing the averages without the names of the competitors. On registers which are called "special," and which are for a single bureau of the Government, the Commission declines to inform any applicant of his relative standing. This practice is found to be necessary in order to prevent efforts to use influence in securing appointments. The case is different in regard to those registers from which appointments may be made to any or all Departments of the service. The Commission has no objection to informing applicants of their relative standing on such registers. To comply with your request and furnish the averages of all competitors in the assistant statistician examination would be equivalent to notifying you of your relative standing, which the Commission cannot consent to do. Very respectfully,

JOHN R. PROCTOR, *President.*

III.

MR. GRENELL TO MR. PROCTOR.

DETROIT, April 25, 1895.

DEAR SIR:—Having finally pierced the shell which separates the United States Civil Service Commission from the rest of the world—a fact which is shown by your courteous letter in reply to mine of the 12th inst. in regard to the averages of the competitors for the position of assistant statistician, Agricultural Department—allow me to state again that the reasons advanced why the figures asked for cannot be given are far from satisfactory.

I have a distinct purpose in asking for these particular figures, and while that purpose would have been in a measure attained by asking for other averages, yet I preferred this special examination because I took it myself. As a managing editor I might have said to some subordinate in the office: "Take the Civil Service examination and write your opinions as to its practicability." But had I done so, my opinions would necessarily have been formed from his opinions. As I wanted information at first hand, I took the examination myself.

There is a rising tide of public opinion that the examinations prescribed are more theoretical than practical. There is a growing contempt for the Civil Service Commission. Created to correct abuses, the idea has gained a foothold that it is beginning to confirm and petrify them. Aimed at wrongs, is it not surrounding inefficiency with a network of officialism worse than the original evils? For those who "pass" may be the least capable of filling any position demanding the exercise of common sense and experience.

A glance at the papers prepared for the examination proved the impossibility of my attaining a sufficiently high average to pass. Indeed, I feel assured that the Civil Service Commissioners themselves

could not pass. And I know that two-thirds of the members of the President's Cabinet would "fall down" in the attempt. Not but that the members of the Civil Service Commission and the President's Cabinet are competent to fill the position, but simply because the questions put are in great measure of a class that are of no practical use.

If I remember right, one of the questions asked the definition of an isosceles triangle. In an examination in geometry how appropriate this would have been, but so far as its applying to the collection of statistics, just as sensible a query would be: "What is a Whangdoodle?" or, "How does a Giasticutis walk?" Probably half the questions asked were not practical. They were not unanswerable; they simply had no relation to the subject-matter in hand.

A boy fresh from the high school can take the papers of definitions and mathematical problems and attain anywhere from 80 to 90 to his credit. In fact a fortnight's work would enable most any one of average intelligence to "cram" himself for an examination which he could pass. There are two elderly men who haunt this office daily, so absorbed are they in the "Problem" department. The Civil Service list of mathematical puzzles would be peaches and cream to them. They would fairly wallow in them, and all their answers would be correct. Yet for practical work these old gentlemen are not worth their salt. Still they very likely could have passed the Civil Service examination with more credit (marks) than would be accorded yourself (perhaps) or your correspondent.

Another point: So wrapped up in formalism and "signs" is the Civil Service Commission itself that the very letter I am attempting to answer had to pass through the hands of "W. H. W.," "E. D. P.," "W. L. P.," and finally "L.," before it could be trusted into the hands of the President of the Commission, and for transmission through the mails.

What warrant has anybody for thinking that the

person finally selected for assistant statistician, Agricultural Department, had the highest average, or even passed at all? That is, if no figures are given out. Someone must be told. Who is it? If no one is informed, is the Chief Examiner the sole judge and jury? Has he taken such an examination as to be able to pass on everybody else? Put him in a room with 150 postal clerks and postmen, some of them sitting on his table and talking of "assessments," "entertainments," and the news of the day, and see what show he will make in adding up even a column of figures. That is what I saw when two young men wanting employment in watching a fish-pen were trying to figure out the difference between Fahrenheit and Centigrade as applied to thermometers. That is also my experience. It was actually funny.

What I respectfully ask for and desire are the figures of the competitors who took the Civil Service examination for assistant statistician, Agricultural Department. I do not desire names. I do not want anything that will in any way help me to figure out whom the figures fit. (As a matter of fact I do not know who took the examination.) I do not want to exert any influence to get any particular case reviewed. My own average is too low ever to hope for the most humble place under the Government in any department under Civil Service Rules. But I would like to know if there is any higher authority than the Civil Service Commission itself? That is, are the figures of the examiners open to review by others than the members themselves?

With the highest regard for the intent of the Civil Service Commission, and hoping for a favorable answer, at last, to my simple inquiry that seems to have run against a rule or practice that in my opinion should be suspended or abolished, I am,

Very truly yours,

JUDSON GRENELL.

IV.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER THEODORE ROOSEVELT
TO MR. GRENELL.

WASHINGTON, April 29, 1895.

SIR:—I have the honor to answer your letter of April 25, in relation to the Civil Service examination taken by you for assistant statistician in the Department of Agriculture.

The Commission cannot spend its time in answering questions asked from mere curiosity. If it should tell every applicant the averages of all other applicants in an examination it would need to have an additional force of clerks for that purpose; but we are always glad to give to the press any facts which may be of general interest. As I now understand that what you wish is for publication in a newspaper, I take pleasure in giving you the averages of the other candidates.

Twelve persons entered the examination. Of these six obtained an eligible standing, with grades, disregarding fractions, of 90, 86, 86, 80, 80 and 76, respectively. Six failed, with grades of 67, 60, 57, 56, 44 and 42. Among the twelve examined there was only one who stood lower than you, your standing being a fraction less than 44.

Permit me, in the first place, to correct the misapprehension you are under as to the rising tide of public opinion being that the examinations prescribed are more theoretical than practical. I think that if you would look at the returns in the late Chicago city election, or in the New York city election last fall, you would speedily convince yourself that there was no such rising tide. Chicago voted, by fifty thousand majority, for a Civil Service law in many respects more drastic than the federal law, and the people of New York State adopted, by more than one hundred thousand majority, a radical provision in the constitution widely extending the application of the Civil Service law, and establishing its permanency.

You say that there is a growing contempt for the Civil Service Law. My experience is directly the opposite, and I am positive that the contempt of which you speak exists only in the minds of the very ignorant, and that these very ignorant are less numerous, so far as this subject is concerned, than they were only a few years ago, and grow less numerous year by year.

So far from "surrounding inefficiency with a network of officialism," the law has immensely benefited every office to which it has been applied. The slightest inquiry will satisfy you of the truth of this statement. The Railway Mail Service is at a higher point of efficiency than ever before, and it is precisely the branch of the Government in which the law has been most rigidly applied. When that service came under the Civil Service Law, in 1889, the record of correct routings was 2,834 to one; for the year 1894 it is 7,831 to one. This record is unprecedented in the history of the service. As a matter of practical experience, every Cabinet officer whom I have seen in Washington has, before the end of his term, come to the conclusion that if there was any bureau in which he needed special efficiency he had to put it under the Civil Service Law. Mr. Carroll D. Wright recently stated to me that the failure to classify the Census Office under the law had cost the government just about two million dollars. The postoffices where the law is most faithfully observed are precisely the offices where the best service is rendered to the public and where the employees are most able, courteous and efficient. The men who pass the examinations are, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, those most capable of filling the positions "demanding the exercise of common sense and experience."

You say that "a glance at the papers prepared for the examination proved the impossibility of my (your) attaining a sufficiently high average to pass. Indeed, I (you) feel sure the Civil Service Commissioners themselves could not pass, and I (you) know that two-thirds of the present members of the President's

Cabinet would 'fall down' in the attempt." Evidently you do not understand the purpose of holding special examinations for special places. When we hold an examination for assistant statistician our aim is to get a man who is an assistant statistician, not one who is a Civil Service Commissioner or a Cabinet Officer. It would be a proof of the incompetency of the Commission if it framed an examination for assistant statistician with a view of having Cabinet Officers and Civil Service Commissioners pass it. The Commission holds examinations for all kinds of positions. For instance, we hold them for the position of assistant astronomer. Do you mean seriously to imply that when we hold an examination for astronomer we should make that examination one which the average Cabinet Officer could pass? It would be a mere chance if any member of any Cabinet was fit to be an astronomer, or, for that matter, an assistant statistician. I do not suppose that any member of the present Cabinet, or of the Cabinet of Mr. Harrison, would be fit for either of these positions. I know that no member of either Cabinet would be as fit for a statistician as the man who was appointed under the assistant statistician examination. In your own case, as you bring the matter up, your examination showed that you were entirely unfit to hold the office you sought. Doubtless you are an admirable newspaper editor, and you may be fit for much higher work than that of an assistant statistician, but you are not fit for that particular work, and the Commission would have been to blame if it had framed an examination which would not have emphasized the difference between the man who was competent to be an assistant statistician and one who was not competent, no matter how good this latter individual might be in some other line of work.

You say the questions are not practical, and instance one of the questions in reference to a geometrical problem as having no relation to the subject-matter in hand. This shows that you do not understand what the work of an assistant statistician really is. As a

matter of fact, many statistics are illustrated by geometrical figures and problems. This is the case with the work now actually performed by the assistant statistician in the Department of Agriculture. So you see that the question was all right. It was your lack of understanding of the subject which was to blame.

You say that a boy fresh from a high school could get 80 to 90 to his credit, and that any one could cram him up so as to pass after a fortnight's work. Again you are completely in error. The average age of those passing our examinations is 27 years. Instead of being fresh from the high schools, the men have been out of them at least ten years on the average. The man who stood at the head of the list in the examination you took, and who received the appointment, was 43 years old and was already a computer in the United States Coast Survey. Remember that you are only theorizing on the subject, while I am speaking from a thorough acquaintance with the facts of the case. As a matter of fact the persons who get office under us stand higher in every way than those appointed under the old methods, and form an exceptionally intelligent, honest and able class of employees. In our own bureau we have more than fifty men employed. They all came in under our own examinations, standing at the head of the lists, and it would be impossible to get, in public or private employment, a better corps of men than they are.

None of the men who were coached for this [assistant statistician] examination passed. I have given you the particulars about the man who stood highest. The man who stood second was 38 years old, and had been a statistician in the Census Bureau. The man who stood third was 26 years old, a post-graduate student of Cornell University, and afterwards private secretary to a member of Congress. The man who stood fourth was 24 years old, and was a Fellow in Political Economy and Sociology of the Chicago University. The man who stood fifth was 29, and was an accountant in New York. He had formerly been an instructor in statistics in the University of Chicago.

You complain that the Commission is "wrapped up in formalism and signs" because the letter you received had the initials of various persons put upon it. Your saying this arises evidently from the fact that you have never had any experience in conducting the business of a large office. The Civil Service Commission receives and answers more than one hundred thousand letters a year, and the slightest consideration will show you that we must have a regular system in dealing with so extensive a correspondence.

You ask, what warrant has anybody for thinking that the person selected had the highest average or even passed at all. You have the excellent warrant that as soon as the man is appointed the fact is made public, and any responsible person may learn all the facts and see the markings if he can show the Commission that there is the slightest ground for imputing favoritism one way or the other. The name of every person appointed in the departmental service is printed in the Commission's annual reports, and the name of the person who was appointed assistant statistician is Henry Farquhar. If any one has the slightest reason for thinking that he was favored in any way, the Commission will show his papers; but as a matter of fact such a supposition is, of course, absurd. The papers were marked by a board of experts at the same time that they marked the papers of the other applicants, and the examiners did not know the names of any of the persons whose papers they were marking. It may interest you to know that the Secretary of Agriculture chose the highest man on the list, and informs us that he is the most satisfactory man in statistical work that he ever had, and that after the appointment had been made he received a letter from Mr. Edward Atkinson vouching for the remarkable capacity of the man in the very lines upon which we tested him, and for the very business in which he was to be employed. The Secretary of Agriculture said he thought he was the best man in the United States for the position. You thus see that in this very examination of which you complain, the

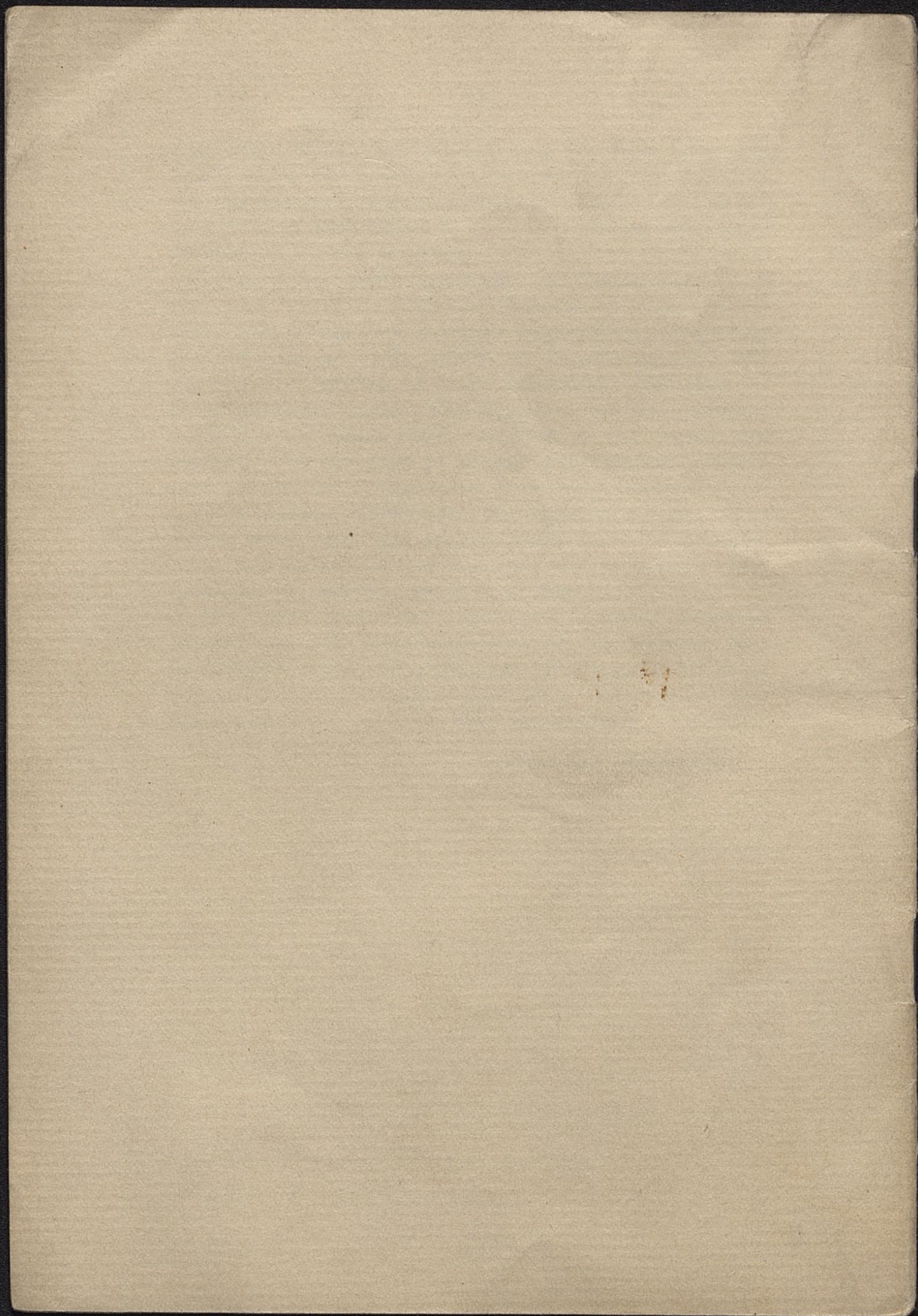
man who passed the highest was the best man that could have been found anywhere for the position. The examination was eminently practical in character, and no man who failed to pass it could be considered competent for the position.

There is no "shell separating the Commission from the outer world." With one hundred thousand correspondents a year it is a simple impossibility to gratify the curiosity of each, unless we can be assured that some public interest is to be subserved. All that we do is perfectly open. The registers for the ordinary positions are made public as soon as the papers are marked. In the case of special examinations, where there would be a chance of exercising political pressure or personal favoritism, the registers are not made public until after the appointments have been made. Then the names and the averages will be given to any newspapers desiring to publish them.

The past year has witnessed greater progress toward the full accomplishment of the Reform idea in national, state and municipal government, taken as a whole, than any other year since the original law was passed.

Very respectfully,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.



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Civil Service Reform in Kentucky.



Issued by the
Civil Service Reform Committee
of the
Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs.

ELIZABETH A. MUIR,
IDA W. HARRISON,
ALICE BURGIN.

1907

Civil Service Reform in Kentucky.

The most valuable asset of Women's Clubs is their ability to create public opinion. They are only beginning to see through a glass darkly the immense power of organized influence. By agitation, by thorough, intelligent, and continued discussion, they can bring a subject before a community, and help to guide the trend of thought. This done, the public conscience will awaken, and then demand and work for the reform needed.

The Women's Clubs of Kentucky can do no more valuable work for their Commonwealth than to direct public attention to the need of Civil Service Reform in the government of our State.

The Civil Service of our country is made up of all who do any work for the government, whether federal, state, or municipal. There are 271,188 Federal Civil Servants; add to these the multiplied thousands in state and municipal civil affairs, (than whom none are more important than our public school teachers), and we can realize what a vast army of workers make up our Civil Service, and the immense number of American citizens affected by the laws governing it.

Until the establishment of our Normal Schools at Richmond and Bowling Green, during the past year, Kentucky had not one single office that came under the Merit System. The disclosures, still fresh in our minds, of scandals in our Asylums for

the Insane show the cancer of corruption eating at our vitals. The existence of such conditions is not necessarily due to depravity in the persons who have charge of these institutions, but is innate in a system of political favoritism which makes such things possible.

To protect these helpless dependents in our Asylums should be the work of every humane, public-spirited citizen, and Kentucky could have no better starting point for the application of Civil Service Reform than in her three institutions for the insane. With this as a beginning, Kentucky should demand the Merit System in the administration of all her penal, corrective, and eleemosynary institutions, at least.

We would not demand reforms too sweeping nor too drastic, but would urge changes based upon sane and mature judgment, using the experience of other states that have successfully placed such institutions under the Merit System.

Feeling that the question of Civil Service Reform is one of the most important before the Kentucky Federation today, your committee would therefore urge:—

1st.—That every club appoint a Civil Service Reform Committee, who shall endeavor to promote the study of the subject among its members.

2nd.—That every club create a sentiment for Civil Service Reform by constant agitation through the columns of the local newspapers.

3rd.—That the local committees confer with the county and town Teachers' Associations of their respective communities, present the subject and urge its study.

4th.—That every club urge the introduction of the study in all schools.

Your committee submits the following as samples of practical, one-hour programs for the use of clubs:—

I.

1. Civil Service in the United States.

- a. Civil Service up to the time of Andrew Jackson.

- b. The Spoils System in Operation—1829 to 1883.
- c. Attempts at Reform—1867 to 1907.
- 2. Reading: The Spread of Civil Service Reform Principles Through the Agency of Women's Clubs.
by Imogen B. Oakley.
- 3. Discussion. Kentucky's Needs.

II.

- 1. Civil Service Reform Principles in Education.
by Miss Salmon.
- 2. The Merit System.
- 3. Discussion. Can we bring about the use of this Pamphlet in our local schools?
- 4. Kentucky's Needs.

Civil Service up to the
time of Andrew Jackson,
1829.

The Spoils System in Opera-
tion, 1829-1883

Attempts at Reform, 1867-1908